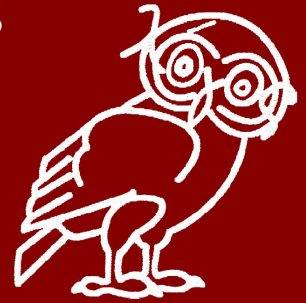


LOGOS

The Classical, Near Eastern & Religious
Studies Student Journal

2017/18



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Giza Pyramids of Menkaure, Khufu, and Khafre

(12 June 2017)

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Opening Remarks

JULIA BROWNE DE PAULA

This past summer I was approached by Jaymie Orchard, last issue's editor-in-chief, about possibly taking over the position in the upcoming school year. Needless to say I jumped at the opportunity to take part in such a great project, and to be more involved with the Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies department in my final year of university. I had previously worked as an editor, but to add "in-chief" to the title made me giddy with excitement, and I really wanted to make this issue of LOGOS the best possible.

I was lucky enough to work alongside some of the most amazing people in the form of Chief Submissions Officer Alexandra Ore and Layout Editor Ches Walton, who went above and beyond to make sure that deadlines were met, that enough submissions were received, and that our editors never ran out of coffee or donuts during long meetings (thank you for carrying the coffee traveller, Alexandra!). None of this could have been done without their immense help, or without the hard work of our editors Paolo Crestani, John Felton, Daniel MacDonald Dompierre-Outridge, Daniella Tsimbaliouk, and Nelly Wang. I cannot thank them enough.

With all of that said, I am happy and proud to present the third issue of LOGOS, which boasts a total of eight papers ranging in topic from Religious Studies to Near Eastern Archaeology. We start with Madeleine Seed's "Tricksters in Myth: The Necessary Outsider and Controller of Binaries," which explores the archetype of the mythical trickster through examples from Greek, Norse and Polynesian mythology. Juliana Malara's "The Child is Mine: A Critical Analysis of the Power of Verbal Oaths as Represented Through Parental Claims to a Child in 1 Kgs 3 and an Ancient Mesopotamian Trial Record," takes us back to the third millennium BCE by comparing a Mesopotamian trial to a Biblical one in order to showcase cultural similarities between Babylon and ancient Israel. Our first archaeology paper, "The Portable Shrine of Anubis" by Larissa Luecke, seeks to understand the revival of the Old Kingdom within the New Kingdom context through the analysis of the Anubis shrine. We then make our way to Lara-Sophie Boleslawsky's "The Gospel According to Tarantino: Reconciling the Vernacular Through Parable in 'Pulp Fiction,'" which offers a comparison between the film's dialogue and the Gospel of Matthew to reveal that both are structured around "parables" in order to communicate their teachings. "Romosexuality: Masc4Masc" is Jonathan Roy's take on how male-on-male sexual acts in the late Republic and early Imperial Rome were ways in which a Roman man could heighten his own manliness by destroying that of another man. Next we have Matt Naylor's "Friendship, Greed, and Two Gold Status: The Downfall of the Mitanni State," our sole history paper and one that aims to analyze the correspondence between Mitanni, one of the more enigmatic major imperial powers of the Late Bronze Age, and the kings of Egypt in an attempt to trace the former's downfall. "Velayat-e Khomeini: A Critical Analysis of the Ideology of Absolute Guardianship" by Zaid Salman focuses on the ideological transformations of the oldest Shi'a Islamist organization in Iraq and the

development of the concept of Velayat-e Faqih. Lastly, Katlin Long-Wright's "The World's First Monumental Site for Diplomatic Encounters: An Integrative Approach to Analyzing the Built Environment at Gobekli Tepe" uses spatial analysis methods to argue that the four enclosures at the Gobekli Tepe site were used to facilitate social interactions between hunter-gatherers and were a product of a unified group of Neolithic peoples.

I would again like to thank our editors, Chief Submissions Officer, and Layout Editor for all of their hard work on this issue of LOGOS. A massive thank you also to the authors for their wonderful papers, to the faculty of the CNERS department for their continued support, and to the CNERS Student Association's executive board.

It was an honour to work on the third issue of LOGOS, and I hope you enjoy it just as much as we enjoyed putting it together for you!

Julia Browne, Editor-in-Chief

Tricksters in Myth

The Necessary Outsider and Controller of Binaries

MADELEINE SEED

It is fascinating that similar characters or archetypes can be found in myths from cultures all across the world, even if their cultures of origin had little or no contact with each other. Since similarities in mythic narratives occur so frequently, it makes one question as to how or why these similarities occur if there is no cultural contact. Out of all the globally found archetypes, the trickster is one of the most interesting and complex. Scholars have extensively discussed the mythical trickster, but as of today there is still no single or universally accepted definition of this archetype. Some anthropologists have called for the elimination of the term "trickster" altogether while others argue that there are enough similarities among these different mythic characters to keep the general umbrella term. This essay briefly reviews the academic discussion of what defines an archetypal trickster before placing emphasis on three key elements that define a trickster: the giver of knowledge or civilization to the cultural system; the necessary rebellious breaker of systems; and the chaotic supernatural being who possesses the ability to control binaries within the cultural system. The trickster examples used in this paper are Hermes and Prometheus from Ancient Greek mythology, Loki from Norse mythology, and Maui from Polynesian mythology. Of the mythic archetypes, the trickster is one of the most complex figures to study but its repeated appearance, and the repetition of its related motifs and themes, emphasize the trickster as a necessity for the cultural system it appears in. It is not the morality of his actions which should be noted but rather how his actions change and affect the system he is a part of.

LOGOS – 2017/18 The act of storytelling is one
Issue 3 of humanity's greatest
April 2018 delights. In most cultures,
Pages 1 – 11 traditional storytelling has
 been the means of passing
oral history, cultural beliefs, and practices
between generations. Ancient peoples used myths
to explain the natural world, the supernatural, and
the culture of their own societies. In the study of
myths, scholars have found repetitive patterns of
motifs, themes and archetypes. It is astounding
that similar characters or archetypes can be found
in myths from cultures all around the world, even
if these cultures had little or no contact with each
other. This leads modern scholars to question why
these cultures felt the need to add such similar
elements to their mythology, and how these
patterns reflect the cultural norms of their
societies. Of these globally found archetypes, the
trickster is one of the most interesting and
complex. Scholars have extensively discussed the
mythical trickster, but today there is still no single
or universally accepted definition of this
archetype. This essay will briefly review the

academic discussion of what defines an
archetypal trickster before asserting three key
elements that define a trickster: the giver of
knowledge or civilization to the system; the
necessary rebellious breaker of systems; and the
chaotic supernatural being who possesses the
ability to control binaries within the system.
Within this essay, the "system" the trickster is a
part of will be the cultural construction based on
the trickster's culture of origin. The relationship
between the trickster and the "system" in myth
will be reflective of a culture's social and
hierarchical dynamics between the culture's gods,
humanity, and nature. The tricksters used as
examples in this paper will be Hermes and
Prometheus from Ancient Greek mythology, Loki
from Norse mythology, and Maui from
Polynesian mythology.

The word trickster encompasses a vast group of
mythic characters. Each can be said to have the
attributes of a trickster, depending on which
definition is used. Some anthropologists have
called for the elimination of the term "trickster"
altogether because it implies that a generalized

approach to understanding these mythic characters can be used; most of these scholars believe that mythic study should be tribally, nationally, or locally focused.¹ They argue that the range of trickster phenomena is now so great in mythic study that a generalizing, comparativist view is outdated and lacks merit. Others argue that there are sufficient inherent similarities among these diverse figures and their functions to enable scholars to study and compare a general "trickster figure".²

Scholars trained in Jungian psychology, such as Carl Jung and his followers, will say the trickster is an archaic, universal image regularly occurring in myth, folk tales and dreams. Universal archetypes are thought to be within the universal sub-conscious of humanity, and as such one should expect to find these archetypes within the personalities of every person and in most belief systems.³ The trickster himself is seen as a creature of the unconscious and has the dual nature of being half-animal and half divine. His role or appearance in myth can be seen as linked to the mythic dawn of civilisation and the origins of human consciousness.⁴

Paul Radin also presents the trickster figure as a transcendental or archetypal characteristic of the human psyche and emphasizes his ties to most archaic periods of culture or mythology. He believes the trickster is a figure who progresses developmentally within the cultures in which they are created, just like an individual's psychological growth as he learns his place in society and learns how to deal with his more base nature. Thus, for Radin and his followers, the trickster is a primitive

developmental level common to humanity and is often associated with the natural world and/or the time before human civilization.⁵ The traits of a mythic trickster change, depending on the myth's cultural context, but some similarities are noted by scholars in comparative studies. Some of the typical identifications of the trickster include: "Animal-Person, Anti-Hero, Boundary Figure, Bungling Host, Clever Hero, Clown, Culture Hero, Confidence Person, Demiurge, Lord of the Animals, Numskull, Old Man, Picaro, Selfish Buffoon, Selfish Deceiver, Swindler, and Transformer".⁶ These sub-motifs embellish the cultural uniqueness of the trickster, as they emphasise his roles and/or abilities within the mythic context which reflects the social or religious context evoked by the particular myth. The repetitive use of these sub-motifs hints that the use of these trickster gods must symbolize or draw on universal themes that are part of human life, but also highlights the importance or necessity for such embodiments of such themes.

These stock themes and motifs help drive the plots of trickster myths. The most common structural elements of trickster narratives are being trapped, boundary-breaking, creativity, licentious behaviour, scatological humour, bodily transformations/shapeshifting, naming issues, loss of control over one's body and mind, and the trickster's dissolution/death/transformation at the end of the story.⁷ Note that not all of the elements listed have to be present in one trickster myth, and their placement in the narrative sequence is certainly not fixed.⁸

Often the trickster will have attributes and abilities allowing him to combine conflicting

¹ Hynes, William, and William Doty. "Introducing the Fascinating and Perplexing Trickster Figure". In *Mythical Trickster Figures*. ed. William Hynes and William Doty. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. 4 – 5.

² Ibid. 2.

³ Ibid. 4 – 5.

⁴ Bassil-Morozow, Helena. *The Trickster and the System—Identity and Agency in Contemporary Society*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2015. 10.

⁵ Hynes, William, and William Doty. "Historical Overview of Theoretical Issues: The Problem of the Trickster". In *Mythical Trickster Figures*. ed. William Hynes and William Doty. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. 15.

⁶ Ibid. 24.

⁷ Bassil-Morozow. 12.

⁸ Ibid.

ideas or forces that cast him as an outsider. These conflicting ideas or forces are called binaries. Claude Levi-Strauss views the trickster as the epitome of binary oppositions and a necessary anomaly; the trickster appears on the edge or just beyond existing borders of the cultural reality and dances with ease between conflicting ideals such as: the sacred and profane, life and death, civilization and nature, order and chaos, fertility and impotence, etc.⁹ In myth the trickster is often cast as an "out" person, and his activities are often "outlawish, outlandish, outrageous, out-of-bounds, and out-of-order".¹⁰ His inability to fit into the cultural system presented in the myth divides him from the rest of the divine or supernatural characters in the story.

A trickster's "outsider" label can be given due to the nature of his birth. For example, the Greek god Hermes is recognized as one of the twelve pantheon gods when he becomes an adult, but in his origin it is noted that he is the son of Zeus and a nymph.¹¹ Not having gods for both parents destabilizes his position as a full member of the gods' social system. The Polynesian trickster god Maui has several versions of his birth that highlight him as a being outside the social system or cultural norm. "While Maui is still unborn, some men out fishing see a handsome child diving from a high cliff into the sea, and they pursue. The child makes his way home and returns to his mother's womb".¹² In this tale, Maui seems to have the ability to leave his mother's womb and move like a young child before his birth. The abnormality of his birth shows how inhuman he is, but at the same time shows how he still needs to be nurtured in his mother's womb like a normal

human child. The opposing binaries of divine and human somehow are at peace and embodied within this trickster. Loki of Norse mythology was born of a minor goddess, Mother Laufey (Leaf-isle), but had a giant for a father, Farbauti (Dangerous-striker).¹³ Maui, Loki and Hermes all share the demi-god status and are thus part god, part "other" or "outsider". This "outsider" factor makes them unable to be fully labeled as a god or to have full security of their position within the system.

Being neither fully a god nor an outsider, the tricksters travel between the two opposing ideas with little resistance. As the gods and their deeds are mythic creations meant to represent the social customs or norms of a society, the creation of a being which is half-god and half-outsider becomes an unpredictable blend of the two conflicting ideas. He is the "wildcard", the one who is part of the system yet at the same time is not part of the system and does not have to conform to its rules. With this ability, the trickster god is usually assigned roles unique to them and their ability to control or evoke very diverse binaries.

One role often assigned to the trickster because of his unique abilities is that of a psychopomp, a mediator who crosses and resets the lines between life and death.¹⁴ The Greek trickster Hermes is an excellent example. As the messenger god, he was one of the few Greek gods who could easily move the transition between life and death because of his abilities as a trickster. In some trickster stories the right to cross the boundary between life and death is designated as immortality.¹⁵ With this belief in mind, the

⁹ Hynes, William. "Mapping the Characteristics of Mythic Tricksters: A Heuristic Guide". In *Mythical Trickster Figures*. ed. William Hynes and William Doty. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. 34.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Doly, William. "A Lifetime of Trouble-Making: Hermes as a Trickster". In *Mythical Trickster Figures*. ed. William Hynes and William Doty. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1997. 50.

¹² Beckwith, Martha. *Hawaiian Mythology*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1970. 230.

¹³ Njarðvik, Njörður. *The World of the Viking Gods*. trans. John Porter. Reykjavik: Iceland Review, 2002. 37.

¹⁴ Hynes. "Mapping the Characteristics of Mythic Tricksters". 40.

¹⁵ Bassil-Morozow. 16.

immortality or legitimacy of the god within the cultural pantheon is re-enforced through his control of the conflicting binaries of life and death. Though Loki is not given full control of the Norse Underworld or the powers to transition between life and death, his daughter Hel is ruler of the Underworld. By association, one could say he still has power over the binaries of life and death through the powers and mythic role of his daughter. Thus his abilities or role of a trickster god are stabilized within the mythic context and his immortality is secured. On the other hand, Maui does not have a secure role as a god or having immortality though he has binary focused powers or roles within the system. His quest for immortality and his failure to succeed humanize him to the point where he cannot surpass the title of demi-god within the Polynesian myths and his position must be constantly reinforced by supernatural deeds lest he be labelled as a mere human.

The binaries of life and death are not the only conflicts or transitions over which a trickster can be given power. As the patron of roads and travelers, Hermes is the guide for the transitions between spaces. He also becomes a guide in the journey through time as he bridges the world of the day with the world of night. Hermes is described as the "companion of dark night" in the Homeric Hymns, and as "furtive Hermes, the nighttime chieftain" in the Hellenistic poet Nonnos' work.¹⁶ He was thought to be most powerful or active during twilight and dusk as these were the periods of transition between the binaries of day and night, light and dark, sun and moon, etc. Without the trickster's powers over these binary transitions, the mythic world's system would fall apart. Though the trickster's birth or powers make him an outsider, he is still

accepted into the gods' social system and the overall social system of the culture because of the necessity for such an oddity that can manage these supernatural contradictions. This need for an oddity or an outsider is also seen with Loki as he is described to "[have] done the most evil of the Aesir" but is still accepted as a needed member of the Norse mythic society and its culture's social systems.¹⁷

In many cultures and religions, the trickster is the source of most mythic disruptions to the balance of the society. As his name explicitly states, the trickster is a consummate and continuous trick-player and deceiver.¹⁸ His lying, cheating, tricking, and deceiving seem unpredictable, and it becomes hard to understand whether or not the trickster is "an unconscious numbskull, or ... a malicious spoiler".¹⁹ However, Andrew Samuels argues that the unpredictable nature of the trickster is neither good nor bad. He says tricksters possesses qualities viewed as 'shadowy' by a civilised society, but also seem to better the society they live in because of their behaviour.²⁰ The devious skills of the trickster help the social system from falling to disorder or help it adapt to change. The question of the trickster's morality depends very much on the culture creating the mythic character and the social values of that society.

The true nature of a mythic trickster is not found in the vagueness of his morality but in his role as part of the mythic system. A culture's mythology is often formed to create a version of their society that is a divine ideal of the reality they live in. Thus the role of a trickster "is not to destroy the structure – but to challenge it, to push it into the liminal zone, to make it question itself".²¹ The trickster pushes the boundaries between what is considered right and wrong

¹⁶ Doty. 48.

¹⁷ Njarðvik. 11.

¹⁸ Hynes. "Mapping the Characteristics of Mythic Tricksters". 35.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Bassil-Morozow. 106.

²¹ Ibid. 101.

within a culture, and by doing so allows room for the cultural system to adapt or change. Some scholars have noted that systems that are very focused on creating cultural cohesion and social order often have at least one if not a few trickster figures within their mythology “who perpetually counter, upend, and loosen adherence to these same values” that the society enforces through the use of mythology.²²

A cultural system will use what it can to keep its internal structures intact for as long as possible.²³ Myths about tricksters can demonstrate the value of having new or untamed figures within the society, but it also reinforces the need to keep to the social codes and laws of the system. The trickster is, metaphorically, the “raw energy” of new ideas struggling to break through the old structure of the previous system to replace or modify parts of the system to the new needs of the society within the cultural system.²⁴ He is the change that will, must, and does occur within the system. The trickster “possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values [of a culture] come into being”.²⁵ Thus the morality behind a trickster’s actions is not the lesson to be taught within a culture, but rather his role as an embodiment of change within the system. Trickster myths shows how a cultural system adapts and/or deals with change as the “trickster is the process, not the final product” of cultural transitions.²⁶

As tricksters are the bringers or embodiment of cultural change, their mythic powers and roles as gods must reflect this. For example, Hermes’ spheres are those of change, movement, and alteration, and these concepts are

often symbolized by the motif of wings. These wings can be placed upon his head, shoulder, feet, or even on his belted waist depending on the myth and its origin.²⁷ The motif of wings relates to a frequently key element of a trickster’s abilities: his ability to do or control magic. “Magic used [by the trickster] is a means of avoiding the inevitable,” and by giving the mythic trickster magical abilities, they are allowed the power to break free of the natural or cultural order of the mythic world.²⁸ Sometimes the trickster will have magical abilities that allow him to change his appearance or to take on the form of animals. His magic helps the trickster have control over opposing binaries as the lines between man and beast, civilized and wild are blended or destroyed by his magical abilities. The “trickster-figure is the magician, the taboo transgressor” and with his supernatural ability, the trickster has an arsenal of abilities to fool, trick, and deceive the system they are a part of and empower them to become the catalyst of necessary change.²⁹

When a trickster breaks the order of the mythic social system, some form of punishment usually follows as an attempt to restore balance. Gods are usually created by cultures to establish meaning and order to the world humanity lives in. Thus when the trickster god threatens or breaks that culture’s version of ideal or divine social system in myth, the gods tasked with re-establishing the order must act in response to the actions of his role as a trickster god. Then the actions of a trickster god within a myth could be interpreted as being a reflection a culture’s struggle with outsider changes and new ideologies. As the human system struggles, so does their divine, idealized system. “Authority

²² Hynes, William. “Inconclusive Conclusions: Tricksters – Metaplayers and Revealers”. In *Mythical Trickster Figures*. ed. William Hynes and William Doty. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. 202.

²³ Bassil-Morozow. 31.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid. 10.

²⁶ Ibid. 19.

²⁷ Doty. 48.

²⁸ Leeming, David. *Mythology: The Voyage of the Hero*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 109.

²⁹ Hynes. “Mapping the Characteristics of Myth Tricksters”. 36.

has always wrestled with change – particularly with unplanned, sudden, unpredictable transformation”.³⁰ “Unplanned, sudden and unpredictable” are perfect adjectives to describe a trickster and the changes he brings to the system.³¹ Changes within humanity and in nature can be unpredictable, especially for societies with limited scientific knowledge. A being embodying change can bring many good things to a system, but can also become a problem that needs to be contained or purged. A culture’s attitude towards change can be reflected in how their trickster god is portrayed and treated by the other gods in the pantheon as the upholders of cultural norms.

As a response to the trickster’s actions for breaking the traditional norms of the mythic social system, the other gods often impose a consequence or punishment upon the trickster. Due to this, most trickster narratives display narrative elements based on the theme of containment or restraint. As the embodiment of change, punishment for pushing or breaking the boundaries of the social norms is an expected response from the rest of the social system. This is part of the cycles of change and restraint that can be seen in the evolution of the social system. When the trickster god is punished, the punishment is a metaphor for the new or the other conflicting with the old or known parts of the system. The brutal yet humorous ways in which the trickster is punished are often very physical, so as to stop the “flow of creativity” and thus render the trickster powerless.³² These punishments are necessary to restore or create balance in the mythic system as the trickster’s actions threaten the system. The tales of the

trickster’s escapades emphasize the need for change and the need for balance within the social system. Christopher Vecsey states that “by breaking the patterns of culture the trickster helps define those patterns. By acting irresponsibly, he helps define responsibility. He threatens, yet he teaches too”.³³

Tricksters challenge the system and push the boundaries of the system, and because of this they sometimes cross into the realm of the criminal or the taboo when pursuing their goals. In the Greek myth of Prometheus and his gift of fire to humanity, he first steals the knowledge from the gods of Mount Olympus. He was said to have stolen “the fire from the island of Lemnos where stood the forge and workshop of Hephaestus, the master craftsman ... [and] other stories he took the fire from the very hearth of Zeus himself”.³⁴ In either scenario Prometheus has to steal for his goal to be achieved. Though the theft benefits humanity and the development of civilization, it breaks the taboos of the god’s social system in order for the change to occur within that system.

In some tales, the trickster’s goals are more harmful than helpful to the system. In the Norse myth of the god Balder’s death, Hel refuses to return the god to life unless everything on Niflheim (Earth) weeps for his death. “At once, the gods sent messengers to every corner of heaven asking all to weep Balder un-dead, and everything did so, both men and beasts, earth, stones, trees...” but one old lady they found in a cave.³⁵ Since the old lady refused to cry for the god, “[e]verything guessed this must have been Loki who had done so much evil among the

³⁰ Makarius, Laura. “The Myth of the Trickster: The Necessary Breaker of Taboos”. In *Mythical Trickster Figures*. ed. William Hynes and William Doty. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. 66.

³¹ Bassil-Morozow. 5.

³² Ibid. 4.

³³ Vecsey, Christopher. “The Exception Who Proves the Rules: Ananse the Akan Trickster”. In *Mythical Trickster*

Figures. ed. William Hynes and William Doty. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. 106.

³⁴ Warner, Rex. *The Stories of the Greeks*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1967. 316 – 21.

³⁵ Branston, Brian. *Gods of the North*. New York, NY: Vanguard Press, 1955. 274 – 75.

gods”.³⁶ His act of trickery openly defies the will of the system, which is represented by the gods, and is done so in a manner which invokes his powers of a trickster; his magic and his ability to shapeshift.

For the trickster demi-god Maui, the people of his society grew weary of his tricks and his mischievous ways were the cause of his death:

Maui goes to live in Hilo on Hawaii and makes himself unpopular with his tricks. He one day visits the home of Kane and Kanaloa and their party at Alakahi in Waipo valley and attempts to spear the coconuts with a sharp stick they are roasting by the fire. He is detected and his brains dashed out.³⁷

One could interpret his death as a result of his overall selfishness in his acts as a demi-god trickster. By causing too much disruption to cultural norms with his tricks, he exhausted the gods’ leniency with his trickster ways and had to be removed to maintain the balance of the system. Thus this myth can be seen as a cultural warning about pushing the society’s limits and the taboo boundaries it imposes.

These trickster myths blend two seemingly contradictory ideas in physical or ritual world: entertainment and education. The humour of the characters and their adventures/misadventures entertain the audience while educating them on the cultural norms or laws of their own societies. “We may laugh, but a deeper unfolding is at work. At one level, the trickster bears the gift of laughter, but it is tied to another level, linked to another gift, one that evokes insight and enlightenment”.³⁸ With the repetition and cycling of motifs in the trickster myths, the listener is educated through the mythic

example of the trickster. When the trickster breaks or pushes the boundaries of the social system to the point of threatening it, the restraining elements of the system react to maintain balance. The physical restraint of the trickster becomes a warning to the listener.

The image of the trickster physically restrained with chains is a common motif in myth. Prometheus is chained to a Caucasian rock by Zeus for bestowing the knowledge and power of fire to man and the Norse gods chained Loki to a rock within a cave to prevent him from causing the foretold Ragnarök, the Norse apocalypse.³⁹ These tales serve as a warning to a listener to not rebel too much against the norms of his own society. These myths demonstrate that even gods must accept the restraints of their own society or suffer punishment. Prometheus stole fire to give to humanity so that they could create civilization but by doing so upset the balance of power between gods and mortals. To restore balance, the trickster and his abilities to threaten the current system must be contained and thus Prometheus was chained to a rock for his actions. Loki was contained based on his prophesied ability to break the existing order with Ragnarök, an event which was fated to destroy all the worlds as well. Both tricksters were physically punished because of their ability to challenge and destroy the social system represented by their culture of origin’s pantheon of gods.⁴⁰ Their binding is a metaphoric warning about pushing the boundaries of the society and its culture and is an example of what happens when one oversteps a taboo and the social consequences. As most myths originate from cultures of oral traditions and stories, the importance of melding belief, education and entertainment into one myth serves several cultural purposes. These myths and their tricksters were created within belief systems where

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Beckwith. 233.

³⁸ Hynes. “Inconclusive Conclusions”. 206.

³⁹ Bassil-Morozow. 4.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

entertainment was not separate from education and the myths were influential teaching devices that used their humorous yet negative examples to reinforce the societal values of the cultural system.⁴¹

As beings that do not fear the boundaries of the social system, tricksters tend to pursue adventures or knowledge that is deemed unobtainable or forbidden. “The trickster continues to go where others wish to venture yet fear to tread. He is guide both to actual travelers who live by their wits and to armchair explorers who live by their hopes”.⁴² As beings of change and transition, they do not have the common man’s fear of binary conflicts; unknown and known, night and day, none of these are feared by the trickster. These beings tend to achieve unique knowledge. In some myths, the trickster decides to bestow some of his knowledge or power upon humanity. In others, the trickster inadvertently gives humanity a boon through his carelessness and reckless nature. Kerenyi notes that the trickster in Greek mythology, often “approximates to the figure of a beneficent creator and becomes what the ethnologists call a “culture hero”.⁴³

As a “culture hero,” the trickster often is incorporated into creation or pre-civilization myths. His ability to have power over the wild and the civilized, the outsider and the known is key to understanding why he is often associated with creation myths. Creation myths detail an event which leads to humanity transitioning out of its wild, pre-civilized nature and into the culture’s definition of civilized nature. It seems that the trickster uses the power of the binaries and transitions to foster this cultural evolution. The duality of his nature makes him an unpredictable supernatural or divine force. In one instance, the

trickster can be the creator god or cultural hero but in the next he becomes a clown or buffoon.⁴⁴

As a creator god, the trickster can have roles related to the rise of culture. In these roles, the trickster uses his unique nature and knowledge to add to the enlightenment of humans. He helps the people develop a healthy wariness of the current cultural social structure, enabling humanity with the same abilities to change their societies.⁴⁵ This would have been his role in an established system, but one of the trickster god’s greatest boons to a society would have been the gift of culture and civilization to mankind in the first place.

A major theme in mythologies from around the world is how the arts came to humanity.⁴⁶ Tricksters seem to almost always appear in these myths and even sometimes star in a central role of the story. Cooking, healing, hunting, fishing, carving, farming, iron forging, and writing were all thought to be supernaturally sourced from non-human beings and the passing of this knowledge was explained within the culture’s myths.⁴⁷ Because tricksters were often portrayed as having an influential role within the infancy of humanity and its culture, a trickster god often became a patron of artisans, cooks, heralds, teachers, and servants. His role within the divine system is as a facilitator of human kind rather than a commanding or dominating role within the system of gods and humans.⁴⁸ The trickster god Hermes traditionally has powers or roles within the Ancient Greek pantheon that portray him as the culture-bringer, but this title can only be loosely given to him.⁴⁹ Hermes is more fitting as a patron of human culture rather than a creator of culture. In the mythic chronology, the creation of human culture is usually credited to Prometheus. Regardless of the chronology, Hermes is

⁴¹ Hynes. “Inconclusive Conclusions”. 207.

⁴² Ibid. 211.

⁴³ Bassil-Morozow. 10 – 11.

⁴⁴ Makarius. 67.

⁴⁵ Bassil-Morozow. 101.

⁴⁶ Eliot, Alexander. *The Universal Myths: Heroes, Gods, Tricksters and Others*. New York, NY: Penguin, 1990. 60.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Doty. 48.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 54 – 55.

sometimes credited with the creation of human culture and is given creator god roles and knowledge such the practical uses of fire, the institution of sacrifice, writing and the letters of the alphabet, the institution of libraries, astronomy, the musical scale, divining, the arts and sports of the gymnasium and palaistra, hunting, weights and measures, coins and finances, the clearing and paving of highways, crafts and commerce, and the cultivation of olive trees.⁵⁰ The fact that Hermes has so many creator god roles could be a result of a merging of the mythologies between the two main trickster gods within Greek myth for theological or ritual reasons, or it could be an example of how both mythic figures were thought to either have or need these powers to be a trickster. Giving Hermes such powers gives him the power to break or change the system he is a part of. Thus Hermes has the powers of creation or change, but not because he played a central role in the creation of human culture but rather because he needs or has the abilities and powers of a trickster.

In contrast, Prometheus is a creator and a trickster god. In the Greek creation myth, “It is said too that they [humankind] were actually created by Prometheus himself. ... [and] for some reason of his own, [he] loved this weak and pitiful race”.⁵¹ This trickster has a central role in the creation of mankind though he is an outsider in culture’s social system. He is a Titan, a remainder of the old system of Kronos and the gods before the system ruled by Zeus and the Olympian pantheon. His power over the binary opposition of the “outsider” and the “insider” permits him to not only bring about human creation but also allows him to bestow upon humanity the boon of culture and civilization. After creating humanity Prometheus goes on and teaches his new creations:

how to distinguish the seasons, ... how to follow the risings and the settings of the stars, ... how to use numbers and how to form letters to ... become the means by which knowledge could be recorded...⁵²

Note that his teachings all relate in some way to the recording of history and understanding knowledge. The trickster has enabled humans to understand the natural world and its cycles and thus enables humanity to use these cycles to its advantage. He has enabled humanity to become civilized, record history, explore the sciences, understand the climate and pursue agriculture. As a trickster Prometheus can do this because the trickster has the ability to shift between the binary of civilized and uncivilized. With his knowledge of how to transition between these two oppositions he can pass it on to others, giving humanity the knowledge to transition from wild to civilized.

With the mythology of the trickster Maui, he is credited with bestowing upon humanity the understanding of the seasons and by extension the “boon” of civilization. In one myth, Maui takes “the loop of the snaring cord of Maui” and takes control of the sun and its ability to control the length of the seasons.⁵³ By doing this deed, he helps humanity have the ability to understand and use the cycles of nature.

To give humanity the gift of knowledge, the trickster usually has to break some social taboo and threaten the social system with his acts of gift giving.⁵⁴ Intentionally or not, the act of giving these gifts of knowledge shifts the balance within the social system and usually threatens the old system to the breaking point. From the breaking of parts of the old system, humanity tends to gain more power and control in the new system they share with the gods than they

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Warner. 316 – 21.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Beckwith. 229.

⁵⁴ Hynes. “Mapping the Characteristics of Mythic Tricksters”. 40.

originally had in the previous primitive system when humanity was uncivilized.

Fire is one of the most common motifs of cultural knowledge used in trickster myths, as it is one of the most crucial discoveries that transition a society from its own concept of a “primitive” culture to a “civilized” culture. Fire is absolutely essential for most arts, crafts, and technologies and its importance to the cultural development of humanity is emphasised by the characterization of fire as a “mythic spiritual being” within mythology.⁵⁵ Usually the trickster god must break social taboos to retrieve the fire, even stealing from the other gods. Both Maui and Prometheus steal the knowledge of fire, which is then passed to humanity, and thus enabling the creation of civilization. In an East Maui myth, “Maui’s first feat [as a trickster demi-god] is getting fire from the mud hens while they are roasting bananas”.⁵⁶ Gaining the knowledge of fire is so important and central to this trickster’s mythology that it is described as his “first feat,” which emphasizes the importance of this boon to the culture. The Titan Prometheus, was said to have stolen the secret of fire from the gods on Mount Olympus by bringing “down a spark in the stalk of a fennel and gave it to his human fires”.⁵⁷ Both tricksters have to break the norms of their divine social system and

threaten it so that humanity can gain the knowledge of civilization.

The importance of the mythic trickster and its features as an archetype is indisputable and is supported by its appearance in several different cultural mythologies. Of the mythic archetypes, it is still one of the most debated and complex figures to study but its repeated appearance, and the repetition of its related motifs and themes, showcase the trickster as a necessary part of each cultural system it appears in. He is essential to the system, as he is a giver of knowledge or civilization to the system but also acts as the rebellious breaker of that same system. A trickster’s dual nature and his ability to control binaries within the system enables him to become a mythic trickster and carry out his function as the “outsider” within the system. The examples of mythic tricksters used in this paper, Hermes and Prometheus from Ancient Greek mythology, Loki from Norse mythology and Maui from Polynesian mythology, are notably different and do not always have the same motifs or powers, but share similarities due to the role they play within their culture’s social structures. Thus they can be brought together under the broad umbrella encompassing the “trickster.”

⁵⁵ Eliot. 60.

⁵⁶ Beckwith. 229.

⁵⁷ Eliot. 60 – 61.

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The Child Is Mine

A Critical Analysis of the Power of Verbal Oaths as Represented Through Parental Claims to a Child in 1 Kings 3 and an Ancient Mesopotamian Trial Record

JULIANA MALARA

This analysis compares the trial processes between 1 Kings 3:16-28 and a Mesopotamian trial record dated between III and I millennia BCE. The purpose of this comparison is to demonstrate that despite differing approaches to the law, ancient Israel and Babylon were similar in terms of how the overall status of an individual determines how believable they are, rather than the legitimacy of the court process. This comparison was achieved by using records of two trials involving estranged parents and the oaths given before a judge in order to uncover an absolute truth. The respective cases are compared by analyzing the social status and genders of those under trial, along with the duty of the judge to unveil the truth. The analysis uncovers that men were held accountable to their word much more than women, therefore making them a more reliable source. This is also true of those with higher economic status. In addition to this, the analysis reveals that oath is a highly legitimized method of discovering the truth because when an oath is given, a di-vine source is responsible for determining the consequences of a lie rather than the legal system. This is extremely significant when considering how the judge in the Mesopotamian trial record makes a ruling in comparison to Solomon in the Biblical text. In choosing to make a judgment of the case on his own, Solomon challenges the idea of what it means to be a divine source. This analysis concludes that there is a striking similarity between the Biblical and Mesopotamian texts in their handling of legal cases, which implies that the civilizations are interconnected despite their respective cultures.

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1. INTRODUCTION

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Oaths in the ancient Near East satisfied four areas: the regulation of international

relations, to define citizen's obligations to the government, the enforcement of private legal contracts, and to resolve legal cases in courts of law.¹ Although citizens took oaths verbally, there are written records of individuals using verbal oaths in order to resolve legal cases. An example of this are the similar cases presented in 1 Kings 3:16-28 and a Mesopotamian trial record dated between III and I millennia BCE, both in which two different parents make claim to the same child. The cases begin and end similarly: an allegedly estranged parent brings forward a case that the person in possession of their child has stolen them and made false claims of parenthood; the estranged parent makes a claim before a "judge" to the ownership of the child, and is therefore

proven to be the rightful parent of the child. However, despite the similarities in each case, the process of reaching a conclusion is vastly different in that the "judges" base their rulings according to differing criteria. Although the oaths should determine the outcomes of the legal cases, the "judges" in both scenarios make a decision based not only on the status of their defendants, but his own status. This is especially clear in the case of 1 Kings 3:16-28 in which the Biblical approach elevates Solomon's status and praises his wisdom when he comes to a ruling. Both 1 Kings 3:16-28 and the Mesopotamian trial record explore the power of unveiling the truth by discussing the influence that gender and social status has on the reliability of the estranged parent, and the responsibility of the "judge" to determine the legitimacy of any claims in order to demonstrate that the overall status of an individual determines how believable they are in court, rather than the oath they take.

¹ Scurlock, Joann. "Oaths, Ancient Near East." In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. ed. Roger S. Bagnall. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.

2. THE SOCIAL LADDER

When ancient Near Eastern courts employed the judicial oath, it required those under trial to take a formal oath in order to come to a resolution. Citizens took this formal oath by verbally swearing to one or more divine beings that his or her claims were the truth.¹ Although it is important to distinguish early on that the two prostitutes involved in 1 Kings 3:16-28 do not make a formal oath to determine the true mother of the living child, the verbal recollection of events and the argument that follows makes strong claim to the ownership of the living child. This is an important observation to make, because while Solomon tests the prostitutes' "compassion" toward the live baby in order to determine who is telling the truth, Šilli-Eštar gives a verbal oath in the Mesopotamian trial record that outlines a case between himself and another man, both claiming to be the rightful parent of Ahassunu, an estranged child, and the oath is taken as the truth as soon as it is given.² It is important to distinguish the difference in methodology for addressing both problems because it demonstrates how the social status of those on trial is a primary element in deciding how to conclude what the truth is in each case.

In the trial record, Šilli-Eštar proves "Ahassunu is [his] daughter" when he takes an oath before the judge and witnesses indicating that this is the truth.³ However, when the prostitutes present Solomon with their problem, he does not choose to have the estranged mother take an oath that the child is in fact hers. Instead, he offers to "cut the live child in two" with a

sword as a test to determine the true mother based on who shows true love for the child and is willing to sacrifice custody in order to save his life.⁴ This difference in handling of the cases is arguably related to the social status of those involved. For the purpose of this paper, social status is defined as the importance of a person in relation to the other people within society. Firstly, the gender of those involved in each case determines their ascribed social status.⁵ Gender is important in relation to oath-taking because in Numbers 30, Moses outlines the differences of obligation between men and women whom take oaths. Should a man take an oath, he "[imposes] an obligation," and "must carry out" what has been said.⁶ This is to say that it is implied that when a man takes an oath he is guaranteeing that what he says is true and will be employed as such, and moreover, it is his obligation to ensure this. It is significant to point out that this same obligation is also implied in the case for Šilli-Eštar when he argues that Ahassunu was wrongfully taken from him.⁷ Because it is likely that he is obligated to tell the truth and act it out as such, the court believes him when he makes the oath that his daughter is in fact his.

In the book of Numbers, it is said that women are not immediately obligated to guarantee that what they vow is the truth, nor are they directly required to fulfill any oaths in the way that men are. Instead, any woman under the roof of her father or husband is not under any "obligation" to fulfill the oath should the man she is under have an "objection" to such a vow.⁸ This is clearly stated in Numbers 30: 4-6 when the

¹ Wells, Bruce. "The Cultic Versus the Forensic: Judahite and Mesopotamian Judicial Procedures in the First Millennium B.C.E." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128, no. 2 (2008): 205-32.

² 1 Kgs.

³ Charpin, Dominique. "Lettres Et Procès Paléo-Babyloniens." In *Rendre La Justice En Mésopotamie: Archives Judiciaires Du Proche-Orient Ancien (IIIe-Ier Millénaires Avant J.-C.)*. ed. by Frances Joannès. Saint-

Denis: Presses Universitaires De Vincennes, 2000. Record #57.

⁴ 1 Kgs.

⁵ Scott, John. "Ascription." In *A Dictionary of Sociology*. ed. by John Scott. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

⁶ Num 30:2.

⁷ Charpin. Record #57.

⁸ Num 30:7; Num 30:5.

validity of a woman's vow is explained when under the roof of her father:

4 If a woman makes a vow to the LORD or assumes an obligation while still in her father's household by reason of her youth, 5 and her father learns of her vow or her self-imposed obligation and offers no objection, all her vows shall stand...6 But if her father restrains her on the day he finds out, none of her vows or self-imposed obligations shall stand.⁹

Therefore, only those women who are unmarried and do not live under their father are obligated in the same way as a man to guarantee an oath be fulfilled. Because there is not the same onus to fulfill an oath, it is possible the Solomon avoided using the oath as a method for deciding the case because he was unsure of their status as wives and daughters. This is important because it shows a different attitude towards man's relationship with the divine compared to women's. It may have been then case that had the two prostitutes been men rather than women, the method by which Solomon came to a decision may have been as simple as asking for an oath.

In addition to gender influencing the social status of an individual, their economic status has an influence as well. The fact that the two women in 1 Kings 3:16-28 are "prostitutes" is often overlooked when reading the case. This is, in part, because the ancient Near East did not stigmatize prostitution in the way that modern day Western society does. Avaren Ipsen demonstrates this in her work when she states that "harlots were a regular institution of the ancient Near East, about which the Hebrews had apparently no inhibitions...prostitution was not considered morally wrong."¹⁰ Rather, the prostitutes in 1

Kings 3:16-18 are "poor or dispossessed mothers who had to appeal to authority figures on their own behalf."¹¹ This is to say that the reason the prostitutes are not asked to take an oath to determine the truth is because they must find the truth through an authority figure with higher status than them to determine who the rightful mother is. The prostitutes demonstrate their inability to come to a conclusion without authority when they are "arguing" over who is telling the truth. Therefore, Solomon's expertise is required to make a conclusion about what the truth is.

In contrast to the prostitute's dependency on Solomon's opinion, which leads him to decide the case based on information other than an oath in order to establish the truth, Šilli-Eštar's economic status is high enough that the judge deems him capable of giving an oath. His status is determined as higher than the prostitutes because he is able to have a "slave" be the "wet-nurse" for his daughter.¹² This is important because it distinguishes that his economic status is high enough that he is capable of being held responsible for an oath. What this means, is that Šilli-Eštar does not need to depend on the assistance of an authority figure in order to take accountability for the truth in a legal setting. Šilli-Eštar was able to give an oath before a judge and witnesses, and as a result he was determined the true parent of Ahassunu.¹³

3. THE RECEIVED WISDOM

Now that it is clear that the validity of the verbal statement given by each estranged parent is determined by his or her social status when determining the result of each case, it is also beneficial to discuss the status of the "judge" who makes such decisions. Before I discuss this, it is

⁹ Ipsen, Avaren E. "Solomon and the Two Prostitutes." *The Bible and Critical Theory* 3, no. 1 (2007). 2.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Charpin. Record #57.

¹³ Ibid.

important to distinguish why the “judge” easily trusted the verbal oath. Bruce Wells makes the argument that the oath was taken so seriously due to its connection to a higher power stemming from the Israelite God. He states: “when the courts resorted to the oath, they were transferring the responsibility for ensuring that justice was done to the divine court, which would be certain to punish anyone who happened to swear falsely”.¹⁴ This is to say that by having an individual take an oath, the “judge” is able to assume that the individual was telling the truth and therefore was ruled as such. This is because a divine source was responsible for determining the consequences for not telling the truth rather than the legal system; it is likely that this imposed fear of the divine on individuals and inherently caused them to tell the truth.¹⁵

In terms of the Mesopotamian trial record, this logic makes sense. The trial record outlines a number of witnesses to the oath: a priest, a courier, and a scribe among others, and no mention of a particular judge.¹⁶ This indicates that the trial is relatively typical in terms of the procedure and therefore the taking of an oath signifies that Šilli-Eštar is telling the truth to avoid any divine consequences. However, there is a difference in how Solomon handles the case between the two prostitutes. In not asking for an oath, Solomon suggests that he does not need a divine power to be responsible for ensuring the truth is withheld. Rather, he chooses to test the women in order to discover the truth. This signifies that Solomon wanted to solve the case on his own, rather than with the help of the divine, in order to prove his own “divine wisdom”.¹⁷ Or as stated by Ellen Van Wolde, it “[suggests] that with the aid of divine wisdom, Solomon can surmount human cognitive limit”.¹⁸ This is to say

that by relying on his own ability to judge who is telling the truth about being the mother of the live child, he solidifies his reputation across Israel as a wise and fair ruler with the ability to find “justice”.¹⁹ This suggestion opens up a much more in-depth conversation about the imperativeness behind why it is essential that Solomon feels important. Perhaps the Biblical text is making a critique of Solomon's arrogance, and his desire to be seen as a god. However, the idea may be theologically problematic for the Israelite God to concern himself with such petty human actions.

4. CONCLUSION

It is evident that the status of the individuals involved in the case of estranged children, and the status of the “judges” are indicators for how easily believable the truth was after looking at both 1 Kings 3:16-28 and the Mesopotamian trial record. In terms of those on trial, the “judges” more easily believed the individuals with higher status because they had more to lose if they were lying; in contrast, the “judge” with higher status, Solomon, made the case not only about having justice served to the rightful mother, but also about proving his wisdom to Israel. Solomon did this in order to win the confidence of the Israelites in his abilities to lead effectively. What is interesting about his method, however, is the inherent comparison he makes between himself and God. Because citizens on trial typically took an oath in order to put the onus of discovering true justice in the hands of the divine, Solomon emphasizes that he believes himself to be divine in choosing to make the decision alone. It is important to keep these ideas in mind when comparing the Mesopotamian and Biblical worlds

¹⁴ Wells. 207.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Charpin. Record #57.

¹⁷ 1 Kgs.

¹⁸ Van Wolde, Ellen. “Who Guides Whom? Embeddedness and Perspective in Biblical Hebrew and in 1 Kings 3:16-28.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114, no. 4 (1995): 623-42.

¹⁹ Ibid.

in order to have a deeper understanding that despite the in-text differences of these societies, the civilizations of the ancient Near East are

inherently connected in the same way the global world is today.

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The Portable Shrine of Anubis

LARISSA LUECKE

The discovery of King Tutankhamun's tomb in Egypt has been deemed one of the most significant archaeological finds of the 20th century. King Tutankhamun's tomb has provided an undisturbed glimpse into the funerary preparation necessary for the afterlife which has left scholars responsible for deciphering their meanings. Among the assemblage of funerary equipment was the Portable Shrine of Anubis, an object that has been one of interest in the study of Egyptian material culture. The shrine represents Anubis, covered with a linen, resting on top of a podium that contains various objects inside. In addition, the shrine ensures that the King will have a successful journey into his afterlife, aided by the protective power of Anubis. In using an interdisciplinary approach in the analysis of this object, this paper will implement both a mythological analysis and an art historical approach in order to understand the revival of Old Kingdom within the New Kingdom context. This renaissance of traditional values is reflected in much of the funerary equipment found in King Tutankhamun's tomb. A resurgence of traditional values within the New Kingdom establishes King Tutankhamun's royal right to rule and legitimizes his divinity within the realm of the dead.

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In archeology, it is a rarity to encounter a fully intact burial chamber of a royal king. King Tutankhamun's tomb in the Valley of the Kings marked one of the most significant archaeological finds of the 20th century. This discovery will go on to influence society's perception of ancient Egyptian mythology by providing an in-depth look into the burial customs of royal kings from the New Kingdom. This breakthrough would later go on to impact our modern perception of ancient Egypt's material culture; architectural motifs, clothing, and jewellery designs; and modern mystery cult. King Tutankhamun's assemblage offers valuable insight into the preparation of the king's afterlife. Despite pop culture's influences on Egypt's material culture and mythology, current scholarship has proven that Egyptians held various theological beliefs throughout different periods and geographical regions.

The New Kingdom heralded in a revival or renaissance idea of Old Kingdom traditions and values. This is best represented in King Tutankhamun's funerary assemblage and in his tomb embellishments. The Portable Shrine of Anubis was among the goods found in the treasury room, the earliest reference of Anubis comes from the tomb of

King Unas and his pyramid texts.¹ This goes to show that he held a long-standing tradition within the Egyptian pantheon of gods and funerary rights.

In order to understand The Portable Shrine of Anubis, it is necessary to first explore Anubis' role within Egyptian myth. This analysis will aim to place The Portable Shrine of Anubis within an art historical framework that will demonstrate how the revival of Old Kingdom motifs have reappeared within the New Kingdom context.

TUTANKHAMUN

British archaeologist Howard Carter was funded by Lord Carnarvon to excavate the Tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) in 1922. The Valley of the Kings (VOK) located behind the mountains of Deir el-Bahri, branches off into the East Valley. Oddly, King Tutankhamun's tomb does not correlate with the architectural traditions of orientation seen in Old Kingdom funerary complexes. Generally Royal Tombs are situated on the western side of Nile, whereas elites were situated on the eastern side. This reflects a highly stratified society in addition to King Tutankhamun's untimely death. In haste, the high priest and his successor Ay, supplied the King with his own private tomb located in the Eastern Valley of the

¹ Bargust. "The Pyramid of Unas, Texts Translated with Commentary." In *Bollingen Series XL, Egyptian Religious*

Texts and Representations. Vol. 5, 17. Paris: Presses Universitaires De France, 1970. 31.

VOK. King Tutankhamun's tomb (KV 62) consists of four rooms, that contained vast amount of funerary goods that were essential for the afterlife.

THE ANUBIS SHRINE

The Portable Shrine of Anubis, 1333 BCE, measures 18 cm x 270 cm x 52cm and was found erect in the Treasury room (see Figure 1).¹ The shrine features Anubis portrayed as a jackal, resting on his podium. The body is carved from wood and subsequently layered in plaster, paint, and black resin. The inside of Anubis' ears and neck-collar are layered with gold leaf; the eyes made of calcite; pupils inlaid with obsidian; the feet are gilded in silver.² Anubis' long, drooping club-shaped tail is indicative of the deity's anthropomorphic form while the black colour symbolizes the afterlife and fertility.³ Most visual representations are rendered in black as a way of emulating the nature of the afterlife.⁴

The rendering of Anubis' body emphasizes the bone structure and musculature beneath the beast's skin while sense of alert vigilance is invoked through the upright nature of the deity's ears and extended muzzle (see Figure 1). The whole of the configuration is fastened to a flattened board measuring 91.5 x 25.0 cm that slides on to the shrine as a lid.⁵ Upon the moment of discovery, the shrine was draped with a linen cloth which dates to the seventh year of Akhenaten's reign, also King Tutankhamun's father.⁶ Mythologically, the linen was seen as an apotropaic device that had the power to avert evil influences. It was woven for Anubis by Isis, mother of Horus, and Nephthys, wife of Seth and sister of Isis, as a way to resist the long decay of time.⁷

Similar to Anubis' body, the Shrine itself was crafted from gessoed wood that is embellished with

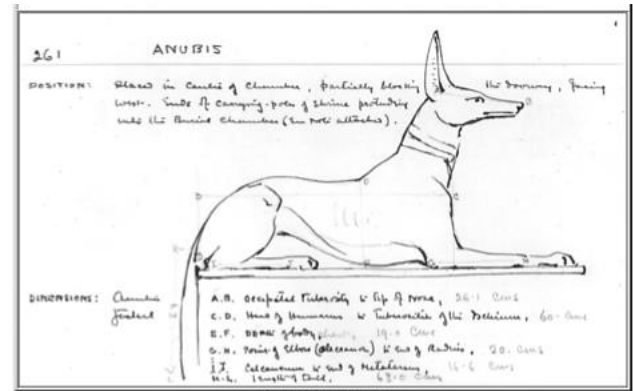


Fig 1: Drawing of Portable Anubis Shrine by Howard Carter. (From: Carter No.: 261 Handlist description: Recumbent figure of the jackal Anubis, on shrine, with sledge and carrying poles. Card/Transcription No.: 261-1. Griffith Institute.) © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

gold leaf. The corners of the shrine are rendered in the *cavetto* style, which tapers in towards the sides via the use of a concave mould. The length of the shrine is decorated in a double band of *djed* pillars, a symbol associated with Osiris and the afterlife. Flanking these designs are alternating pairs of Isis-knots, that are similar in design to the *ankh*. Each panel of the lower register is framed with Hieroglyphic inscriptions that pertain to the protection and significance of the contents within the shrine. In procession, the shrine was mounted on a sled supported by two poles emerge from the shorter sides, intended to be carried.⁸ The sled measures 124 cm x 50.7cm x 6.4cm; the poles 273.5cm x 6.4cm (width); in total, the shrine measures 95 cm x 37 cm x 54.3 cm.⁹

The interior portion of the shrine is divided into four small compartments. Similar to the Shrine itself, the inside contents were meant to be wrapped in linen for protective measures however disturbances from earlier periods attest for their bare discovery.¹⁰ Due to Anubis's protective nature, the contents of the shrine were deemed to be under the god's protection (see Figure 2).

¹ Tyldesly, Joyce. "Egypt". In *The History of Archaeology, An Introduction*. ed. Paul Bahn. New York, NY: Routledge, 2014. 82 – 85.

² Tiradritti, Francesco. "Portable Anubis Shrine". In *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*. ed. Francesco Tiradritti. New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1999. 206 – 207.

³ Redford, Donald B. *The Ancient Gods Speak: A Guide to Egyptian Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 109.

⁴ Ibid. 21.

⁵ Griffith Institute. "Tutankhamun: The Anatomy of an Excavation, Howard Carter Archives". 2000 - 2004.

⁶ Tiradritti. 206 – 207.

⁷ Budge, E. A. Wallis. *The Gods of the Egyptians: Studies in Egyptian Mythology*. New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1969. 262.

⁸ Tiradritti. 206 – 207.

⁹ Griffith Institute. "Tutankhamun: The Anatomy of an Excavation, Howard Carter Archives". 2000 - 2004.

¹⁰ Ibid.



Fig 2: Drawing of Portable Anubis Shrine by Howard Carter. (From: Carter No.: 261 Handlist description: Recumbent figure of the jackal Anubis, on shrine, with sledge and carrying poles. Card/Transcription No.: 261-1. Griffith Institute.)

The interior of the shrine was originally filled with a number of items including multiple amulets and two calcite vases. In one of the calcite vases was a substance known as bitumen, a black substance similar to modern day asphalt, used in the mummification process.¹¹ During this process the deceased's body becomes preserved whilst the important contents, the heart, is removed for preservation in the afterlife.

ORIGINS OF ANUBIS

The ways in which deities are worshipped in Egypt is not universal throughout the land. The ancient Egyptian pantheon is divided into three various distinctions; creator, local and national gods.¹² The amalgamation of both regional and local deities is a common practice. Hence, this is the reason for why gods can share traits with one another. Lastly, pyramid texts, biographical inscriptions and coffin texts have been proven especially helpful for understanding the hierarchical structure of Egyptian deities.

Anubis takes a role as the patron god of the embalmers and the protector of necropolises.¹³ On multiple occasions in *The Book of the Dead*, the frequency of Anubis's appearances suggests his overarching role that extends through the regional provinces (*nomes*) of Egypt.¹⁴ The *nomes* of both Upper and Lower Egypt find their origins in the Old Kingdom when the country became unified under one ruler.¹⁵ Anubis originates from the 17th Upper Egyptian *nome* as their local deity.¹⁶ Eventually, his worship became extended through Egypt and was adopted by other *nomes*.¹⁷ Jackals were often seen prowling in cemeteries at night, coining their role in funerary rites.¹⁸ In Memphis, Anubis presided over the Memphite necropolises with the *Sokar*, his companion who was an additional protective deity.¹⁹ In the Late Egyptian period through to the Ptolemaic period extensive canine cemeteries consecrated to Anubis-Horus were found in Heliopolis.²⁰ "The Anubeion" in Saqqara is consecrated in honour of Anubis' as a dedication for his protective qualities.²¹ Anubis' paternal lineage is not fully clear, however pyramid texts ascribe the cow-goddess, Hest, and the cat-goddess, Bastet, as his potential mothers.²² Moreover, these texts proclaim Anubis as the father of Kebehut, the serpent goddess, who assisted him with *The Embalming of the Dead* ritual.²³

The genuine nature of a god, also known as the *Ba*, is the life component that inhabits the statue.²⁴ Statutory forms of deities generally correspond to their defining qualities and characteristics.²⁵ Often these representations can use various anthropomorphic forms to display the *Ba*'s vessel. In order to communicate with the gods, daily rituals are performed by either the King or high priest, where interactions with the cult statue ensure order within the cosmos. The daily rituals are also means of subsistence for the *Ka*, characterized as the living force of a deity.²⁶ With the exception of Anubis (*Impw*), the *akh*,

¹¹ Tiradritti. 206 – 207.

¹² Redford. 98 – 100.

¹³ Ibid. 21.

¹⁴ Ibid. 98 – 100.

¹⁵ Fisher, Kevin. NEST 304, Class Lecture, UBC, Vancouver, 2018.

¹⁶ Redford. 22.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Budge. 261.

¹⁹ Redford. 22.

²⁰ Ibid. 23.

²¹ Ibid. 22.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Schneider, Thomas. NEST 312, Class Lecture, UBC, Vancouver, 2018.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Redford. 97.

also known as the spirit, a combination of the *ba* and the *ka*, can take myriads of forms. The *akh* is not limited to one physical form, deities are capable of leaving one vessel to inhabit another.²⁷ Anubis' iconography is one of the few that have remained consistent throughout the Old Kingdom and into the Hellenistic Period.²⁸



Fig 3: The mummy of Ani the scribe, from The Papyrus of Ani (1250 BCE), plates 33, 34. (From: Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis (1991). *Egyptian Magic*. New York: Carol

ANUBIS' ROLE IN THE AFTERLIFE

Anubis's popularity produced numerous epithets in literature; for instance, "He who is upon his mountain" refers to the desert cliffs overlooking the cemeteries, "Lord of the Sacred Land" remarks the necropolis in the desert, and lastly "the One pressing over the God's pavilion," a direct reference to the place in which the embalming takes place.²⁹ In the afterlife journey, Anubis guides the deceased to Osiris's throne for the symbolic *Weighing of the Heart* ritual.³⁰ It was believed that the heart had to be weighed against Ma'at; the concept of order and justice, which took the form of a feather. If the deceased passed this weighing ritual, they were permitted to enter the Hall of Ma'at

where Osiris, reigned over the underworld. Texts refer to Anubis as a figure who ensures the success in the deceased's journey.³¹ Prayers made to Anubis ensured the survival of the deceased in the afterlife. In the same texts, where Anubis is referred to as the "*Supervisor of secrets*".³² Here, he assumes this role in response to the secretive aspects of the embalming rituals. A parallel of Anubis's Shrine is seen in Figure 3, the Papyrus of Ani.³³ This depiction is significant because it further reiterates Anubis' longstanding place within the Egyptian pantheon since the Old Kingdom, affirming the rebirth of older traditions. The seated Anubis depicted on the *Papyrus of Ani* predates the Portable Shrine of Anubis, however the latter is the first three-dimensional example known to date.

CONCLUSION

Generally, a cultural renaissance can occur in response to civil war or other variations of crisis. Following the tumultuous reign of Akhenaten, nostalgia was a particularly effective method for gaining a loyal following. Reinstatement of Old Kingdom mortuary values ensured a departure from King Tutankhamun's monotheistic predecessor. This fusion of traditional and New Kingdom ideas crystallized a competing ideology that invoked Egypt's past. The Portable Shrine of Anubis ensured the King with a successful journey into the afterlife, aided by Anubis's protective power. The Papyrus of Ani shows Anubis's continuity throughout the various periods of Egypt's history, indicating Anubis's Old Kingdom origins. The New Kingdom allowed for a resurgence of these traditional values that enabled King Tutankhamun to legitimize his reign.

²⁷ Ibid. 109.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Oakes, Lorna, and Lucia Gahlin. "The Egyptian Pantheon". In *Ancient Egypt: An Illustrated Reference to the Myths, Religions, Pyramids and Temples of the Land of the Pharaohs*. ed. Helen Sudell. London: Hermes House Publishing, 2004. 281.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Tiradritti. 207.

³² Ibid.

³³ Budge, E. A. Wallis. *Egyptian Magic*. New York, NY: Carol Publishing Group, 1991. 45.

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The Gospel According to Tarantino

Reconciling the Vernacular Through Parable in 'Pulp Fiction'

LARA-SOPHIE BOLESZLAWSKY

Though often regarded as lewd, salacious, and obscene, there is more to the dialogue in Quentin Tarantino's 1994 *Pulp Fiction* than meets the eye (or ear). Peppered with pop culture references, linguistic analyses of cheeseburgers, and anecdotes where family heirlooms are found in 'low' places, *Pulp Fiction* is a film that requires active listening and a mind open to the possibilities of layered meaning inherent in these verbal exchanges. This article frames discussion of *Pulp Fiction*'s dialogue around the concept of 'parable', exploring the nuanced allegorical nature of parables and their ability to impart knowledge in an obscure, yet profound manner. Using Jülicher's categorization of biblical parables in the Synoptic Gospels as a starting point, the definition of 'parable' in the case of Tarantino is expounded and applied to two distinct examples in the film. By conceptualizing parable as a dialogue-driven narrative with allegorical influence, the implications of the scene where Vincent and Jules discuss the 'Royale with Cheese' and the segment in which Butch learns about his father's gold watch can be examined further. Despite the crude language used by the screenwriters Tarantino and Avery in these two scenes, the exchanges give way to powerful considerations about the role of consumerism and family-driven moral values respectively. Whether we agree with the methodology of delivery or not, Tarantino conveys valuable insights into these themes and they should not be taken lightly.

The second part of this article addresses whether Tarantino's dialogue can be considered a form of 'vernacular', especially in relation to the structure of the film. A comparison between *Pulp Fiction*'s jumbled chronology and the Gospel of Matthew reveals that both are structured around their 'parables' in order to effectively communicate their teachings. While Tarantino does not imitate the exact structure of the Gospel of Matthew, a reading of the two pieces in context of one another illuminates certain parallels, as the speech and dialogue in both seem to propel the action forward. Ultimately, to dismiss Tarantino's cleverly crafted dialogue as mere vulgarity is to disregard the knowledge and meaning imparted therein.

LOGOS – 2017/18 In the beginning was
Issue 3 *Reservoir Dogs*. And the
April 2018 Word was: “‘Like a Virgin’
Pages 23 – 34 is all about a girl who digs a
 guy with a big dick”.¹ These

vulgar words debut Quentin Tarantino's brand of indecent, lewd, obscenity-ridden dialogue. Scant, and often panned for its blatant disregard of moral boundaries, Tarantino's first film presents the derelict, subconscious desires of its viewers right before their very eyes, on the big screen no less. It is in 1994's *Pulp Fiction* that Tarantino's blunt, sharp-witted, dialogue begins to shed its incongruity. While the conversational subject matter of the two gangster-protagonists is no less salacious, *Pulp Fiction* remains an enduring example of cinematic artistry, with Tarantino in

the drivers' seat, steering us in exactly the direction we feel we need to go. On the surface, the subject-matter of Tarantino's dialogue is seemingly 'distasteful', however beneath the references to violent romps, phantasmagorical sex jokes, and the profanity lie profound moments of social commentary that can be conceptualized as a form of parable. Expanding and exploring the definition of 'parable' allows for an inquiry into the nature of Tarantino's dialogue opens up the possibility of conceptualizing his speech as a sort of vernacular. This approach to the film's dialogue reveals Tarantino's elevation of what are considered mundane 'throw-away' pop culture references for the purpose of promoting awareness of consumer culture. Additionally, Tarantino crude stories, such as that of Butch's

¹ *Pulp Fiction*. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. USA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 1992. Tarantino himself, who plays Mr. Brown in the film, utters this line.

father and the ‘gold watch’ are functional transmitters of family values, despite their unconventional method of delivery.

It is this very unconventionality that left critics torn during the film’s debut in 1994, as its overt celebration of violence and fondness for vulgarities seemed, for some, to eclipse the profound impact of the film’s screenplay and cinematography. One such critic, Tom Whalen, makes the subtle, yet firm observation: “Their [Tarantino’s and co-writer Avery’s] so-called postmodernist world, drained of value and effect, may well mirror our times; I wouldn’t entirely dispute this, though I don’t believe that this form of mimesis is a necessary function of art; more often it’s an excuse than an aesthetic”.² Here, Whalen implies that Tarantino is engaging in an “imitation”, so to speak, of the real world. While this observation could be the case, it is often a short-sighted approach to the Tarantino canon. To imagine Tarantino’s as simply engaging in imitation undermines the multiplicity at work in the layered dialogue. Tarantino’s film does not live from its re-creation of the world at large; in fact, the setting of *Pulp Fiction* seems to be located halfway between the suburban *Truman Show* and the late 60s (with an added injection of early seventies disco). The plot of the film is not grounded in its setting, nor through its particular use of special effects; but rather through the crisp dialogue, crafted by Tarantino in his 200-page script. Anthony Lane, in his 1994 review of the film sums it up succinctly: “Tarantino functions in a moral vacuum where the brutality is mostly verbal, where sticks and stones can break my bones, but words can *really* hurt me.”³

If the dialogue is where the film lives and breathes, it is this aspect that merits further discussion. Too often Tarantino’s films are

lumped into one sum; features that promote a romp into unhindered sexual exploitation, violence, and vulgar fetishism. Indeed, Marx would have field day deconstructing the barriers of Tarantino’s overt celebration of Quarter Pounders, Modesty Blaise, and Red Apple Cigarettes. In her review of *Pulp Fiction* Sharon Willis characterizes the dialogue as “an ambivalent mix of desire and hostility through recourse to adolescent ‘boyish’ bathroom humor,” pointing to many critics’ eagerness to isolate fragmentary pieces of dialogue in an attempt to sever the connective tissues between Tarantino’s merit as a director and his craft as a writer.⁴ However, what Sharon Willis fails to take into account is that the dialogue is the driving force behind Tarantino’s plot. It is useful here to “think of Andy Warhol, who realized that if you blew a plain image up to absurd proportions, or reproduced it often enough, you were not sneering at its ordinariness but somehow gilding it with a glamour and pathos of its own. Tarantino is less an ironist than a chronic fetishist; he has cooked up a world where hamburgers matter and nothing else”.⁵ Lane’s prudent comparison to Warhol would certainly pique Tarantino’s interest; however, to respond to the dialogue in *Pulp Fiction* purely in terms of Tarantino’s ‘fetishism’ seems limited and does little to convey its significance in the plot at large.

Running counter to the majority of critics, I propose a reading of Tarantino’s dialogue as parable. The risk of doing so runs high only if parable is not defined from the onset. To use the term parable in conflation with key episodes of Tarantino’s dialogue does not imply that *all* the dialogue spoken in *Pulp Fiction* can be considered parable; however, there is little doubt that there exist certain key ‘pericopes’, or small

² Tom Whalen. “Film Noir: Killer Style”. *Literature and Film Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (1995). 3.

³ Anthony Lane. “Pulp Fiction”. In *Nobody’s Perfect: Writings from the New Yorker/Anthony Lane*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002. 79.

⁴ Willis, Sharon. “The Fathers Watch the Boys’ Room”. In *Camera Obscura* 32 (1995). 51.

⁵ Lane. 79.

passages that are thematically linked, in Tarantino's film that seem to tempt the imaginations of critics, and the public, more than others. The two I have isolated, as instances of parable are the infamous 'Royale with Cheese' scene, along with the Gold Watch monologue, delivered by a tired, and somewhat out-of-place Christopher Walken. Their significance in *Pulp Fiction* stems from the former's ease of quotability, with the latter singled out as a crucial moment by Tarantino in his christening of the third chapter: 'The Gold Watch'. As Tarantino points out on the title page of his 200-page script, *Pulp Fiction* is "three stories...about one story," comparable to the instances of Gospel parables, all delicately woven into one story about the life of Christ.⁶ The scholarship on parables is vast, and its definition is slippery at best; however, it is precisely this characteristic that allows it to transcend the boundaries of biblical texts, and slide into the very open wounds of debate around pop culture.

I. (RE)DEFINING PARABLE OR 'WHY DO WE FEEL IT'S NECESSARY TO YAK ABOUT BULLSHIT IN ORDER TO BE COMFORTABLE?'

The very first step is to define parable; or perhaps re-define it, as it seems to have a nuanced meaning depending on its context. Much like the Tarantino canon, certain names are inevitable to pop up on the cast list of scholarly circles surrounding the definition of parable. At its most rudimentary level, the *American New Heritage Dictionary* defines parable as "A simple story used to illustrate a moral or spiritual lesson," a

broad definition which opens up a space for discussion.⁷

The best starting point is the groundwork set up by Adolf Jülicher (who figures almost like a Harvey Keitel in this scenario), "who proposed the classification of the parables which has remained standard in the scholarly literature".⁸ Borrowing concepts from classical rhetoric, Jülicher categorizes his parables into *similitudes* and *parables*, which can be directly traced to Aristotle's conceptualization of *parabolē* and *logos* respectively.⁹ The *similitude/parabolē* is characterized as a teaching tool, primarily focused on dialogue-based narrative in order to impart knowledge. While Jülicher is attempting to categorize parables in the *written* tradition of the Synoptic Gospels, it is important to note the re-establishment of the significance of the oral tradition that is implied by the emphasis on dialogue. Indeed, in the Gospels, parables are spoken *aloud* by Jesus to his disciples. It is significant then that Tarantino in *Pulp Fiction* also picks up the characteristic of dialogue as the main mode of the transmission of parable.

Does this then mean that the Tarantino parable is likened to a Jülichean *similitude*? Unfortunately, the label is too simplistic, and lacks the depth needed for the purposes of Tarantino; nonetheless, the nature of the oral tradition remains a useful concept to keep in mind. The issue with Jülicher begins and ends with his eagerness to categorize simile and metaphor, "which he described as two radically distinct devices of speech".¹⁰ The simile works in direct relationship to the two concepts, where "the two things being compared are explicitly named, and the two words are set side-by-side," in contrast to

⁶ This short summative statement is found on the cover of Tarantino's screenplay. Tarantino, Quentin. *Pulp Fiction: A Screenplay*. Santa Monica, CA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 1994.

⁷ *American New Heritage Dictionary*. New College ed., s.v. "parable". This is the same edition used by Tarantino at the start of the film, used to define 'pulp'.

⁸ Boucher, Madeline. *The Mysterious Parable: A Literary Study*. Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1977. 3.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. 4.

the metaphor, which occupies a much more “mysterious” space.¹¹ Jülicher goes on to designate parable as an *extended* simile, the metaphor having been left alone in the room with allegory. As such, when extended to the Synoptics, “The parable...has but one point of comparison; the hearer should take from it a single thought, which [is] always, for Jülicher, a general, universally applicable, religious or moral principle”.¹² Jülicher singles out the parable, and makes it less palatable, especially when discussing Tarantino. While it provides a useful foundation for *beginning* to think about parables, the Jülichean definition echoes the very cries of those late 90s critics; the simplification of a multiplicity of layers, all crafted delicately to provide ample meaning to those who are listening.

This is not to say, however, that none of Jülicher’s theories are applicable. Rather, they can be modified and slightly adapted to become more reliable markers of parable development. One of the main issues plaguing studies of parables seems to be the omnipresent drone of the allegorical. The ability to distinguish between the modes of parable and allegory has always been a subject of debate, resulting in a sort of impotence in the matter of defining parable in Tarantino. Allegory, a form of extended metaphor found in an image or story, shares with parable the characteristic that hidden meaning or knowledge lies just beneath the surface. A method to untangle these two concepts lies in the return to Jülicher’s proposal of the ‘mysterious’. Boucher comes closer to a more holistic classification of parable, exploring the parable as literature.¹³ The issues at hand are “almost all literary problems” and ultimately, “perhaps the most basic of these errors...is Jülicher’s assertion that the parables are not allegories”.¹⁴ The framing of parable as

literature allows for a sort of unique interplay between these two concepts. Thus, the birth of the ‘mysterious parable’ in Boucher: a unique linking between the mysterious nature of metaphor inherent in allegory, and the parable, as a literary source. Thus, for the purposes of this inquiry, parable can be defined as: a dialogue-based narrative, often containing allegorical influence, tasked with imparting knowledge through often obscure meaning.¹⁵ The second definition provides ample room for play, especially compared to the initial existing dictionary definition, and serves as the current, most all-encompassing definition for what is at work in *Pulp Fiction*. Perhaps only one final remark on the nature of Tarantino’s subject matter in the following parables should be made. The question, ‘Is it even conceivable to consider Tarantino’s films as containing parables?’ should be answered with an emphatic ‘yes’. Here Tarantino himself has done his homework, as he includes two definitions of ‘pulp’ in the beginning of his film. Consulting the second definition, and certainly the more traditional of the two, pulp is defined as a “magazine or book containing lurid subject matter and being characteristically printed on rough, unfinished paper”.¹⁶ To consider fiction as an invalid form of communication due to its status as ‘pulp’ seems irresponsible and quite elitist. As far as Tarantino’s parables go, the subject matter may be lurid, but the parable itself is not less effective in its communication of meaning; whether the content of that meaning is acceptable to the listener is a matter entirely up to them. Perhaps coining the phrase, ‘pulp parable’ would make this theory more tolerable to many of Tarantino’s critics; I, however, prefer to leave that agency to *Pulp Fiction*’s viewers.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. 14.

¹⁴ Ibid. 1.

¹⁵ The second definition is entirely my own.

¹⁶ *American New Heritage Dictionary*. New College ed., s.v. “pulp”.

II. VINCENT VEGA AND THE 'ROYALE WITH CHEESE'

Let's begin at the start, relatively speaking, with the parable of the 'Royale with Cheese'. The Royale with Cheese discourse takes place at the beginning of the film. To set the scene as only Tarantino can:

An old gas guzzling, dirty, white 1974 Chevy Nova BARRELS down a homeless-ridden street in Hollywood. In the front seat are two young fellas – one white, one black – both wearing cheap black suits with thin black ties under long green dusters. Their names are VINCENT VEGA and JULES WINNFELD. Jules is behind the wheel.¹⁷

The conversation begins innocuously enough, with Jules asking Vincent about his recent trip to Amsterdam. After a brief, rapid-fire call and response focused primarily on drug use in the Netherlands, Vincent suddenly asks:

VINCENT: Also, you know what they call a Quarter Pounder with Cheese in Paris?

JULES: They don't call it a Quarter Pounder with Cheese?

VINCENT: No, they got the metric system there, they wouldn't know what the fuck a Quarter Pounder is.

JULES: What'd they call it?

VINCENT: Royale with Cheese.

JULES (repeating): Royale with Cheese. What'd they call a Big Mac?

VINCENT: Big Mac's a Big Mac, but they call it Le Big Mac.

JULES: What do they call a Whopper?

VINCENT: I dunno, I didn't go into a Burger King.¹⁸

Pondering the ethics of the sandwich, perhaps? Initially these lines seem to be one example of the "otherwise mundane moments of conversation and reflection in the lives of gangsters".¹⁹ Why then do these very lines remain one of the most quoted pieces of the film?

The answer lies in approaching the exchange as parable. The parable of the 'Royale with Cheese' addresses implicitly the role of consumerism and the audience as active consumers, allowing for a reflection on its pervasive position in pop culture. The narrative itself is brief; Vincent imparts his knowledge of fast food favourites in foreign tongues. Tasked with finding a memorable staple of pop culture, Tarantino elects to pay homage to the quarter pounder with cheese. Its ability to be 'consumed' at two different levels leverages the burger's power as a symbol of nineties consumer culture. Eve Bertelsen even goes so far as to suggest, "Consumption appears to be the constitutive principle of Tarantino's filmic universe...consumption supplies the identity and motivation of his characters, and he imagines his audience as a community of consumers".²⁰ The effect of consumerism directly affects Tarantino's characters in the filmic universe, supplying clues to their identities and characterization; however, there is also the suggestion that Tarantino has taken into account the resonant context of consumerist culture in his audience. Indeed, the parable's effect on-screen and off echoes Christ's parable of 'The Lost Sheep' in Matthew 18: 12-14. Hultgren's commentary on the parable suggests that Christ initially directs his message to his disciples, and yet, the parable's message can

¹⁷ Tarantino. *Pulp Fiction: A Screenplay*. 7.

¹⁸ Ibid. 9.

¹⁹ David, Todd F., and Kenneth Womack. "Shepherding the Weak: The Ethics of Redemption in Quentin

Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction*". *Contemporary Literary Criticism* 125 (2000). 60.

²⁰ Bertelsen, Eve. "'Serious Grammar Shit': Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction*". *Journal of Literary Studies* 15, no. 1 – 2 (1999). 10.

also act “as a manual for the Christian community of the evangelist [Matthew], that means that the teachings are directed to the readers as leaders in the Christian community”.²¹ Initially spoken to only the immediate disciples of Christ, the parable’s effect opens outwards, to also encompass Matthew’s readers. Regardless of the difference in content, the effects of both ‘The Lost Sheep’ and ‘The Royale with Cheese’ emerge in a swath of immediacy, which then opens out into the greater whole. Biblical sub-texts aside, whether or not one agrees with Tarantino’s delight in the nomenclature of fast foods, the debate does little to hinder the reciprocity behind this parable.

For Tarantino, “commodities are never merely props. They make a significant contribution to plot development”.²² Not only this, they contribute significantly to the “violence/humour splicing,” present within this very first scene.²³ Pushing Bertelsen further, there does seem to be a corollary influence of commodities, and a reflection on one’s active consumptive practices followed directly by scenes of gore and physical violence. However, it seems to be yet another effect of parable in *Pulp Fiction*, as Bertelsen seems to presuppose content without any form. This is certainly not the case with Tarantino; it can be argued that his pop culture references are going nowhere fast without the structural support of the parable. The ‘Royale with Cheese’ parable is a necessary rite of passage in order to move from the somewhat amiable drive through Hollywood to Jules and Vincents’ massacre of the young college boys only minutes after. The smiles from Vincent’s crude reference to the metric system in France have yet to vanish from our faces, as Jules seeks a “furious vengeance” from the Brett and co.²⁴ Perhaps the

commodities do drive the plot, however, it is only through their clever integration with the form of the parable that they do so with such a jarring effect.

What can we say about Vincent’s love of a good burger? He seemingly has no qualms about killing a group of young men before breakfast; however, it seems that Vincent does take offence to Jules’ questioning of his authority. Coded primarily within Vincent’s change in voice and body language, the nuance is hard to pick up from the text alone. Jules’ question about the name of the Whopper in France sees Vincent immediately sulking, answering Jules’ inquiry with a petulant tone, indicating his resentment of his loss of ‘expert’ status. Jules has singlehandedly undercut Vincent’s authority within mere seconds of his triumphant knowledge of ‘worldly goods’. Vincent’s sudden shift in body language, from proudly erect in the car to physically wilting and turning away from Jules, the change is almost imperceptible, if not for the change in tone. It is in this moment, amongst few others, that (somewhat) validates Tarantino’s decision to cast John Travolta. Travolta’s voice strikes a perfect balance of soft, swift, intonation with distaste, evident in his change from usual high pitch to mid-register tone. The impact of hearing Vincent’s vocal reaction reminds us of the significance of the oral tradition in the recitation of parables. While Christ’s own parables were theocentric, they did rely on primarily oral transmission, as Christ is always ‘speaking’ or ‘telling’ parables to his disciples. Even in Church services today, mass is primarily spoken aloud; there is a certain part of the parable that feeds off of vocal intonation, resulting in imparted meaning that may be hindered in the written tradition. Nonetheless, the parable need not be spoken aloud

²¹ Hultgren, Arland J. *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000. 54.

²² Bertelsen. 14.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Pulp Fiction*. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. USA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 1992.

to be understood, nor appreciated; it is simply a matter of recalling the initial transmission of these stories, according to the Synoptic Gospels.

The parable of 'The Royale with Cheese' is only one example of Tarantino's masterful narrative arc. As the film continues, there are many more moments of sharp-witted dialogue, but none with quite the essence and tenor as the fateful 'Royale'.

III. THE GOLD WATCH

While there is much that can be said about Jules and Vincent, I want to move now to an instance that constitutes one of the only monologues in the film. Its form of delivery follows that of the biblical parables, with one speaker, Christ, narrating the entire parable from beginning to end. While the previous example of the 'Royale with Cheese' does contain two primary voices, the two characters of Vincent and Jules are almost inseparable. Indeed, neither of them seems to be a strong enough character to survive onscreen without another counterpart. Their screen time apart lasts less than 3 minutes total, with the largest chunk occurring during Vincent's brief foray into the washroom at the diner. The trend continues in the chapter entitled, 'Vincent Vega and Marcellus Wallace's Wife'; Jules does not feature in the chapter, however, Vincent is instead accompanied by Mia Wallace, who acts as a very capable conversational partner to Vincent. Vincent seems to be in constant need of a verbal sparring partner; in contrast to the on screen-singularity of Christopher Walken. The entire third chapter, aptly named, 'The Gold Watch' revolves around the character of Butch, played by a young Bruce Willis. The episode begins with Captain Koons, a character who seems to have no

relation to Butch other than "He was in a P.O.W. camp with [his] Daddy".²⁵ Koons faces the young boy Butch and proceeds into the parable of the 'gold watch'. The entire dialogue, when spoken aloud would take about five minutes, therefore, I have isolated the most relevant piece below:

CAPT. KOONS: This watch was on your Daddy's wrist when he was shot down over Hanoi. He was captured and put in a Vietnamese prison camp. Now he knew if the gooks ever saw the watch it'd be confiscated. The way your Daddy looked at it, that watch was your birthright. And he'd be damned if any slopeheads were gonna put their greasy yella hands on his boy's birthright. So he hid it in the one place he knew he could hide somethin'. His ass. Five long years, he wore this watch up his ass. Then, when he died of dysentery, he gave me the watch. I hid this uncomfortable hunk of metal up my ass for two years.²⁶

The story may not be the warm and fuzzy tale of redemption and hope, but there is an undeniable feat of strength displayed nonetheless. Lane views the episode as unnecessary; "We have to sit through a childhood flashback and a deadpan cameo from Christopher Walken, who explains that Butch's father stashed the watch up his ass for five years. It's a joke, but hardly a good joke; and having written it, Tarantino has to shoehorn the damn thing into his picture whether it fits or not".²⁷ To designate 'The Gold Watch' as a joke seems to miss the point of its placement halfway through the movie. Turning from the consumerist quick talk of Jules and Vincent; Tarantino places this parable as his centrepiece, showcasing its

²⁵ This detail is revealed to us by Butch's mother. *Pulp Fiction*. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. USA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 1992.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Lane is of course right, but I cannot help but wonder if Tarantino would even be offended by the verb 'shoehorn'. Rather Tarantino-esque, it seems to strike the right balance between gleeful zest and ridiculous promiscuity. Lane. 79.

capacity to ignite Butch's moral compass. The parable foregrounds filial and patriarchal bonds, as "Butch's moral sensibilities emanate from his fidelity and respect for his late father".²⁸ The suffering endured for the protection of the gold watch itself represents a high level of respect for the maintenance and upkeep of tradition. Butch seeks to replicate his father's noble actions, realizing along the way that nothing can ever compare to sacrifice made by his late father. The watch then, serves as a constant reminder to Butch of his father's love.

In addition, the parable of the 'Gold Watch' caters an aspect not particularly common in Tarantino films: "A fictional universe where miracles still happen, where love can still make a difference".²⁹ Not only is it miraculous that Butch's family is able to preserve the family heirloom, despite a history of misfortune and economic disadvantages, but also, within the main narrative of the film, Butch's day spent recovering his father's watch is peppered with miraculous occurrences. These include, but are not limited to: surprising and killing his hitman, running over Marcellus Wallace in his car, and escaping from an abysmal pawn shop, whose indiscretions fare far worse than simply being overpriced. Dana Polan describes Butch as "one of the most sympathetic figures in the film," going on further, with Butch "a self-infantilizing character, luxuriating in the childhood memory of his watch," this watch itself remains encoded in Butch's infantile state, propagating the giant leap of morality he makes in the final moments of 'The Gold Watch' episode.³⁰

IV. THE 'MATTY' SITUATION

'The Gold Watch' parable seems reminiscent of two other parables in the Gospel of Matthew. Often titled 'The Parable of the Hidden Treasure and Pearl', the parable is short: "The Kingdom of Heaven is like treasure hidden in a field. When a man found it, he hid it again, and then in his joy went and sold all he had and bought that field" (Matthew 13:44). Snodgrass provides an interesting point of comparison between the two parables, "In all cultures, including modern ones, people have hidden money and other valuables in the ground, especially during uncertain times such as war".³¹ The idea of precarious uncertainty as giving way to the necessity of hiding valuables (whether in the ground or up one's anus) is a commonality that seems to point to the treasure as having intrinsic moral value. While 'The Parable of the Hidden Treasure and the Pearl' sets up a direct comparison between the treasure and the Kingdom of Heaven, there is no less moral value found in Butch's gold watch, as it represents much of the same filial to paternal obligation as Christ showed to his Holy Father.

Indeed, Tarantino's ability to cloak his immoral behaviours in the guise of what has traditionally been considered a tool of moral instruction, becomes less problematic in when compared to the 'Hidden Treasure' parable. In his commentary, Snodgrass does not fail to mention the somewhat unethical implications of the man's upheaval of the treasure: "The sequence in Jesus' story raises ethical questions for modern readers. Was it moral to purchase the field knowing what the owner did not, that a treasure was in it?"³² The parable fails to keep its hands clean of what could be considered unethical towards ones' peers. By calling into question key moral issues, Snodgrass

²⁸ Davis and Womack. 63.

²⁹ Ibid. 65.

³⁰ Dana Polan. *Pulp Fiction*. London: British Film Institute, 2000. 30 – 48.

³¹ Snodgrass, Klyne R. *Stories With Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2008. 241.

³² Ibid. 243.

emphasizes how often parable interpretation becomes problematic. With such a rich layering of meaning, many parables cannot help their moral ambiguity. It thus becomes a question less of Tarantino's intent, and more about the necessity to restructure modern understandings of parable.

In contemplation of the profound influence of parable in *Pulp Fiction*, let us briefly zoom out and angle the discussion towards genre. Tarantino is no stranger to the generic conventions of pulp fiction, as he cleverly harnesses its raw power in an attempt to lure his audience into a false sense of security. Bertelsen seems to suggest that Tarantino's model for the film stems from the "forties *film noir* [and] the 'roughneck' crime films of the fifties".³³ Whereas there are very clear parallels between *Pulp Fiction* and the gangsters flicks of these times, Tarantino seems to be following the path of fellow director Martin Scorsese. Both directors are masters at manipulating genre, infusing their films with extreme violence and humor, in harmony with the generic tropes, in order to create works that are considered timeless. This aestheticizing effect trickles down into the cracks and crevices of Tarantino's dialogue, with the added effect of creating a vernacular all his own. I use vernacular carefully in this context, as its definition is notoriously difficult to pin down. The vernacular in *Pulp Fiction* exists as a characteristic of Tarantino's dialogue. The presence of the vernacular in Tarantino is validated by the parables themselves, the Royale with Cheese being the best example of this effect. The Royale with Cheese is unable to exist outside of the frames of the film; in a way, Tarantino has stamped each Royale with his own brand, as the burger becomes a product of Tarantino's sick imagination, rather than a delicious McDonald's sandwich. Intricately woven into the framework

of the parable, the burger carries a loaded connotation, just as sheep have a certain literary status and symbolic reference due to their use as a motif in a number of New Testament parables. The parable in effect becomes a powerful tool for semantic manipulation, as the form guides *reaction* to the content. The dialogue in *Pulp Fiction* skilfully engenders branded products with layers of meaning, leading to a vernacular that seems to permeate most of Tarantino's later films.

The Gospel of Matthew, due to its structure, provides the best platform to discuss Tarantino's structure and the effect thereof. The dialogue in many ways dominates the structure, with Tarantino framing major scenes around conversations between his characters. The groovy, and electrically intense dance scene follows Mia and Vincent's long discussion at *Jack Rabbit Slim's*, the armed robbery of the diner occurs only after Vince and Jules debate the meaning of life in the framework of a non-existent Bible verse, and fundamentally, Jules and Vince confront Brett and his friends in a tense and violent interrogation that follows suit after a light-paced chat about burgers in Europe. The pacing is sharp and deliberate, and *not* chronological. Each chapter functions under the loose umbrella of a larger plot which occurs over the course of approximately two days. Tarantino himself characterizes his stories as "old chestnuts...more or less the oldest stories you've ever seen: the guy going out with the boss's wife and he's not supposed to touch her...the boxer who's supposed to throw the fight and doesn't...and two hitmen show up and blow somebody away".³⁴ Old chestnuts they may be, however Tarantino imbues these tales with a renewed energy, breathing relevance into every minute of the film's plot. The structure demands an active audience, as Tarantino relies his viewers to "perform particular interpretative operations," especially during the

³³ Bertelsen. 11.

³⁴ Tarantino is quoted here in Bertelsen's article. Ibid. 13.

dialogue-heavy scenes.³⁵ Here we see one of the film's greatest vulnerabilities: a substantially large amount of responsibility is conferred onto the audience. Once again the parable becomes vital in its effective delivery of meaning; Tarantino can rest assured that *Pulp Fiction* will not cease to be the brutally violent post-modern tour-de-force he initially envisioned. As such, the dialogue is central in Tarantino's approach to the structure of the film. Just as parable and Christ's sayings are crucial in establishing the didactic structure of the Gospel of Matthew, so too does Tarantino centre his film around key 'parables' or dialogue-heavy scenes. A reading on Tarantino in context of the Gospel of Matthew proves useful in flushing out Tarantino's decision to structure *Pulp Fiction* a-chronologically.

Favoured by the Early Orthodox Church, in part due to its logical structure, Matthew and Tarantino both seem to operate on a unique structural level. On the surface, the Gospel of Matthew follows a strictly chronological retelling of the life of Christ, and yet it is Matthew's re-positioning of the teachings of Christ that drive the Gospel account forward. The Church breaks Matthew's structure down into Five Discourses: the Sermon on the Mount, (Matt. 5-7) the Missionary Discourse, (Matt. 10) the Parables, (Matt. 13) the Discourse on Community and the Church, (Matt. 18) and the Discourse on the End of Times (Matt. 23-25). Each section offers a unique facet of Christ's teachings, and yet they all consolidate to form a distinctive theology. The chronological history of Christ does play an auxiliary role, refracting key themes, rather than dominating the Gospel as a whole.

It seems unlikely that Tarantino is directly copying the structure of the Gospel of Matthew, however I find it useful to 'read' these two pieces in context of one another, as there are undoubtedly parallels between their structures. Coincidentally,

Pulp Fiction is also divided into five chapters: the Prologue, Vincent Vega and Marcellus Wallace's Wife, The Gold Watch, The Bonny Situation, and finally the Epilogue. Each chapter is sectioned off from the film with Tarantino inserting a black title card into the film. If we are to look at how parables are at play in Tarantino, it seems interesting to note Tarantino's distribution of key parable-like dialogues in each section. The two aforementioned examples, 'The Royale with Cheese' and 'The Gold Watch' each occur towards the beginning of their respective segments. Thus, once again, the dialogue *drives* the action. I would argue that Tarantino's unique parables thus also combine to create a unique theology, whether one agrees with it or not. While Tarantino's theology may promote the glorification of Mexican standoffs, chain-smoking Red Apple cigarettes, and Harvey Keitel, and seems to have been fighting for life in *Reservoir Dogs*, it appears to have been resurrected in *Pulp Fiction*, honing its way into the Tarantino canon in future films. Indeed, these very aspects are now considered the very essence of Tarantino's films, with movie-goers flocking to cinemas in order to see the vicious violence, overt product placement, and crude language that has now become a staple in the Tarantino film.

Pulp Fiction is a film that demands as much from its viewers as it does from the cast and crew. Tarantino's script is a dense mass of pop culture paraphernalia, racial slurs, and dark humor, all sandwiched between the blast of revolvers and splatters of blood. And yet, *Pulp Fiction* thrives off of its ability to create meaning from what is seemingly mundane. Tarantino conjures up his own theological treatise in the film, revelling in the aftermath of the film's chaos, as stunned audiences attempt to reconstruct the significance of these parables in the context of their daily lives. An exercise in the re-definition

³⁵ Ibid. 18.

of parable addresses not only criticism of Tarantino's film, but also re-examines the necessity of parable, especially in our modern-day context. Critics who are eager to attack Tarantino's overt celebration of violence and romps of immoral behaviour, seem to miss the significance of Tarantino's calls for contemplation, whether in the darkened theatre, or in the privacy of one's own home. Tarantino's

parables pulsate, inextricably linking the unremarkable with the wonder of the silver screen; it seems, once the film is over Vincent and Jules' closing remarks are easier said than done.

VINCENT: I think we oughta leave now.

JULES: That's probably a good idea.³⁶

³⁶ *Pulp Fiction*. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. USA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 1992.

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Romosexuality: Masc4Masc

JONATHAN ROY

Roman males were obsessed with the notion of masculinity. In order to protect their public image, Roman males attempted to present themselves as the epitome of masculinity. Slander and political speeches were strategies to question and attack the character of other men, though there were other more physical ways to destroy that highly prized concept and also to amplify it. This paper analyzes the poetry, historical prose, and law speeches of late Republican and early Imperial Rome and illustrates how male-on-male sexual acts were ways in which a Roman male who held *Virtus*, Roman manliness, could heighten his own by destroying that of another male.

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In Ancient Rome, there was little concern as to whether or not you were hetero, homo, or bi-sexual.¹ In fact, to the Romans the application of those words to define people based on their preferred sexual partners would be met with confusion. Concerns about sexuality in Rome focused on the role one played whilst performing sexual acts, the preferred being that of a man and not a woman.² Examples across Roman literary genres such as poetry, historical prose, and law speeches contain numerous mentions to masculinity and how fragile a state it is. It is with those primary sources that within this essay the notion that men could sexually penetrate other men as a way to heighten their masculinity will be put forth. Inflicting *stuprum* (sexual violation) on the *pudicitia* (sexual inviolability) of another man was a way to heighten their own *virtus* by expressing their manly domination over others.

Roman thought carried the connotation that the gender role one played in sex is heavily related to the Roman idea of masculinity or *virtus*. *Virtus* relating to *vir*, meaning man, meant more than being a human with a penis to the Romans.

Being *vir* meant you were, of course, a man, but to carry the full cultural weight of that designation you would also be a fully grown freeborn Roman citizen in good social standing.³ Thus, freeborn male Roman children were not specified as *vir* although they could claim they are once they reach adulthood. Male slaves could not have the designation for they were not free.⁴ A visitor to Rome from another country, although free, fully grown, and a man, could not be *vir* to the Romans as he did not hold citizenship. And finally, a freeborn fully grown Roman man who is known to play the passive role in sex was not considered *vir*.

Roman men were obsessed with being seen as paragons of masculinity because it was associated to one's social rank in their culture. Thus, Roman men would do anything they could to maintain the image of their *virtus*. In a sexual context, that would require the protection of their sexual inviolability or *pudicitia*.⁵ The Romans defined *pudicitia* as a hyper sacred concept by relating it to the institution of the Roman Goddess Vesta.⁶ Vestal Virgins, the members of the priestly order devoted to Vesta, were sacrosanct, so to even touch them would be considered a

¹ Williams, Craig A. *Roman Homosexuality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 162.

² Karras, Ruth Mazo. "Active/Passive, Acts/Passions: Greek and Roman Sexualities." *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 4 (2000). 1256.

³ Walters, Jonathan. "Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought." In

Roman Sexualities, edited by Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. 32.

⁴ Ibid. 31.

⁵ Williams. 99.

⁶ Val. Max. 6.1.

divine crime and so illustrates the important of *pudicitia* and provides context to Roman male obsession of keeping it safe.

Pudicitia, as stated, was a very fragile entity, and it could be destroyed by having *stuprum* performed on you. To the Romans, *stuprum* was the act, performed by a man, of violating the sexual integrity of another Roman, be they man or woman.⁷ Cicero's second speech denouncing Catiline supports the debauched nature of *stuprum* as the opposing vice to *pudicitia*.⁸ Cicero mentions *stuprum* alongside other vices considered immensely immoral in Roman thought like: effrontery, cheating, villainy, frenzy, depravity, and lust. Cicero uses these terms to describe the people on Catiline's side in the Catiline conspiracy, whereas their opposite virtues are attributed to Cicero and his side. Cicero was an authority on what is considered moral and good by Roman standards, and so any attributes he considered immoral would by extension be immoral to the Roman standard.⁹ Cicero, being a model Roman, using *stuprum* to describe an enemy of the Republic supports its definition as a great immorality.

Defining *stuprum* and *pudicitia* and their relation to Roman sexuality is important in understanding how Roman *virtus* was regarded and how it can be defamed. It has been established that the Romans viewed their masculinity as such a significant object that they conceptually related it to a sacrosanct deity in order to shield it. *Stuprum* ultimately kills *pudicitia*, which will result in the destruction of someone's sexual integrity. It is apparent that the sexual integrity of a man is of paramount importance in Roman society because without it, one is not really a man.

While this essay is arguing that the thought that inflicting *stuprum* upon the *pudicitia* of another man is a way to heighten the dominate

man's masculinity, there is one slight problem to address first. *Stuprum* was a shameful act. It was shameful to be the one receiving it and the one giving it. How then might the active participant's role result in the heightening of his own masculinity? Because while the concept of *stuprum* was entirely regarded as shameful and would shame both involved, the liability of the shamefulness of the act was on the passive participant. A man as giving in to his "excessive masculine impulse" was an excuse to dismiss the shame associated with acts of *stuprum* in general, and thus cancelled the shame for the active player because he was dominating someone who held *virtus*, thus creating a double standard.¹⁰ It is comparable to holding a Roman triumph after the genocide of an entire people. Killing thousands of men in combat and then proceeding to rape and pillage their surviving families would generally be looked down upon as immoral, as evidenced by Cicero's disdain of those types of acts that were carried out by Mark Antony's brother in war.¹¹ However, when such a general would come home, the people would celebrate him. The shame associated with his victory is no longer considered because his army carried out their directive of beating enemies of the state, he dominated them. Much like inflicting *stuprum* on another man has some shameful implications for the active player, they are dismissed because men are supposed to always be the penetrator.¹² The shame that was supposed to be borne by the top is annulled because by being able to dominate another holder of *virtus* he therefore proves that he is the stronger and more masculine man, and thus extends his own *virtus*.

There is a historical example that might give credence to the idea that there is an ultimate way to heighten someone's *virtus* and it relates to the Roman military. To give context to this

⁷ Williams. 96.

⁸ Cic. *Cat.* 2.25.

⁹ Plin. *HN.* 7.117.

¹⁰ Williams. 96.

¹¹ Cic. *Phil.* 3.31.

¹² Williams. 125.

source, in 104 BCE a Roman legion under the command of Gaius Marius battled the Cimbri, a Germanic people. During the war, a relative of Marius, who also happened to be a tribune in his army, was murdered after trying to force himself on one of his soldiers. After this was brought to Marius' attention, he acquitted the soldier because the homicide was justifiable.¹³ The *Declamations* of Calpurnius Flaccus exemplify the significance of the potential rape of a Roman soldier through the words of an unnamed soldier: "He threatened *stuprum* against your soldier; it is a smaller matter that the Cimbri are threatening us."¹⁴ This excerpt illustrates how serious *stuprum* was considered because the *pudicitia* of a Roman soldier was at stake and it was considered, by these Romans, a much more pressing issue than a war that raged around them. The Roman military is, to Roman conceptions, the apex of masculinity. Thus, the concept of *virtus* is heavily tied to the military, and hence, the absolute military power of *imperium*. So, should a soldier in a legion have *stuprum* inflicted upon him, the resulted shaming of his *pudicitia*, according to Flaccus, would also reflect on the masculinity of the entire legion. That is why Calpurnius says that the war with the Cimbri comes second to dealing with an attempted *stuprum*, because the idea that the legion is the epitome of masculinity, something all its members would have a stake in defending, was threatened. Since such immense importance was attributed to the safeguarding and preservation of the legion's *pudicitia*, should someone commit *stuprum* against a legionary, it would result in an immense heightening of that penetrator's masculinity because if a man were to dominate a Roman soldier, someone who holds a sort of enhanced *virtus*, along with *imperium*, he would therefore amplify his own masculinity immensely because he was able to penetrate what,

conceptually to the Romans, is the impenetrable
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There was another way, other than inflicting *stuprum*, to attempt an assault on the *virtus* of other men. Attacking the character of a man, through slander, to make people believe he is not masculine could almost be as bad as being definitively known to play the passive role in sex. Tacitus' *Annals* tell the story about how the emperor Claudius' wife had her rival's husband, Decimus Valerius Asiaticus, arrested based on untrue charges.¹⁶ The interesting thing in this account is the exchange between Valerius and an agent of the emperor's wife in the presence of the emperor.

Nor was he[Decimus] granted the privilege of a hearing before the Senate. The case was heard in the emperor's bedroom, in the presence of Messalina. Suillius accused Valerius of corrupting the soldiers, asserting that with money and *stuprum* he had bound them to himself for the purpose of committing every crime; of adultery with Poppaea; and finally of softness of body. At this the defendant broke his silence and burst out: "Sullius, cross-examine your sons: they will confess that I am a man."¹⁷

Here is a man who cannot stand being accused of being of softness of body. It was an insult to the *virtus* of Valerius. He then claims to have penetrated the sons of his accuser. Valerius's argument is that he cannot be soft of body (i.e: not, not a real man) because he exercised his masculinity on Roman men. His response adds weight to the argument that Roman men could use their sexual domination of other men to heighten their masculinity, in this case he does so because his own *virtus* is being called into question.

¹³ Ibid, 111.

¹⁴ Calpurnius Flaccus. *Declamations*. 3.

¹⁵ Williams. 141.

¹⁶ Ibid, 163.

¹⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 11.2.

An example from Catullus' poetry also exemplifies another instance of a man's masculinity being questioned and attacked. Catullus 16 holds intense wording and imagery of the poet retorting to the accusation of him being soft by two of his friends:

I will fuck you and make you suck me, *pathicus* Aurelius and *Canaedus* Furius. Because my poem are soft little things you have thought me not very chaste. Now, while the dutiful poet ought himself to be pure, there is no need for his poems to be so; they only have wit and charm if they are soft little things and not very chaste, and if they can arouse what itches – not among boys, but among these hairy men who are unable to stir up their toughened groins. So then, because you have read my many thousands of kisses, you think me hardly a man? I will fuck you and make you suck me.¹⁸

Catullus here is responding to the accusations of his former friends Aurelius and Furies that he is unmanly because of the love imagery he had written in a previous poem about the thousands of kisses he wished to give his lover, Lesbia.¹⁹ His masculinity is being threatened here because he is being called soft for his evocations of love. He responds by threatening to show the true extent of his masculinity by dominating his accusers sexually in the anus and mouth. It is important to note that there were three different types of sexual acts in Roman thought: *futuere* (to penetrate vaginally), *pedicare* (to penetrate anally), and *irrumare* (to penetrate orally).²¹ Only two of these verbs can take male objects, for obvious reasons, and they would of course result in the loss of masculinity in their receivers. Therefore, to better illustrate the promise Catullus is making regarding active/passive roles in male on male

sexual encounters, a literal translation of the first and final lines of the poem is:

Pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo = I will anally penetrate you and orally penetrate you

While this is not as explicit of a translation as Williams' is, this direct rendition of the wording highlights the threat Catullus is making. The first-person verbal ending of the verbs alone marks him as the penetrator but by including the personal pronoun *ego* Catullus is emphasizing that he is the one who will be doing the penetrating. He is the one being slandered and he makes it very clear he will be responding to their denunciations himself. Following that, as already defined, being a Roman man who is penetrated results in the destruction of his *pudicitia* and the loss of his *virtus*. The more literal translation provided captures the nuance of the verbs. Catullus will penetrate these men. By dominating these men sexually Catullus would prove he is not soft of body and that he is a real *vir* because he violated them in the two places they could be penetrated and thus took away the masculinity of Roman men to validate, and by extension, heighten his own.

These two examples show just how important the *virtus* of a Roman man was to him. Both Catullus and Valerius respond to their accusers in kind with threats and allusions to penetrating other men. It directly implies that in the minds of these two men, which can be extended to Roman ideology in general, that if they indeed committed what they threaten to do their *virtus* would be safe from defamation. In Roman thought if you desire to fortify your masculinity, go out and dominate other men.

While the excerpts of Catullus and Tacitus outline the hyper macho response to insults to

¹⁸ Catull. 16.

¹⁹ Using adjectives like Aurelius and Furies would describe them as sexual deviants in place of their actual names.

²⁰ Catull. 5.

²¹ Williams. 167.

masculinity, the following epigrams from the Priapus poems include imagery and wording that are responses to actual affronts against a victim, namely the theft of private objects. Priapus was a minor fertility God to the Romans.²² He was also an icon of hyper masculinity in Roman thought.²³ Thus, it is natural that the epigrams dedicated to him would contain references to hyper masculine acts and sexuality. The first epigram of note is the 17th:

“What’s the plaint against me,
watchman?
Why forbid a thief’s encroachment?
Let him be the wider for it!”²⁴

Priapus desires to punish a thief for supposedly encroaching on his rights (what the encroachment entails is unknown to readers) but what is important here is how Priapus wishes to deliver the punishment. “Let him be the wider for it” can only be a euphemism for Priapus’ desire to anally penetrate the thief to “widen him up”. The meaning here is that to be anally raped is a justified punishment for a crime. Not only will the thief have to go through with the pain of being anally penetrated by Priapus²⁵ but the result of that action would be the loss of his *virtus* for he played the passive role in a sexual act. In Roman thought, because being subjugated to penetration of the anus is thought to be a punishment for a crime in this scenario, it implies that to be anally penetrated is worth being used as a punishment because you end up losing your *virtus* for it. It would also double as an act of revenge on the part of the top because he gets the satisfaction of making the thief suffer for his crime. By taking his masculinity you therefore heighten your own.

It is a sort of reclamation of your own *virtus* that was insulted by the crime committed against you.

This next Priapian excerpt also alludes to penetration of a thief for a crime he has committed, only this time the punishment is oral penetration:

“Scythed God whose part is greater than
the whole,
which way, Priapus, if the spring’s my
goal?”
“Right through the vineyard. If you steal
a grape,
you’ll need that spring to get your mouth
in shape.”²⁶

Here Priapus is implying that he will force a man to be subjugated to oral penetration should he steal from his vineyard. In this case, *irrumare* is thought to be the suitable punishment for theft. Being orally penetrated, like anal, is a worthwhile punishment to the victim because the accuser will again receive satisfaction from making his offender suffer sexually to his penis and would also be inflicting *stuprum* on him resulting in the defamation of the passive man’s *virtus*.

Epigram 35 of the poems contains imagery of both types of male-to-male sexual practices implying that this punishment is one that is even greater than the last two:

“You’ll get fucked, thief, for the first
time.
If you’re caught again, you suck me.
Should you try a third incursion,
Just to suffer both together,
You’ll give fuck and suck in sequence.”²⁷

²² Hooper, Richard W. *The Priapus Poems: Epigrams from Ancient Rome* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 1.

²³ Ibid, 5.

²⁴ Hooper, Richard W. *The Priapus Poems: Epigrams from Ancient Rome* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 17.

²⁵ Note that this god is always depicted as having a giant member.

²⁶ Hooper, 30.

²⁷ Ibid, 35.

Each form of sexual penetration is present in this epigram. As the crimes of the thief get progressively worse, so too does his punishment. This is further proof that being subjected to oral and anal penetration is a punishment fitting for crime. The resultant loss of *virtus* from being fucked the first time will hurt the thief's masculinity. The second time he is forced to play the passive role again and receive a penis in his mouth will defame his masculinity even more. Everything will then culminate in the punishment for the third affront to Priapus when the thief is forced to be on the receiving end of both oral and anal sex. These successive penalties would completely destroy the *virtus* of the thief. He would no longer be a man after this, and that is what Priapus desires. This final excerpt from poem 59 perfectly illustrate the point that being subjected to penetration as a punishment makes you less of a man.

“Don’t pretend I didn’t warn you;
In a thief and out a faggot.”²⁸

This imagery reflects the transformation alluded to by Roman thought that if a man was subject to penetration he would be transformed into a sexual

deviant devoid of *virtus*. If anal and oral penetration is considered a punishment for crimes that men do, then it is certain that the committers of offenses would not wish to take it. Punishment is something no one wishes to receive. If anal and oral rape are considered punishments, then that heavily implies there is an implication with those acts that make it worthy of being a consequence.

Across multiple genres of Roman literature, the masculinity of a Roman male is a vital identifying object to the individual. Being forced to submit to being anally and orally penetrated is the greatest insult to a Roman male's *virtus*. He would no longer be able to carry the designation of *vir* after doing so. The implication that playing the passive role in sex results in a loss of *virtus* meaning that it is an effeminate act. On the opposite end, being the active participant in anal and oral sex would then imply there is *virtus* to be gained due to your domination of a Roman man. The Romans placed little emphasis on who upper-class Roman men were bedding.²⁹ What mattered most was the conception of masculine versus feminine. You could have sex with anyone you wanted, you only needed to make sure you were the one being the man in the act.

²⁸ Ibid. 59.

²⁹ The exception always being if the person bedded was an upper-class Roman woman.

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Friendship, Greed, and Two Gold Statues

The Downfall of the Mitanni State

MATT NAYLOR

The Mitanni kingdom during the Late Bronze Age remains one of the more enigmatic and least well-documented of the major imperial powers of the time. However, with the rise of the Egyptian New Kingdom, the two empires saw their vassal states, acting as a buffer between the two larger superpowers, plunged into war. The result was a mutual armistice which would turn into a friendly and prosperous relationship which reached its peak during the reigns of Tušratta of Mitanni and Amenhotep III of Egypt. However, this amicable alliance was not to last.

The correspondence found at Akhetaten (modern-day Amarna) has yielded a great deal of information regarding the relationship between Egypt and Mitanni. Through careful analysis of the letters, one can begin to see the emergence of the personalities and traits of the individuals integral to the diplomatic ties throughout the ancient Near East. It is through these letters that one can trace the beginning of the end of the Mitanni state.

Tušratta, in his exceedingly greedy search for gold, implores the son of the now dead Amenhotep III, the heretic king, Akhenaten, to treat him as his father did, sending the gold of Egypt to Mitanni, the gold which is as plentiful as dirt within the country of the Nile. However, upon the refusal of Akhenaten to send Tušratta two life-sized gold statues of himself and his daughter, the relationship sours quickly and, in a short period of time, the Mitanni state was overrun. This paper seeks to closely analyze the correspondence between Tušratta and the kings of Egypt in an attempt to trace the path by which the Mitanni state fell and will provide a new perspective on a story which is extraordinary to say the least.

LOGOS – 2017/18 The Hurrian kingdom of
Issue 3 Mitanni continues to be the
April 2018 least well-documented of the
Pages 42 – 51 great powers of the Near
 Eastern Late Bronze Age.

However, correspondence between Tušratta, king of Mitanni, and the Egyptian kings of the late New Kingdom in the mid-14th century BCE shed the most light on the Hurrian kingdom during its apex of power. Interestingly, through the Amarna correspondence, we see what was likely the point at which the relationship between Egypt and Mitanni was at its strongest, followed by a quick turnaround of foreign policy after the death of Amenhotep III (1390-1352).¹ This cooling of the relationship between the two powers first comes to light through the complaints of Tušratta that Akhenaten had not sent him two solid gold statues which he had requested.² Although Akhenaten's motivations for ignoring the request are unclear, what is certainly clear is the rapid demise of the



Fig 1: From the Tomb of Ahmose, Son of Ibana. The hieroglyphs tell the story of his time in the military, including incursions into Mitanni-allied states under the rule of Amenhotep I. However the text may have been composed under the rule of Amenhotep III (Bryan, 2002, p. 71). cf. Flickr, "Ahmose Son of Ibana".

Mitanni empire in the years shortly after these letters were written. The eye-rolling of an annoyed Egyptian king regarding the letters of an angry, and likely greedy, Mitanni king may just have been the catalyst that caused the swift decline of one of the great Near Eastern imperial powers.

¹ Shaw, Ian. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 485.

² Giles, Frederik J. *The Amarna Age: Western Asia*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1992. 115.

BEGINNINGS OF THE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP

The first documented contact between Egypt and Mitanni comes from two Egyptian New Kingdom tombs of military men claiming to have fought in the Syrian campaigns of Thutmose I (reigned 1504-1492), Ahmose, son of Ibana, and Ahmose Pennekhet.¹ Both inscriptions mention fighting campaigns against peoples of western Syria, likely to have been vassals of Mitanni. However, direct reference to the Mitanni state within Egyptian inscriptions and documents occur only during and after the reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425), likely due to his great success in campaigns against Mitanni-aligned states in Syria, bringing the two imperial powers onto more level footing in the region.² Bryan suggests that the first Thutmose had encountered a superior military fielded by the Syrians, aided by their Mitanni ally and turned back, preferring instead to engage in an elephant hunt to the south.³ The massive territorial gains of Thutmose III, who had raised a fighting force strong enough to succeed where his grandfather had not, placed the



Fig 2: “The Great Powers Club” from the end of the 15th century BCE. Mitanni and Egypt come into close contact in the northern Levant. cf. Pinterest.

Egyptian state on the same playing field as Mitanni, who had been stronger in the region. After the campaign, Egyptian propaganda exploded with the name of Mitanni on every kind of inscription.⁴

However, Egyptian incursions into the Levant and Syria caused an increase in Asiatic goods flowing into Egypt in the form of booty and new trade links, the popularity of which caused greater demand for imported luxury goods likely leading to increasingly friendly relationships with Mitanni.⁵ This is compounded by Egypt’s advantage over the Asiatic states, being more self-sufficient and, with a monopoly on gold production, the Egyptians gained trading leverage with almost every other ruler in the Near East.⁶ This friendliness appears to have reached a peak during the reigns of Tušratta, king of Mitanni, and the Egyptian king Amenhotep III. Within the archive of the Amarna letters, the correspondence between Tušratta and the Egyptian rulers spans a period of time as long as any other series of letters within the cache.⁷

Tušratta’s first correspondence to Amenhotep III, labelled EA 17, attempts to give an account of how the Hurrian king ascended to the throne, the process of which appeared rather laboured.⁸ The text reads:

When I sat on my father’s throne,
I was still young, and Tuhi
committed hostile acts against my country
and killed his lord. And, on account of this
to me, to those who love me
he left behind nothing good...⁹

¹ Bryan, Betsy M. “The Egyptian Perspective on Mitanni”. In *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*. ed. R. Cohen and R Westbrook. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 71.

² Ibid. 72.

³ Ibid. 73.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. 75.

⁶ Westbrook, Raymond. “Babylonian Diplomacy in the Amarna Letters”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120 (2002). 337.

⁷ Giles. 107.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

It appears as though the lord of which Tušratta speaks was his brother, Artashumara, who would soon be avenged by the king, the perpetrators being rounded up and killed.¹⁰ The letter continues with a request for peaceful relations between the two powers: “let my brother desire friendly relations with me, and let my brother send his messengers, so that they may bring my brother’s present, and I may hear (him)”.¹¹

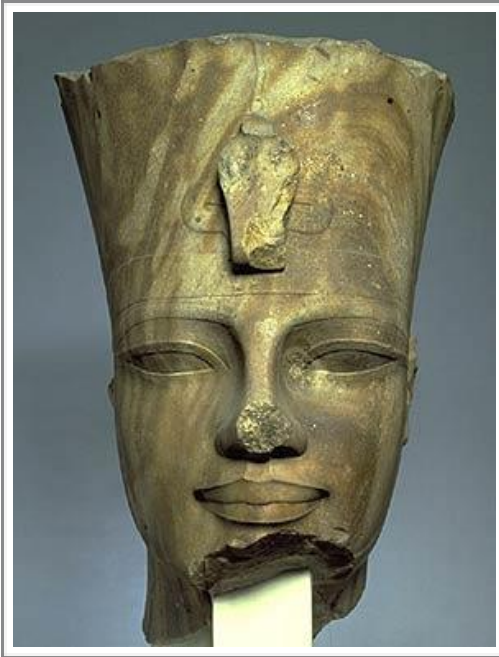


Fig 3: Portrait of Amenhotep III (ruled 1390-1352 BCE). cf. “Eternal Egypt”.

Giles suggests that EA 17 may be indicative of a substantial gap in time when Egyptian-Hurrian relations had broken down, due to Tušratta’s uncertainty of what the Egyptian reply would be, along with the mention of a campaign against Hittite incursions near the beginning of the letter.¹² He further speculates that one could potentially gather evidence through EA 17 that Tušratta may have been the beneficiary of some palace coup started by the murderer, Tuhi, who had killed his brother who was likely in line for the throne, or had simply

blamed it on him.¹³ Regardless of how Tušratta managed to secure power, this letter aided in the foundation of a strengthened relationship between Egypt and Mitanni, which would be based around Tušratta’s greed and desire for gold.

TUŠRATTA AND AMENHOTEP III

The relationship between the two kings became quickly amicable and culminated in a request by Amenhotep for a daughter of the Hurrian king to wed. The reply sent back to Egypt is recorded in Amarna letter EA 19, in which Tušratta exclaims: “When my brother sent Mane, his messenger, saying, ‘Send your daughter here to be my wife and the mistress of Egypt,’ I caused my brother no distress and immediately I said, ‘Of course!’”¹⁴ What follows is the first request by Tušratta for Egyptian gold, highlighting the previous relationship between his father, Thutmose IV, and Tušratta:

I also asked my brother for much gold, saying, “May my brother grant me more than he did to my father and send it to me. You sent my father much gold. You sent him large gold jars and gold jugs. You se[nt him] gold bricks as if they were just the equivalent of copper”

When I sent Keliya to my brother, I asked for [much] gold, saying, “May my brother treat me [ten times] better than he did my father, and may he send much gold that has not been worked.”¹⁵

Tušratta goes on in explaining that he required the gold in order to construct an ornate mausoleum for his ancestors and that Amenhotep could include this gold as part of the bride-price for the

¹⁰ Ibid. 108.

¹¹ Ibid. 109.

¹² Ibid. 109 – 10.

¹³ Ibid. 110.

¹⁴ Moran, William L., trans. *The Amarna Letters*.

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. 44.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Hurrian king's daughter. Tušratta does mention gold sent previously by Amenhotep and claims that, even though it was worked, he was happy about it.

It is through this first request for more, unworked, gold that one begins to gain a sense of Tušratta's demeanour, seemingly moulded as a royal child into a spoiled and greedy disposition. In the letter, 85 lines long in Akkadian, a request for gold is made seven times, with the king stating that, "In my brother's country, gold is as plentiful as dirt".¹⁶ It would seem, however, that Amenhotep III indulged his Hurrian ally, with the bond culminating in what would be a high point of Hurrian-Egyptian relations.

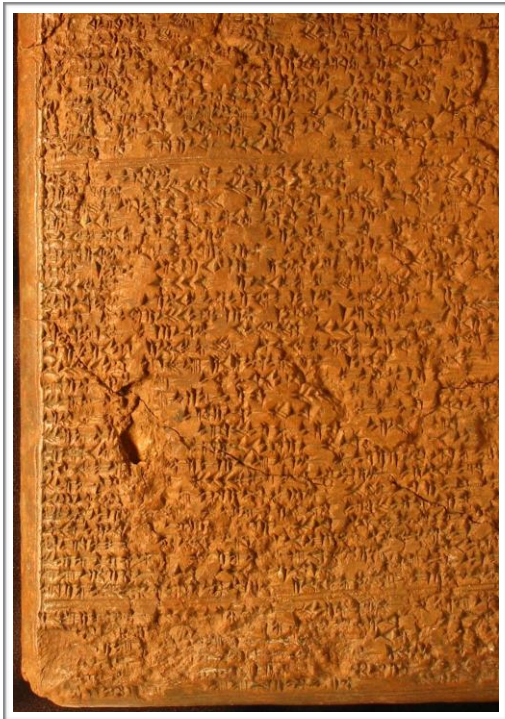


Fig 4: Part of Amarna Letter EA 24, the only document in the archive to be written in Hurrian and still the longest Hurrian text found to date. cf. "The El Amarna Letters".

This relationship is epitomized within the document EA 24, the only letter within the Amarna archive which was written fully in the

Hurrian language and is still the longest and best-preserved Hurrian document (for Wilhelm's full interpretation please see below).¹⁷ Although the text is far from being fully understood, with many unknown words and grammatical forms yet to be deciphered, it provides us with a glimpse into the relationship of the two kingdoms. The text begins with the usual Hurrian greeting, wishing well to the King of Egypt along with his close relations, from his wives and children to his horses and chariots. The text continues with Tušratta exclaiming his happiness over the marriage arrangements between his daughter, Tatu-Hepa, and Amenhotep, along with the first request for a solid gold statue of the aforementioned daughter to be cast in Egypt and sent to Mitanni. The passage which follows this request is crucial to our understanding of the Egyptian-Hurrian Alliance:

And because of all this we love each other
.... in a very, very high degree. And peace
rules in our land. Would that an enemy of
my brother did not exist! But if
furthermore an enemy to my brother
should force his way into his lands my
brother shall send to me, and the Hurrian
land, armour, weapons, and everything
else shall be put at his disposal with regard
to my brother's enemy. But if on the other
hand an enemy of mine should exist -
would that he did not exist! -, I shall send
to my brother, and my brother shall send
the Egyptian land, amour, weapons, and
everything else with regard to my enemy
...

This letter certainly suggests there was more than a non-aggression pact in place between Egypt and

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Wilhelm, Gernot. "Notes on the Mitanni Letter". In *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of the Nuzi and the*

Hurrians. ed. D.I. Owens and G. Wilhelm. Bethesda: CDL Press, 1995. 135.

¹⁸ Gernot, Wilhelm. *The Hurrians*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989.

Mitanni; it was an active military alliance. However, just how seriously Amenhotep III took this is a question which begs to be answered. There have been no stelae which had been set up in Egypt or Mitanni regarding this agreement, as was the case with the later peace between Egypt and Hatti. Amenhotep IV, the future Akhenaten, certainly did not take it seriously and, with the death of Amenhotep III around 1352 BCE, the relationship between the two powers cooled rapidly.

TUŠRATTA AND AKHENATEN

In the early years of Akhenaten's reign, he had exchanged gifts with Tušratta and was soon to marry the Hurrian king's daughter, the same who had been previously wed to the now dead Amenhotep III.¹⁹ Strangely then, a short time later, the mother of the king, Queen Tiy, send a letter to Tušratta exclaiming her concern over the future relationship of the two empires.²⁰ Redford speculates that the original friendly attitude taken up by Akhenaten only aimed at pleasing his father, who, now dead, was no longer able to influence Akhenaten's behaviour towards foreign kings.

In a letter addressed to the Queen Mother (EA 26), Tušratta begins his complaints regarding two gold statues which were promised to him by Amenhotep III, one of the Mitanni king's daughter and one of Tušratta himself. Within this letter he implores Tiy to smarten her son up, reminding her that she was the only one who knew of the arrangement between the two kings other than the royal scribes. Tušratta says to Tiy that she "must keep on send[ing] embassies of joy, one after the other. Do not cut [them] off".²¹ The Mitanni king then goes on to deal a deception which Akhenaten must have ordered:

[You are the one who knows] the words of Mimmureya, [your] hus[band, but] you did not s[end] all of my greeting-gift that [your husband ordered] to [be sent]. I had asked [your husband] for [statues] of sol[id] cast [gold], saying, "[may my brother send me] a[s my greeting gift, statues of solid cast gold and ... of gold] and genuine lapis lazuli. But now Nap[hurreya, your son], has plated [statues] of wood. With gold being the dirt [in your son's country, w]hy have they been a source of such dist[ress] to your son that he has not given them to me?"²²

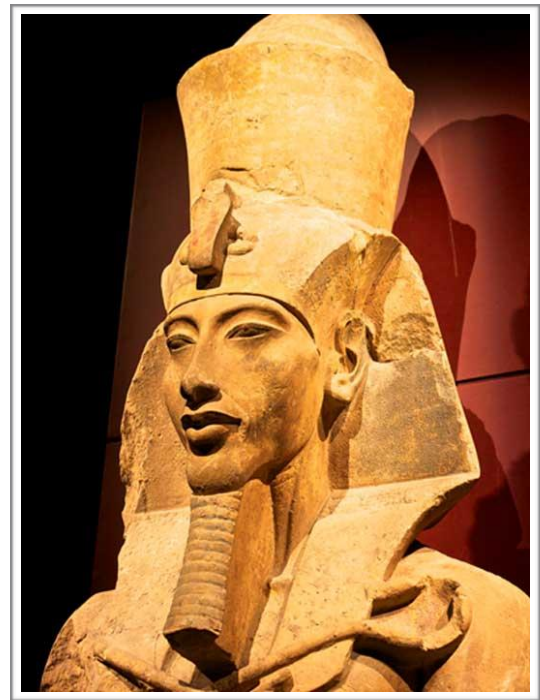


Fig 5: Portrait of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten). cf. "Ancient Origins".

Whether or not Akhenaten meant this as a direct insult to Tušratta or whether he actually felt he would get away with the charade remains a mystery. However, The Hurrian ruler does not drop the subject. EA 27 continues with his inquiry into the missing golden statues, questioning why

¹⁹ Redford, Donald B. *Akhenaten: The Heretic King*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. 195.

²⁰ Ibid. 185.

²¹ Moran. 84.

²² Ibid.

he is being treated in this way when he knows of nothing he has done to deserve the treatment.

From here the personality of Tušratta clearly comes out onto the page as a spoiled royal, who, although he normally gets his way, is beginning to throw a bit of a tantrum when someone finally says “no”. One can imagine Akhenaten sarcastically rolling his eyes when Keliya, Tušratta’s ambassador, began reading the Hurrian’s letter and once again asking for a handout of gold in order to enrich his own palace. With the religious reformation occurring at the time in Egypt, Akhenaten, being the incarnation of the Aten on earth, likely did not have the patience to deal with something that he likely thought to have no consequence. Wilhelm speculated that Akhenaten’s growing indifference to Mitanni may have been due to the Hittites having forced the Hurrians onto the defensive along with Egypt having secured its place firmly within the powers of the Near East. Wilhelm also hypothesizes that the gold may have been desperately required to pay Hurrian troops, with Egypt being the bankroll for the Mitanni military.²³ However, if this were the case it would seem more likely that Tušratta would not have

centred his complaints around the two old statues, but around smaller measures of unworked gold, which would perhaps be useful in paying troops or paying merchants in order to supply his military with needed rations. Perhaps the Egyptian king could feel the tide changing even as prince regent.

The relationship deteriorated to the point where ambassadors were being held with previous good relations attempting to be recalled, family ties were invoked and special envoys were sent between the two countries, however nothing could repair the damage.²⁴ In Amarna letter EA 23, Tušratta continues with his chastising of Akhenaten, focusing on the good relationship he had had with Amenhotep III and, once again, bringing up the two gold statues, imploring that Tiyy highlight the truth in his words:

Inquire carefully of Teye, your [mother], if in the things that I say there is [ev]en a single word of [un]truth; i[f there is a wo]rd that is not that of Nimmureya, your father; if [Ni]mmureya, your father, together with me, did not make [mutual love fl]ourish...

I asked for [2] statues of so<l>id chased gold from Nimmureya, your [father], and Nimmueya, [your] father, said, “[W}hat are statues of just gold with nothing else [that] my [brot]her has asked for? Don’t talk just of go[ld] ones! I Will make o[n]es with genu[ine] lapis lazuli (too), and send them to you.”²⁵

The letter goes on to explain that Akhenaten has held Tušratta’s emissaries within his court for the last four years and now even poor Mane was going to be detained in Mitanni until their release.

Although some, including Wilhelm (1989) and Redford (1984), place most of the

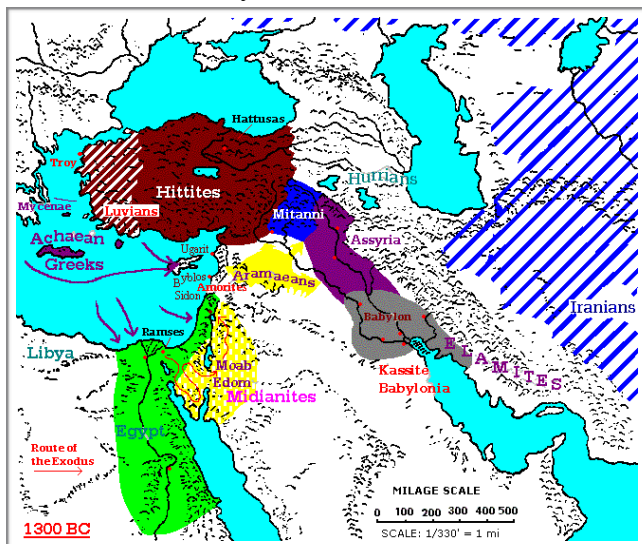


Fig 6: Map showing Mitanni decline, c. 1300 BCE with the Hittites expanding from the west and Assyrians from the southeast. cf. “Prepare ye The Way”.

²³ Wilhem. *The Hurrians*. 118.

²⁴ Ibid. 34.

²⁵ Moran. 84.

blame for the deterioration of the relationship in the hands of Akhenaten, when reading the correspondence sent by Tušratta it is easy to consider that the Egyptian king simply got fed up with the Mitanni winging. It's easy to imagine a "Henry II-like incident" where Akhenaten frustratingly screams about his Hurrian Beckett, "will someone not rid me of this turbulent Hurrian!" Enter the Hittites.

DOWNFALL

During this intra-state squabble, Suppiluliuma I of Hatti (ruled 1344-1322) began to turn around the fortunes of his state, eventually founding the Hittite New Kingdom.²⁶ Taking advantage of the internal strife within Mitanni caused by the questionable ascent to the throne by Tušratta, Suppiluliuma entered into an alliance with a pretender to the Mitanni throne, Artamata II, and shortly after secured the support of Assyria, which had freed itself from the supremacy of Mitanni in the mid-1300s.²⁷ In a letter to the Egyptian king, Ashur-uballit of Assyria had claimed equality with the "Hanigalbatian king", which Akhenaten accepted, most likely due to the complete deterioration of Egypt's former alliance with Mitanni.²⁸ In support of Artamata, Suppiluliuma soon invaded Mitanni from the north and quickly occupied Washukanni, causing Western Mitanni to become a vassal state to the growing Hittite Empire.²⁹ The Assyrians would assert their influence from the east shortly after, bringing an end to the once great independent Hurrian Empire.

Looking back on the Hurrian Letter EA 24, the military alliance between Tušratta and Amenhotep III would never be honoured, ignored by the Egyptian successor for reasons that can only be speculated. Certainly the internal politics

of Egypt at the time left Akhenaten with greater concerns than the moaning of a far-off king. Egypt certainly did not need Mitanni support at the time and Akhenaten obviously did not want to indulge the greed-fuelled whining of someone who may have seemed, to him, insignificant. Perhaps if Tušratta had taken a softer stance on the two gold statues the relationship between the two could have been saved and Egypt could have intervened with the Hittite encroachment; Akhenaten certainly campaigned into Nubia and was not adverse to military action. However, Tušratta was left to his own devices and was likely murdered by Artamata's son, Shuttarna III.³⁰ The following Hittite and Assyrian interventions within Mitanni would ensure that it would never gain full independence again. The desire and greed for two gold statues appear to have had the power to take down an Empire.

EA 24, THE HURRIAN LETTER:

To Nimmuriya, the king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law whom I love and who loves me, say: thus says Tušratta, the king of the land of Mitanni, your father-in-law who loves you, your brother. I am in good health. May you be in good health. May your son-in-law, your wives, your children, your dignitaries, your horses, your chariots, your troops, your land and your possessions be in very good health! . . .

And my brother has wished for a wife . . . and now I have given her, and she has gone to my brother . . .

And now I have given a wife of my brother, and she has gone to my brother. When she comes, my brother will see her . . . And she comes, she is pleasing to my brother according to my brother's heart. And my brother will again see a dowry . . .

²⁶ Van de Mieroop, Marc. *A History of the Near East: ca. 3000 – 323 BCE*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016. 167.

²⁷ Wilhelm. *The Hurrians*. 35.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Van de Mieroop. 167.

³⁰ Ibid. 163.

And when now the wife of my brother comes, when she shows herself to my brother, may my ... be shown. And may my brother assemble the whole land and all other lands and may the nobles (and) all ambassadors be present. And may his dowry be shown to my brother and may everything be delightful in the face of my brother ... And may the dowry be delightful, and may it be pleasing.

And now there is my father's daughter, my sister. And the tablet of her dowry is to hand. And my grandfather's daughter, the sister of my father, is there. And the tablet of her dowry is also to hand. May my brother receive their tablets and may he hear the (words) of their two (tablets). And may he receive from me the tablet of the dowry which I gave, and may my brother hear that the dowry is large, that it is beautiful, that it is seemly for my brother.

Further, I want to say one thing to my brother, and may my brother hear it ... The things that Artatama, my grandfather, has done for your father are ... and with my consignment I have increased them tenfold ...

And may my brother enrich me in the eyes of my country. And may my brother not sadden my heart! For that ... I have wished from my brother a statue cast in gold of my daughter. I know that my brother loves my person from his heart in a very, very high degree, but I also know that my brother in his country gold ... much ... And, in addition to that, may my brother give an ivory statue ... This statue in gold is Tatu-hepa, the daughter of Tušratta, lord of Mitanni, who he has given to Immuriya, lord of Egypt, as his wife. And Immuriya has made a statue cast in gold, and he has lovingly sent it to Tušratta.

And because of all this we love each other ... in a very, very high degree. And peace rules in our land. Would that an enemy of my brother did not exist! But if furthermore an enemy to my brother should force his way into his lands my brother shall send to me, and the Hurrian land,

armour, weapons, and everything else shall be put at his disposal with regard to my brother's enemy. But if on the other hand an enemy of mine should exist—would that he did not exist!—I shall send to my brother, and my brother shall send the Egyptian land, amour, weapons, and everything else with regard to my enemy ...

... And if anyone should speak any evil word to my brother relating to me (or) relating to my land, may my brother not hear those words, if Mane and Keliya (the Egyptian and the Mitanni ambassadors) do not say them. But the (words) which Mane and Keliya say relating to me (or) relating to my land, they are true and right, and may my brother hear them! Again, if anyone should express anything to me relating to my brother (or) relating to his land, I will not hear them (=the words), if Keliya and Many do not say them. But what Keliya and Mane say relating to my brother (or) relating to his land, they (=the words) are true and right, and I will hear them!

And now, all the things that my brother has named, that he desires, These I have done. tenfold. And further, I have not saddened my brother's heart by any thing. I have given the wife of my brother, who is pleasing to the heart of my brother. Now I have sent Mane, the ambassador of my brother, now also Keliya and Ar-Teššup and Asali, my ambassadors—Keliya is a dignitary, Asali is as my clay tablet scribe ... to my brother in a very fine fashion, and my brother will see them.

And may my brother not hold back my ambassadors ... And may my brother let my ambassadors go very speedily. And I should like to hear (of the) well-being (and the) good condition of my brother and I should rejoice much at the well-being of my brother.

My brother might say: "You yourself have also held back my ambassadors!" No, I have not held them back ...

May my brother let my ambassadors go very speedily, and they shall set off! And may my

brother send Mane with them, and may he set off together with my ambassador! May my brother not send another ambassador, may he only send Mane! If my brother does not send Mane and does send another, I shall not wish him well, and may my brother know it. No, may my brother send Mane! . . .

And in my heart I wish to be on good terms with my brother in very high degree and that we may mutually harbour love. And may my

brother keep faith in a very high degree. And we want to be good (to each other), in our heart we want to love each other . . . As our life (and) our fate are ordered by Seri (and) your god, may the gods lead us both together, Teššup and Amanu, our lords, our fathers, and may we be protected . . . And among ourselves let us love each other in brotherly fashion and close alliance. As man loves the sun god . . . so let you love each other . . .³¹

³¹ Wilhelm. *The Hurrians*. 32 – 34.

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Velayat-e Khomeini

A Critical Analysis of the Ideology of Absolute Guardianship

ZAID SALMAN

The 1979 Iranian Revolution exposed the world to a form of governance previously unknown, a Shi'ite Islamic Republic, as formulated by Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. This form of government, termed 'The Absolute Guardianship of the Jurist', is the sole legitimate form of earthly governance during the Greater Occultation of the 12th Imam. It consists of a democratic substratum of parliamentary democracy, in the form of the general *majlis* and the *majlis-e-khobregan*, all of which is presided over by the leader, a *Marja'-e-Taqlid* who ensures that the state remains within the bounds of *shari'a* propriety. While many can point to Iran as an example of a Shi'ite government, there is relatively little scholarship speaking to the historical origins of this concept, or the theological legitimacy afforded to it by Shi'a thinkers both within and outside of Iran. This paper aims to address this gap by exploring the historical and theological development of the concept of political guardianship through dissident conceptions of power such as in the Iraqi *Hizb ad-Da'wah al-Islamiyyah* party, and exploring the alternate conceptions of the jurisconsult as posited by Iraqi Shi'a clerics like Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani. The examination find that the primary point of contention is not the scriptural evidence legitimating the presence of an eminently accomplished jurist with authority over the state, but rather the breadth of power afforded to that same jurist. Alternate conceptions of an Islamic Republic advocate for a limited role for the jurist, or for a blend of consultation (*shura*) and guardianship.

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The legitimacy of theory of
Velayat-e-Motlagheye Faqih

(Absolute Guardianship of
the Jurist) that governs Iran

is a source of great

contention, with criticism coming from both within and without of the Shi'a legal tradition. Khomeini's formulation of this theory posits that in the absence of the 12th Imam, and hence in the absence of certainty in any matters of *shari'a* (Islamic law), a 'legitimate' government must have a jurisconsult who must also be the most learned among their peers—he must at least be a *Marja'-e-Taqlid* (source for imitation). This jurisconsult acts as the representative of the Hidden Imam, advising on matters of faith and state in his absence. One cannot credit Khomeini for the creation of this theory: questions of authority, sovereignty, and the role of jurists in the age of Occultation date at least as far back as the Safavid era. Shi'ism was promoted as the state religion, and the community of the *Ulama*

(scholars) began to be incorporated into government in order to legitimize the kings who saw themselves as “descendants of the pious Imams,” in turn providing political and economic power to burgeoning religious establishment.¹ Khomeini's particular formulation builds on this tradition: the absolute jurisconsult encompasses political dimensions that the role of *marja'* does not.

This paper seeks to understand the discursive development of the concept of *Velayat-e Faqih*, paying particular care to the intellectual and theological tradition it emerges from. The examination will then explore dissident theories and alternate conceptions of the jurisconsult system, particularly debates regarding over the breadth of the jurisconsults power. This examination aims to do so by focusing on the ideological transformations of the *Hizb ad-Da'wah al-Islamiyyah* (Islamic Call Party), the oldest Shi'a Islamist organization in Iraq and of Shi'a scholars such as Grand Ayatollah

¹ Farazmand, Ali. “Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran: Shia Radicalism, Revolution, and National

Character”. *International Journal on Group Rights* 3 (1996). 232.

Shariatmadari, Shaykh Murtada Ansari, and Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani.²

As previously mentioned, neither the theory of the *Vilayat* nor the debate surrounding it are new. Concerns over what constitutes ‘legitimate’ government begin after the Greater Occultation of the 12th Imam; in the Shi’i conception the Imams are infallible, divinely appointed representatives of God’s authority on Earth. Thus in the absence of the Imamate, there can be no divine nor temporal authority, as that implies attempting to resolve *shari’a* in the absence of God, the ultimate authority. Khomeini taps into this notion of the illegitimacy of governance during the Occultation and bifurcates political power. He demarcates *Hukumat* and *Velayat*, the former refers to ‘Government’ in the context of sovereignty while the latter refers to ‘Guardianship’ more connoting the duties of governance. He posits that *Hukumat-e-Elahi* (Government of God) is the only legitimate form of government, since “the sole law that is valid and imperative to apply is the law of God”.¹ As such during the Occultation *Hukumat-e-Bashari* (man-made government) does not have the legitimate foundations to rule an Islamic community, yet “the existence of a holder of authority . . . is a necessity”.² Scholars like Farazmand would argue that this is simply the disposition of Shi’ism, which by its nature “does not recognize legitimacy of the temporal political authority”.³

In Khomeini’s view, this position of authority falls naturally to the *fuqaha*, the scholars, particularly those among the scholars who are considered to be the most learned. Hence

the need for the jurisconsult to be a *marja’*, all of whom are Grand Ayatollahs, the highest institutional ranking in ‘Ithnasheri Shi’ism. This is because the leader of the *Umma* (Muslim community) must necessarily be acquainted with the laws that govern the *Umma*. To support this conclusion Khomeini relies on quotations from Qur’an and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad and the Infallibles, accompanied by rational arguments. From Qur’an 4:59, Khomeini specifically notes “*ūli ’l-amr*” (holders of authority), stating “after the Holy Prophet, ‘those in authority’ [*ūli ’l-amr*] refers to the infallible Imams and after them it is the just jurists (*fuqaha*) who hold the authority”.⁴ He is careful to note that to suggest that the political powers ascribed to both Muhammad and Ali are greater than those ascribed to worthy jurists—‘worthy’ reflecting Khomeini’s prerequisite that a jurist possess knowledge of the law and of justice—is “false and erroneous . . . superiority with respect to spiritual virtues does not confer increased governmental powers”.⁵ He further buttresses his argument with Hadīth to support his claims that the *fuqaha* are being referred to as part of the *ūli ’l-amr*.⁶

It is useful at this stage to turn to Mirahmadi’s tripartite division of Khomeini’s theory: pre-revolutionary ‘theorisation’ stage comprising mostly of what has been discussed in the examination thus far; a revolutionary ‘formative’ stage; and a post-revolutionary ‘evolution’ stage. The final ‘evolutionary’ stage is characterized by the Ayatollah’s attempts to evolve the theory in the face of political

² Bernhardt, Florian. “Firm Conviction or Forced Belief? The Islamic Da’wah Party’s Response to Khomeini’s Theory of Wilayat al-Faqih”. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 6, no. 3 (2012). 299.

¹ Khomeini, Ruhollah. “Governance of the Jurist”. *The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works* (1970). 30.

² Farazmand, 247.

Khomeini. 27.

³ Farazmand. 233.

⁴ Mirahmadi, Mansour. “The Theory of Islamic Governance in Ayatolla Khomeini’s Political Thought”. *Journal of Shi’a Islamic Studies* 2, no. 3 (2009). 277.

⁵ Khomeini. 34.

⁶ NB. In a Shi’i context that Hadīth also refers to narrations of the infallibles.

dissidence and challenges to state authority.⁷ It is in this evolutionary stage, in the process of what Mirahmadi generously terms the ‘completion’ of Khomeini’s theory, that we begin to see a sharper divergence from traditionally held notions of guardianship. Perhaps in response to the tumultuous political climate—to say nothing of the Iran-Iraq War—Khomeini greatly expanded the scope of the jurisconsult, proclaiming in January of 1988 that the jurisconsult “is not confined to *shari’a* if it conflicts with the society’s general welfare and best interests”.⁸ Moreover he downgraded rituals such as prayer and fasting to secondary duties while upgrading the preservation of the state to a primary injunction. Therefore, performance of government ordinances became *wajib* (a religious obligation) and of greater importance than either fasting or praying.⁹

Critics of Khomeini note a shift in Khomeini’s views from tacit acceptance of other forms of temporal government given their adherence to Islamic principles to solely advocating for an Islamic Republic on the eve of the revolution.¹⁰ While never explicitly mentioned in the work of Khomeini or his interlocutors, it would seem to follow that given the decidedly anti-foreign nature of the revolution and the revolutionary role of the seminary students and some *marjā’i*: the *Ulama* had become the only popular institution that had remained unmarked by the spectre of corruption and foreign influence.

The Shi’ite *Ulama*’s criticism of Khomeini’s formulation of the *Vilayat* can largely be split into two elements: the first being on the grounds that the Khomeini did not have sufficient scriptural support to advocate for the creation of

such a government, and the second being that Khomeini’s interpretation expands the scope of guardianship far beyond that which it was initially proposed to govern. The first argument revolves in part around whether one observes the teachings of the majority *Usuli* school—which allows “*Mujtahids* (learned religious leaders) to deduce the law on the basis of Quran and the Hadīth . . . as long as the Hidden Imam is in occultation”—or the smaller *Akhbari* school which claims that “in the absence of the Twelfth Imam, there is no need for *Mojatihds*’ ruling on earth”.¹¹ The difference between the *Akhbari* and *Usuli* schools of thought is beyond the scope of this examination, but perhaps most importantly with respect to *Vilayat*, the former believe that the latter’s emphasis on ‘*aql* (reason) and *ijtihad* allows for someone fallible to make a decision which is elevated to divine law.¹² The second contention stems from Khomeini’s later view that the jurisconsult need not be bound by *shari’a*, and is a far more common point of contention, given what is referred to as the “triumph” of the *Usuli* over the *Akhbari*.¹³

The *Hizb ad-Da’wah* (HDI) opposed Khomeini’s *Velayat-e-Motlagheye Faqih* for the latter reason. Historically, Khomeini and his cadre did not particularly care for Najaf—on one occasion going so far as to refer to it as a “pit of snakes”.¹⁴ HDI was closely associated with the Najafi *hawza* (seminary) and their distrust of Khomeini mirrored the terse relationship between the local clerics and Khomeini. Following the Revolution and Khomeini’s ascension—and brutal repression by the Ba’athists in Iraq—many members of the HDI fled to Iran. Here, if any were proponents of *shura* (consultation) rather than absolute guardianship, they “had no choice but to

⁷ Mirahmadi. 7.

⁸ Mavani, Hamid. “Khomeini’s Concept of Governance of the Jurisconsult (*Wilayat al-Faqih*) Revisited: The Aftermath of Iran’s 2009 Presidential Election”. *The Middle East Journal* 67, no. 2 (2013). 209.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Farazmand. 247.

¹¹ Ibid. 230.

¹² *ijtihad*: Lit. “effort”, connotes individual effort in the context of finding solutions to legal questions.

¹³ Mavani. 213.

¹⁴ Bernhardt. 301.

accept Khomeini's leadership and to align themselves to the ideology of the Islamic Republic" else face violence from Khomeini's supporters, "risking persecution and ultimately death".¹⁵ Even within Iraq, the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), an Iranian controlled organization, ran a defamation campaign against the HDI accusing them of being critical of Khomeini and the concept of *Velayat*. Bernhardt notes that by reviewing the literature published by HDI in the periods before and after the revolution, one can see the adoption of Khomeini's language—unusual expressions such as "Great Satan" for the USA and the use of the categories of "*mustakbirun* and *mustad'afun*"; even naming a section of their Tehran based newspaper *Khat al-Imam*.¹⁶ He further notes the existence of three disparate views on government within the HDI during the 1980s: a minority that advocated for absolute rule by jurisconsult, a minority who rejected the *Wilayat al-Faqih* entirely, and a majority who advocated for a blend of *shura* and *wilayat*—what would later be *Wilayat al-Umma*—that would be uniquely suited to the Iraqi context.¹⁷ This diversity of views was never proliferated in official party literature as the HDI needed to cement its relationship with Iran, and the central pillar of the Iranian bureaucratic structure is the jurisconsult. Yet in the years following the Khomeini's death, they began to distance themselves from both Iran and its ideology. Bernhardt notes that a party program published in London in 1992 abandoned Khomeini's ideas entirely. This highlights the effect that political pressure may have had in the

lack of strong support for a more democratic form of *Velayat-e-Faqih*.

The influence of the quietest school of thought, not associated solely with any one scholar is also essential in understanding this debate. Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Husseini al-Sistani is arguably one of the most senior Shi'i clerics, though far more widely followed in Najaf than Qom, his *hawzat* represent the quietist trend in Iraq. His teacher, the late Najafi Grand Ayatollah Abu al-Qasim al-Khu'i was the *marja'* for most Shi'a in the world. Khu'i examined the corpus of proofs on the *wilayat*, and determined that no proof was sufficient to advance the authority of the *faqih* beyond matters of *hisbiyya*.¹⁸ This tension between *marja'* and *faqih* was further exacerbated after Khomeini's death in 1989, when Khamenei ascended to Supreme Leadership but was still considered to be a "junior cleric" who, by comparison to Khomeini's religious standing and charismatic status, was rather uninspiring.¹⁹ Sistani has built on the tradition of Khu'i, though he has claimed that he affords more power to the jurist than Khu'i, though certainly less than Khomeini. He has refrained from directly challenging the concept of *Velayat-e-Motlagheye Faqih*, likely both due to his preference for political quietism and desire to minimize tensions with Khamenei; though on his website he has stated that he believes jurist's ability to exercise influence over issues outside of *hisbiyya* is contingent on acceptance by the believers.²⁰

The danger to clerics who opposed absolute rule of the jurist was very real: even to Iranian clerics like Grand Ayatollah Muhammad

¹⁵ Ibid. 303.

¹⁶ Bernhardt notes that *mustakbirun* and *mustad'afun* are vague terms meaning oppressor and downtrodden. *Khat al-Imam: Lit. line of the imam*, referring to the political ideology of Khomeini.

¹⁷ Bernhardt. 305.

¹⁸ Public affairs, to do with issuing legal rulings, leading Friday prayer, collecting the *khums* tithe, and supervising

the affairs of orphans and the mentally unsound. Mavani. 216.

¹⁹ Ibid. 217.

²⁰ The condition is "المؤمنين لدى عامة مقبولة للفقهاء يكون" ('The Jurist shall have the consensus of the faithful [believers]'). Ali al-Husseini al-Sistani, "الفقيه ولأية « الاستفتاءات »", *Sistani.org*.

Kazem Shariatmadari. He contested Khomeini's decision to include *Velayat-e-Faqih* in the constitution in favour of *Velayat-e-Fuqaha* (Guardianship of Jurists), who was accused of bribing the foreign minister \$250,000 to launch a rocket at Ayatollah Khomeini's home and subsequently defrocked placed under house arrest until his death in 1986.²¹²² Shariatmadari was also one of only a handful in parliament who advocated for an alternative system of representation when the constitution of Iran was being discussed. Saffari's analysis of the ways in which Iranian clergy institutionalized their power in the constitution highlights that the inclusion of the rule by *faqih* rested largely on Khomeini's political maneuvering within the Islamic Republican Party combined with broad support for a united front to fill the power vacuum left by the monarchy.²³ Yet a comparison of the debates surrounding the adoption of Article 5—establishing the *velayat*—and Article 110—delineating the scope of the Jurisconsults powers—displays that opposition was concentrated entirely on the breadth of the powers awarded to the *faqih* rather than the position itself. Saffari notes that “Article 110 proved so controversial and complicated that each part was debated and voted on separately”.²⁴

It is also worth noting that these were not new debates, though also not having been grappled with as extensively as they have been now compared to before the crystallization of Khomeini's theory. Shaykh Murtada Ansari, widely considered to be one of the greatest Shi'i minds of the 19th century, argued that there is not sufficient proof to equate the duties of the *fuqaha* and those of the Infallibles. He instead outlines the three functions jurists would be authorized to perform during the Occultation: issuing legal

opinions for the benefit of the public, administering justice based on extrapolations from the accepted and renowned works of Hadith, and discretionary juristic authority which may include affairs of politics.²⁵ Even Khomeini's former student, Ayatollah Morteza Motahhari, takes a stance more in line with that of Shaykh Ansari. He posits that the *Velayat-e-Faqih* does not entail rule by a jurisconsult, rather their role was a supervisory one to ensure the *shari'a* and the people were not being compromised.²⁶

This examination has demonstrated how transformation and development of *Velayat-e-Faqih* as a governance structure has been a contested tradition, but how contentions are directed at specific perceived incongruencies with text or tradition. Khomeini did not initially espouse a theory of absolute government, rather the expansion happened later in life—ostensibly as a reaction to challenges to his authority, or as Saffari suggests, he may have dismissed the necessity of a constitution in providing a veneer of legitimacy given his incredible popular appeal. Disagreements range from total rejection of the concept—as in *Akhbariyya*—or more commonly, reject Khomeini's *Velayat-e-Motlagheye Faqih* as giving far too much authority to the jurist—particularly given Khomeini's view that a *faqih* is not bound by *shari'a* if acting in the (nebulous) public interest. This is showcased by the debate around Article 110—outlining the powers of the jurist—and the lack of similar debate around Article 5—which enshrined the principle of *Velayat-e-Faqih*. Silent opposition persists in Najaf, where Sistani and his *hawzat* stress the limited authority of the *faqih* outside of *hisbiyya*, at least without the consensus of the *Umma*.

²¹ Saffari, Said. “The Legitimation of the Clergy's Right to Rule”. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 20, no. 1 (1983). 71.

²² “Ghotbzadeh Admits Role In Plot”. *The New York Times*, April 21, 1982.

²³ Saffari. 66.

²⁴ Saffari. 75.

²⁵ Mavani. 213.

²⁶ Ibid.

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The World's First Monumental Site for Diplomatic Encounters

An Integrative Approach to Analyzing the Built Environment at Gobekli Tepe

KATLIN LONG-WRIGHT

The impetus for creating the built environment, (enclosures A, B, C, and D) of layer III at Gobekli Tepe, continue to puzzle scholars. This Pre-Pottery Neolithic site in Turkey is of keen focus to scholars for its monumental construction whose presence contradicts the theory agriculture was the antecedent of sedentary settlements. This paper uses spatial analysis methods of topology, energetics, and agent-based approach to reveal the plausible capabilities of the four enclosures. The discussion reveals that the built environment could not only facilitate cooperative social interactions amongst hunter-gatherers but itself is a product of a unified group of Neolithic peoples.

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The excavation of the historic site Gobekli Tepe, located in Turkey, began in 1995 under the direction of the late German Archaeologist Dr. Klaus Schmidt. His excavations revealed three primary occupation layers at the site, the oldest of which dates to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period (PPN, or around 9,600 BCE). This PPN occupation layer consists of four large scale enclosures ranging from nine to fifteen metres in diameter. T-shaped limestone pillars, covered in pictorial depictions of animals and ranging in height from two to seven metres, were erected within each of the enclosures. In attempting to reconstruct the kinds of social functions conducted at the site, several scholars have posited that the pillars indicate a cultic purpose, and possibly that Gobekli Tepe is the world's first temple.¹ Meanwhile, other scholars have focused on the placement of the pillars: by applying a post-processual approach, they argue

that the design demonstrates a secular use, such as for shelter or storage.² Despite their differing opinions, these scholars agree that Neolithic individuals (either from differing or similar kin-groups) gathered together at this site for an unspecified purpose. Exploring how the built environment leaves clues as to the kinds of social interactions that might have occurred between Neolithic visitors to the site serves as the basis for this discussion. In order to extrapolate the site's ability to foster certain kinds of social interactions between varying groups of people, two methods of syntactic analysis are used in combination to derive quantitative measures from the four enclosures. The first method is an emic-based visual analysis used to understand how the sight was perceived; the second method is a post-processual analysis of the construction methods for the site. These analyses reveal that the occupants of Gobekli Tepe collaborated with one another to materialize a desired built environment aimed at supporting the inclusion of more than one kin-based Neolithic group.

¹ Scham, Sandra. "The World's First Temple Author". *Archaeology* 61 (2008). 23.

Tobolczyk, Marta. "The World's Oldest Temples in Gobekli Tepe and Nevali Cori, Turkey in the Light of Studies in Ontogenesis of Architecture". *Procedia Engineering* 161 (2016). 1398.

Hodder, Ian. "The Role of Religion in the Neolithic of the Middle East and Anatolia with Particular Reference to Çatalhöyük". *Paléorient* 37 (2011). 111.

² Banning, E.B. "So Fair a House: Gobekli Tepe and the Identification of Temples in Pre-Pottery Neolithic Near East". *Current Anthropology* 52 (2011). 623.

Kornienko, Tatiana V. "Notes on the Cult Buildings of Northern Mesopotamia in the Aceramic Neolithic Period". *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68 (2009). 89.

Based on these analyses, this paper argues that Gobekli Tepe functioned as a built environment for cooperative social interactions between numerous individual Neolithic kin-groups, through the incorporation of an inclusive spatial arrangement, a design layout that enables unrestricted visual access throughout the varying enclosures, and the use of monumental building materials in the site's construction that would have required these kin-groups to act as a unified, collaborative community.

Gobekli Tepe is a Neolithic site situated on the highest point of a rocky plateau that can be seen from a kilometer away in all directions. The excavation has yet to yield evidence for a sedentary settlement, but geothermal scans revealed rectangular planning in earlier stratigraphic layers.¹ This lack of evidence for sedentary habitation prompted a reexamination of the theory that agriculture preceded monumental construction efforts by humankind. This prompted an investigation into who these Neolithic peoples were, and why they would have engaged in a large-scale building project. The result of this investigation revealed that Gobekli Tepe was a gathering site for supra-regional groups of hunter-gatherers. The basis for this conclusion is derived primarily (but not only) from the analysis of strontium isotopes in animal bones, including human; the identification of different craft techniques to make shaft straighteners; and stone tools from differing regions, such as arrow points, and flint stones.² The presence of these structures indicates a significant development in communication

between the hunter-gatherer groups from the surrounding area of Gobekli Tepe, and the kinds of social interactions they engaged in. Specifically, the development of consistent and on-going dialogue between these varying groups which facilitated the creation of the site. A manifestation of developing communication and cooperative interactions also appears in the material record from the site: an oxalate isotope analysis of scapulae found at Gobekli revealed traces of the isotopes that emerge during the fermentation phase of beer production, and a large deposit of animal bones suggests these hunter-gatherer groups engaged in communal feasting at the site.³

For the purposes of this discussion, “cooperative social interactions” are understood to be encounters between two or more peoples engaging in any form of activity, specifically supra-regional Neolithic peoples that would have occupied the area around Gobekli Tepe. Examples of these kinds of interactions can therefore include such activities as feasting, construction, hunting preparation, tool-making, or other activities of the same quality. Clearly, these Neolithic peoples had formed a collaborative community intent on promoting mutual aid and existence, and a topological analysis of the site demonstrates how Gobekli Tepe facilitated these kinds of interactions.

TOPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

A topological analysis of the spatial arrangement of Gobekli Tepe demonstrates how the enclosures

¹ Schmidt, Klaus. “Gobekli Tepe—The Stone Age Sanctuaries: New Results of Ongoing Excavations with a Special Focus on Sculptures and High Reliefs”. *Documenta Praehistorica* 37 (2010). 239.

² Lang, Caroline, Joris Peters, Nadja Pöllath, Klaus Schmidt, and Gisela Grupe. “Gazelle Behaviour and Human Presence at Early Neolithic Gobekli Tepe, South-East Anatolia”. *World Archaeology* 45 (2013). 417. Dietrich, Oliver, Manfred Heun, Jens Nostroff, Klaus Schmidt, and Martin Zarnkow. “The Role of Cult and

Feasting in the Emergence of Neolithic Communities. New Evidence from Gobekli Tepe, South-Eastern Turkey”. *Antiquity* 86 (2012). 685.

Schmidt, Klaus. *Gobekli Tepe: A Stone Age Sanctuary in South-Eastern Anatolia*. Berlin: Ex Oriente, 2012. 121.

³ Dietrich et al. “The Role of Cult and Feasting”. 687. Lang et al. “Gazelle Behaviour and Human Presence”. 422.

were made for cooperative social interactions by making every space publicly accessible, limiting the depth of each enclosure, and omitting doors from the spatial integration. To begin, the convex spaces for the gamma and alpha level spatial analyses are constituted as spaces with three walls and any number of entrances, with the exception of spaces seven, sixteen, and seventeen, which act as ‘hallways’ between one enclosure and another. As Bill Hillier notes, the separation of space is bound by certain spatial laws which give the space its form.⁴ This definition is necessary as the enclosures are non-orthogonal, making it difficult to ascertain the contemporary demarcations of a particular space. As a result, more spaces are presented in the syntactic measures of the alpha level analysis as the delineation of spaces increased when including the spaces between the combined enclosures.

The control values from the gamma level analysis for each of the four enclosures reveals an open access arrangement and thus the open accessibility of the space. The syntactic measures of the four enclosures reveal that for each structure, the room exhibiting the most control (CV) is the carrier, or the space outside the outermost enclosure walls (see table 1). The space yielding the highest control value operates as the room with the most control in the overall spatial configuration, as access to the other rooms of a configuration must be reached from the room with the highest CV.⁵ The exception is the CV for Enclosure D, as Room 1 has the higher CV value and therefore the most control; no porthole stone or door (more on this later in the discussion) was discovered between Room 1 and the carrier, therefore Room 1 and the Carrier occupy the same space, such as a hallway. As the Carrier yields the highest CV in each of the four enclosures, controlling access into the structure, and

movement throughout, these spaces were not, according to this analysis, a high priority for the Neolithic groups. The syntactic measures of the spatial design demonstrate, then, that the enclosures were designed to support cooperative social interactions by permitting all occupants access to the site. The Access Graphs provide another insight into an intentional spatial design supporting cooperative interactions between Neolithic peoples.

The Access Graphs for each Enclosure provide a visual representation that can be used to understand the degree in which public inclusivity was incorporated into the spatial design of the site. By viewing the access graphs (see figure 1) it becomes apparent that the enclosures were not spatially configured to dissuade occupants of the site from engaging in the activities occurring within. The graphs demonstrate that while two rooms may have the same control value, it does not guarantee that one space has more control than the other, however in the case of Gobekli Tepe the carrier has far more control, as it is connected to every other enclosure. As Dr. Hillier suggests, “residence tends to restrain and structure copresence, and therefore to arrange buildings to achieve relatively localized and restrictive spatial configurations”.⁶ From this argument, the lack of restrictive configuration implies both that the site had no single group of dominant occupants – i.e. that no individual group had control over access to the site, and that the various inhabitants opted for a design with unobstructed movement throughout. The spatial integration of each space within the enclosures and the site itself also demonstrates how its spatial design facilitated cooperative and unrestricted social interactions.

The relative asymmetry values (or RA, which represent how “deep” each space is relative to the other spaces in the spatial configuration of

⁴ Hillier, Bill, and Vinicius Netto. “Society Seen Through the Prism of Space: Outline of a Theory of Society and Space”. *Urban Design International* 7 (2002). 182.

⁵ Ibid. 184.

⁶ Ibid. 182.

the site) of the alpha analysis reveal that the majority of spaces for all four enclosures at Gobekli Tepe did not vary greatly in how deep they were set in the site's configuration, and further demonstrates that cooperative interactions dominated the societal function of this built environment.⁷ Mark Grahame argues that a representation of low RA values relative to one another within a configuration implies the society operating within that space is one with a "collectivistic identity".⁸ Table 2 presents the syntactic measures for the relative asymmetry for each of the four enclosures, which range from .03 (the lowest value) to .20 (the highest). Therefore, as Grahame suggests, the relatively low discrepancy between the highest and lowest RA values for Gobekli Tepe indicates a high degree of freedom in accessing the deepest, and thus most likely private, space from the outside and most public space. From the RA values, the spatial integration of Gobekli Tepe reveals the intent to make the spaces more accessible by limiting how deep each space was in the overall configuration, and it therefore promotes cooperative social interactions by making each space easily accessible to all occupants.

Analyzing the doors of a space also provides information about the kinds of interactions intended for a space as it demonstrates the level of control being exercised over movement between spaces, and can therefore be used to determine the degree of access into a room. During his excavations, Dr. Schmidt found large rectangular limestone slabs with rectangular holes in the centre that he refers to as port-hole stones.⁹ Based on finding the port-hole stones in similar locations around the structures, Dr.

Schmidt argued that these may have been the doorways into the enclosures. In his reconstruction, Schmidt believes the stones would have been placed vertically in the ashlar stone walls.¹⁰ The only measurement for the rectangular opening in a port-hole stone in Schmidt's site report belongs to Enclosure B, measuring 83 centimetres (see Figure 2).¹¹ If Dr. Schmidt's theory is correct, the porthole stones represent a barrier method and are therefore a possible indication of restriction. The Porthole stones, however, show no signs of attached skins or other barriers to form a true door, thus allowing unobstructed, albeit tight, entry into the enclosures. Dr. Smith argues that a key concept to understanding the degree of public accessibility (or inclusiveness) of a site, is the appearance of controlled entry into its spaces.¹² From Dr. Smith's assertion, then, the lack of restricted access into the varying spaces of each enclosure at Gobekli Tepe signifies intentional public access. This public access enables cooperative social interactions by allowing movement freely from one enclosure to another and to the myriad activities taking place within. Furthermore, while the topological analysis of Gobekli Tepe's enclosures evinces social cooperation via spatial arrangement, the visual analysis discussed below focuses on an agent-based approach to understanding how hunter-gatherers could have experienced the space.

AGENT-CENTERED APPROACH

An agent-centered analysis of Gobekli Tepe demonstrates how cooperative interactions were encouraged visually through the presentation of

⁷ Hillier, Bill, and Julienne Hanson. *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. 108.

⁸ Grahame, Mark. *Reading Space: Social Interaction and Identity in Houses of Roman Pompeii*. Oxford: Archaeo Press, 2000. 74.

⁹ Schmidt. *Gobekli Tepe*. 100.

¹⁰ Schmidt. "Gobekli Tepe—The Stone Age Sanctuaries". 250.

¹¹ Schmidt. *Gobekli Tepe*. 150.

¹² Smith, Michael E. "Form and Meaning in the Earliest Cities: A New Approach to Ancient Urban Planning". *Journal of Planning History* 6 (2007). 23.

shared iconographic imagery, the creation of walls that led directly to the enclosures, and through unhindered visual access inside the enclosures. Gobekli Tepe is famous for its rich abundance of Neolithic art in the form of bas reliefs and protomes on its pillars.¹³

Whether or not the depictions function in agreement with Charles Peirce's tripartite categorization (symbol, icon, and index), will not be discussed in this paper, as several scholars have already argued for the interpretive meanings of the images.¹⁴ The intent of this discussion is to evaluate these depictions for their ability to demonstrate a visual materialization of cooperative social interactions. These depictions appear throughout the four enclosures and range from a number of fauna, including bulls, bears, vultures, ducks, boars, snakes, scorpions, spiders, foxes, cranes, wild cats, sheep; to icons, such as crescent moons, horns, parallel lines; to anthropomorphic hominids on the central T-shaped pillars of each enclosure.¹⁵ Both Nelson and Dietrich argue that symbols can serve as the basis for a shared codified meaning, or underlying grammar, between ancient peoples.¹⁶ The images at Gobekli Tepe indicate standards of depiction were in use. Again, the focus of this discussion is not what that grammar may have been, but on the ability to recognize these depictions as a materialization of cooperative social interaction between the diverse occupants of Gobekli Tepe. This "grammar" shared understanding would require an agreed upon look or style, one that each

member of the society could recognize and understand.¹⁷ One example of this is the appearance of fox iconography within each of the four enclosures (see figure 3) which appears in the same quadrupedal form, with a fanged mouth and bent legs. This example bolsters the notion that the occupants cooperated to the extent of creating standardized depictions for the aesthetic of Gobekli Tepe. Additionally, analyzing how the visual experience within the enclosure walls may also denote a concerted effort at the site to promote cooperative social interactions.

A visual analysis incorporating isovist fields demonstrates how the design of the enclosure walls ensures cooperative interactions by directing occupants towards the areas of social activity. Edward Hall argues that social interactions are impeded or enhanced by the visual properties of a space, as they convey a public or private stimulus to the observer.¹⁸ By applying an axial analysis to the enclosure walls of Enclosure C, the public stimulus experienced in the space becomes apparent. The narrow walls of enclosure C guide one visually towards the other areas of activity, whether inside the enclosure or to the outside (see figure 4). By using a 3D model of Gobekli Tepe, the manner in which the walls probably guided occupants of the space toward areas of social activity can be better understood (see figure 5). This design guided occupants towards one another, and to the large spaces reserved for communal activities; in this way it demonstrates the visual function of the

¹³ Scham. "World's First Temple". 24.

¹⁴ Preucel, Robert W. "Saussure and His Legacy". In *Archaeological Semiotics*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 4.

Schmidt. *Gobekli Tepe*. 75.

Hodder. "The Role of Religion". 112.

Magli, Giulio. "Sirius and the Project of the Megalithic Enclosures at Gobekli Tepe". *Nexus Network Journal* (2015). 338.

¹⁵ Scham. "World's First Temple". 23.

Busaca, Gesualdo. "Places of Encounter: Relational Ontologies, Animal Depiction and Ritual Performance at

Gobekli Tepe". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* (2017). 11.

Schmidt, Klaus. "Gobekli Tepe, Southeastern Turkey: A Preliminary Report on the 1995-1999 Excavations". *Paléorient* 26 (2000). 49 – 50.

¹⁶ Dietrich et al. "The Role of Cult and Feasting". 684.

Nelson, Ben A., Stephen H. Lekson, Ivan Sprajc, and Kenneth E. Sassaman. "Shaping Space: Built Space, Landscape, and Cosmology in Four Regions". *SFI Working Paper* 02 – 005 (2011). 15.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Hall, Edward. *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966. 114.

space to redirect occupants towards the cooperative social interactions.

Visibility within the enclosures is another indicator of the degree to which the built environment supported cooperative social interactions. Each of the four enclosures include two central t-shaped pillars, which act as the only kind of visual obstruction to an individual within the space, demonstrating a concerted effort to support cooperative social interactions. Amos Rapoport argues that applying a nonverbal communication approach to analyzing proxemic spatial arrangements reveals the kinds of social interactions a space was intended for.¹⁹ Applying this approach to the proxemic spatial arrangements of the enclosures at Gobekli Tepe, by using a visual analysis of the space, reveals an intention for occupants to move and see freely in the enclosure. From the visual analysis, both the 2D and 3D results demonstrate the degree to which this visual freedom was allowed in the space. Furthermore, Lawrence argues that the spatial form can indicate what kind of social interactions occurred within a space. In expanding upon this notion, it is clear that the spatial form of the enclosures, with the exception of enclosure A, are curvilinear, and devoid of visual obstructions, which fosters open and public interactions in this space (see figure 6).²⁰ As the inhabitants of the site were hunter-gatherers from varying regions, the spatial arrangement compensated in order to promote cooperative social interactions between the diverse occupants within the enclosures, by creating an unhindered space for social activity. A visual analysis applied by Dr. McBride further demonstrates how an agent-centered approach to analyzing the site reveals a concerted effort to support cooperative social interactions by

directing the flow of movement in the enclosures to areas of social activity.

Another visual analysis of the enclosures, specifically for Enclosure D, utilizes the distribution of particular images as a way of directing movement. Dr. McBride argues that:

The images on the T-shaped pillars at Göbekli Tepe were dispersed throughout the structures. This could suggest that participants were required to move through the structure in order to engage with all of the images. A contextual examination of potential clockwise or counter-clockwise circuits of the structures does not indicate any pattern to the imagery, though it is likely that they represented a narrative that is now lost.²¹

While it is hard to substantiate Dr. McBride's claim, her theory demonstrates that activities performed in the space would be in the purview of everyone in the enclosure, and therefore shows the inclusion of all occupants in the participation of activities. A limitation to this idea is its inability to recreate the non-fixed agents who may have been able to conceal certain activities from others within the enclosure by using their bodies as the visual obstruction. Further research would be needed to properly understand the roles of these mobile agents in the site.

The cooperative interactions that occurred at the site are also apparent in the construction efforts of the enclosures. The structures which demonstrate a substantial investment in construction at Gobekli Tepe represent cooperative social interactions that included organized labour at nearby limestone quarries, the

¹⁹ Rapoport, Amos. *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990. 49.

²⁰ Lawrence, Denise L., and Setha M. Low. "The Built Environment and Spatial Form". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19 (1990). 460.

²¹ McBride, Alexis. "Performance and Participation: Multi-Sensual Analysis of Near Easter Pre-Pottery Neolithic Non-Domestic Architecture". *Paléorient* 39 (2013). 59.

transportation of quarried materials to the site, and the manual building of the enclosures. The stone used in the construction of the enclosure walls and the pillars were quarried from limestone deposits surrounding the site, the largest of which was found on the Western Plateau of the region, some 240 meters away from Gobekli Tepe.²² Here, U-shaped depressions were hewn out of the bedrock, providing access to the rest of the limestone that could then be chiseled out with the use of flint tools, and, as Banning suggests, the use of wooden levers and wedges.²³ The human manipulation of the bedrock indicates its designation as a locale for social interaction, and therefore an extension of the types of social interactions that occurred at Gobekli Tepe.²⁴ Thus, the interactions occurring here would have been between the hunter-gatherers cooperating to quarry the stones for the enclosures at Gobekli Tepe; one of the T-shaped pillars had yet to be fully quarried out of the bedrock, leaving evidence of the technique they used (see figure 7).²⁵ This taxing labour of quarrying the large pillars required cooperation amongst the various hunter-gatherers in order to succeed, thus the activity of quarrying is evidence for cooperative social interactions.²⁶

Moving the stones from the various quarries to Gobekli Tepe for its construction further demonstrates the cooperative social interactions that emerged as a result of the construction efforts for the site. Both Drs. Schmidt and Banning argue that the specific method used to transport the pillars from the quarries to Gobekli, whether by using a rolling log

technique, or by some other means, remains inconclusive.²⁷ Regardless of the technique, the transportation of these pillars, weighing on average ten to fifty tons (see table 3), would require the acquisition of materiel, such as lumber for rolling and vessels to pour water on the ground for lubrication.²⁸ Both the acquisition of tools and the physical moving of the pillars arises from a division of tasks between the workers.²⁹ Therefore, the hunter-gatherers would have needed to actively discuss and agree upon roles for one another, and which thus demonstrates that clear communication had to be achieved in order to effectively transport the pillars from the quarry to the site. In this way, the transportation efforts necessary to build the site created cooperative social interactions through the demand for communication during the transportation efforts, a demand that can further be seen in the physical construction of the Enclosures.

The building of the enclosures, which required a system of workers to accomplish, further demonstrates the site's role in fostering cooperative social interactions. E. B. Banning of the University of Toronto conducted an energetics study on Gobekli Tepe to determine the labour investment required to erect the large T-shaped pillars, in order to substantiate Schmidt's claim that the installation would require large numbers of people.³⁰ From this study, Banning determined that depending on the size of the pillar, the number of individuals necessary to raise the pillars into place would only be about a dozen or so people (see table 3). Construction of the site also included the setting of ashlar cut limestones,

²² Schmidt. *Gobekli Tepe*. 97.

Banning. "So Fair a House". 622.

²³ Ibid.

Schmidt. "A Preliminary Report". 48.

²⁴ Hillier and Hanson. *Social Logic of Space*. 9.

Lawrence and Low. "The Built Environment and Spatial Form". 454.

²⁵ Schmidt. "A Preliminary Report". 48.

²⁶ Banning. "So Fair a House". 624.

²⁷ Scham. "World's First Temple". 26.

Banning. "So Fair a House". 624.

²⁸ Ibid.

Schmidt. "A Preliminary Report". 48.

²⁹ Abrams, Elliot M. and Thomas W. Bolland.

"Architectural Energetics, Ancient Monuments, and Operations Management". *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 6 (1999). 267.

³⁰ Schmidt. *Gobekli Tepe*. 102.

Banning. "So Fair a House". 622.

using mortar to build the enclosure walls, and the setting of terrazzo floors in enclosures B and C, an additional task that is not included in Banning's nonetheless impressive energetics study of the site.³¹ Regardless, Banning's quantitative measure demonstrates that dozens of individuals or more were required for the construction of the site, and more specifically the organization of multiple individuals needed in setting the T-pillars into place. In other words, the individuals would need to work in concert with one another, communicating as the physical movement of the stones was taking place, thereby using cooperative social interactions to finish the job.

The mystery of Gobekli Tepe's function continues to puzzle scholars, but this inspires them to apply new forms of analysis to the site, so as to further our collective understanding of it. The application of an integrative approach reveals how Gobekli Tepe certainly was a gathering site, where groups from various regions agreed to work together, though to what end we still do not know. It is this integrative approach that firmly

establishes Gobekli Tepe's function and quality as the world's first Monumental diplomatic site. The topological analysis of the spatial arrangement of Gobekli Tepe demonstrated that the enclosures were made for cooperative social interactions through the syntactic measures and access graphs of the spatial analysis, which showed a consistent design of public inclusivity to the space. The visual agent-centered analysis of Gobekli Tepe demonstrated that cooperative interactions were present in the appearance of standardized iconography and an agreed upon grammar, the use of walls to direct individuals towards areas of activity, and by the unhindered visual access inside the enclosures where activities between hunter-gatherers would have occurred. Finally, the structures required a substantial communal investment in labour organization at limestone quarries, as well as an effective means of communication necessary to a successful transportation system, and cooperation between hunter-gatherers during the manual installation of the pillars and enclosure walls at Gobekli Tepe.

³¹ Schmidt. "A Preliminary Report". 49.

Schmidt. *Gobekli Tepe*. 241.

Tables

Table 1

Syntactic Measures for Enclosure A

Room #	CV	MD	RA	RRA
Carrier	1	0	2	/
1	1	0	2	/

Table 2

Syntactic Measures for Enclosure B

Room #	CV	MD	RA	RRA
Carrier	1.5	1.33	0.33	/
1	0.5	1.33	0.33	/
2	0.5	2	1	/
3	1.5	1.33	0.33	/

Table 3

Syntactic Measures for Enclosure C

Room #	CV	MD	RA	RRA
Carrier	4.83	1.25	0.07	0.23
1	0.66	1.88	0.25	0.79
2	0.16	2.13	0.32	1.01
3	0.83	2.25	0.36	1.13
4	0.16	2.63	0.46	1.46
5	1.66	1.63	0.18	0.56
6	0.16	2.63	0.46	1.46
7	0.33	2.50	0.43	1.35
8	0.16	2.13	0.32	1.01

Table 4

Syntactic Measures for Enclosure D

Room #	CV	MD	RA	RRA
Carrier	0.5	1.5	1	/
1	2	1	0	/
2	0.5	1.5	1	/

Table 1. Syntactic Measures for Enclosures A-D.

Syntactic Measures for Gobekli Tepe

Room #	CV	MD	RA	RRA
Carrier	6.91	1.24	0.03	0.84
1	0.41	2.12	0.14	0.12
2	0.41	2.12	0.14	0.59
3	0.50	3.00	0.25	0.59
4	1.08	2.06	0.13	1.05
5	0.58	2.06	0.13	0.56
6	0.08	2.18	0.15	0.56
7	0.75	2.71	0.21	0.62
8	0.08	2.18	0.15	0.90
9	2.08	1.88	0.11	0.62
10	0.25	2.82	0.23	0.47
11	0.33	2.00	0.13	0.96
12	1.08	2.06	0.13	0.53
13	0.50	3.00	0.25	0.56
14	0.58	2.12	0.14	1.05
15	0.91	2.06	0.13	0.59
16	0.91	2.06	0.13	0.56
17	0.58	2.59	0.20	0.56

Table 2. Syntactic Measure for Gobekli Tepe.

*Note this analysis was possible by incorporating an arbitrary border around the four enclosures, which otherwise had none. The delineation of space around the four enclosures was made by connecting each of the furthest most points of the site.

Estimates of the masses of Göbekli pillars and labor requirements for moving them with water or other lubricant over level ground without rollers

Pillar	Height (m)	Estimated volume (cm ³)	Low-mass estimate (kg)	High-mass estimate (kg)	Starting force (N)	Laborers
A.1	3.8	2,062,500	5,000	5,400	6,860	14
B.9 ^a	3.4	2,300,000	5,500	6,000	7,550	15
B.10 ^a	3.6	2,400,000	5,800	6,300	7,960	16
D.43	4.0	1,038,000	2,500	2,700	3,430	7
...	5.0	4,218,500	10,100	10,800	13,900	28
LP.1	2.0	307,700	740	800	1,015	2

Note. Moving up a slope of 8° would approximately double the labor requirement. Pillar heights, except where noted, assume burial of the lower quarter of each pillar. The low-mass estimate and starting force assume limestone with a specific gravity of 2.4 g/cm³; the high-mass estimate assumes a specific gravity of 2.6 g/cm³.

^a Values for pillars B.9 and B.10 are for aboveground portions only, so number of laborers should be higher by perhaps 20%.

Table 3. Energetics Table for Gobekli Construction. The table provides accurate numbers for the labour invested into the construction of Gobekli Tepe. (Banning 2011, p. 622).

Figures

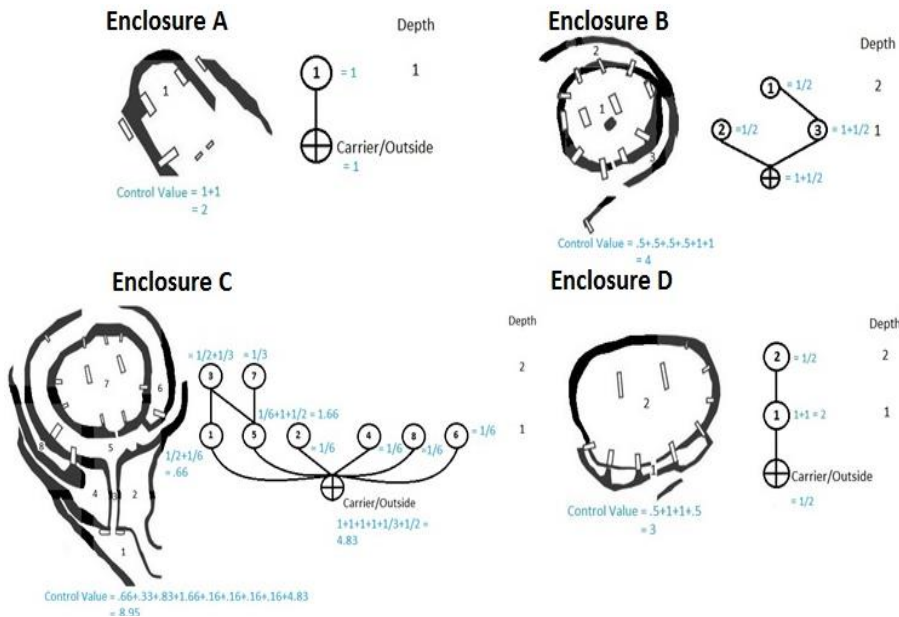


Figure 1. Gamma Level Analysis. This shows the CV, Room depth, and spatial integration of rooms for each of the four enclosures at Gobekli Tepe. The graphs demonstrate that while two rooms may have the same control value, this does not guarantee that one space has more control than the other, and in this case (Enclosure D) the carrier has far more control, as it is connected to every other enclosure.

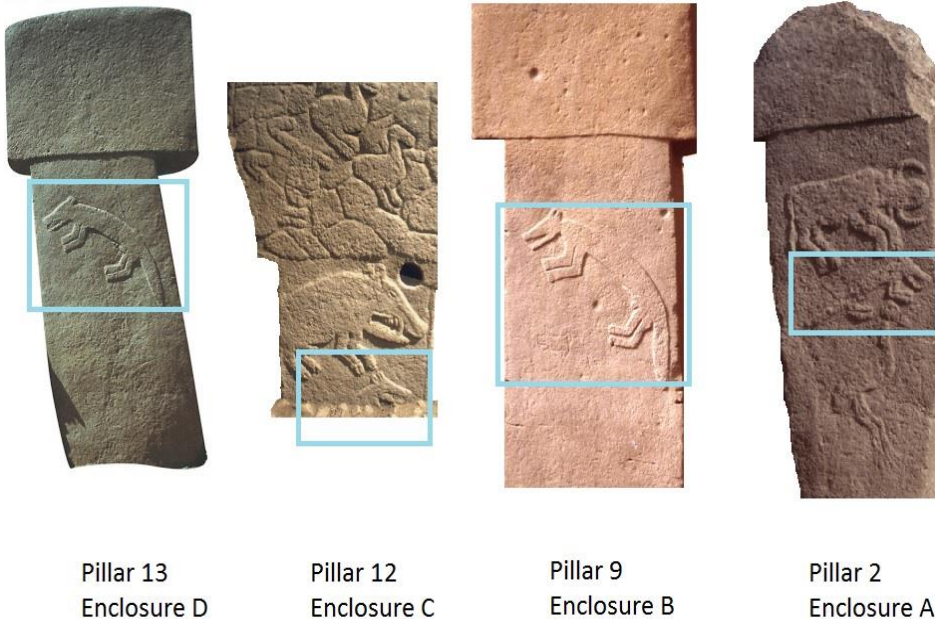


Figure 3. Pillar Image Comparison. The depictions of a fox on each of the pillars share the same active motion and proportionate rendering. While this does not convey their meaning to a modern audience, for instance why some are with other animals and some are not, the decision to depict the foxes the same way demonstrates an agreed upon standardization of icons as a product of cooperative social interactions.

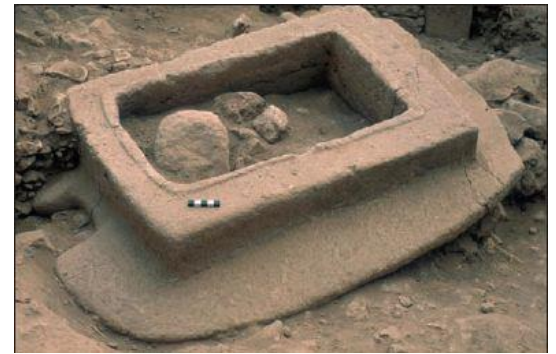


Figure 2. Enclosure B's Porthole Stone. Dr. Schmidt believes this rectangular limestone slab would have been mortared into the wall vertically as a doorway into the enclosures.

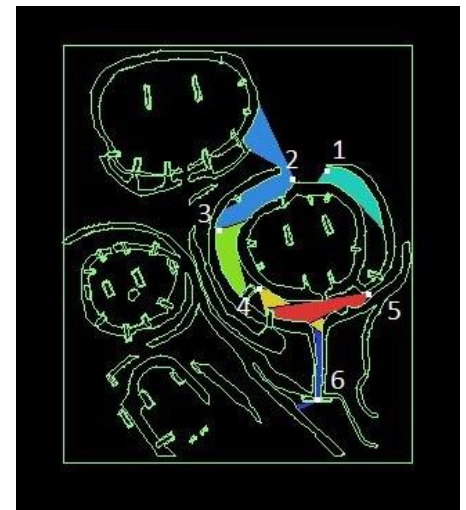


Figure 4. Isovist Field Analysis of Enclosure C. The numerical representations indicate the positions where a 180-degree isovist analysis (Fisher 2009, p. 450) was performed using *Depthmap*. Six points were chosen based on their vantage into the space, when the line of sight ends another point was chosen.

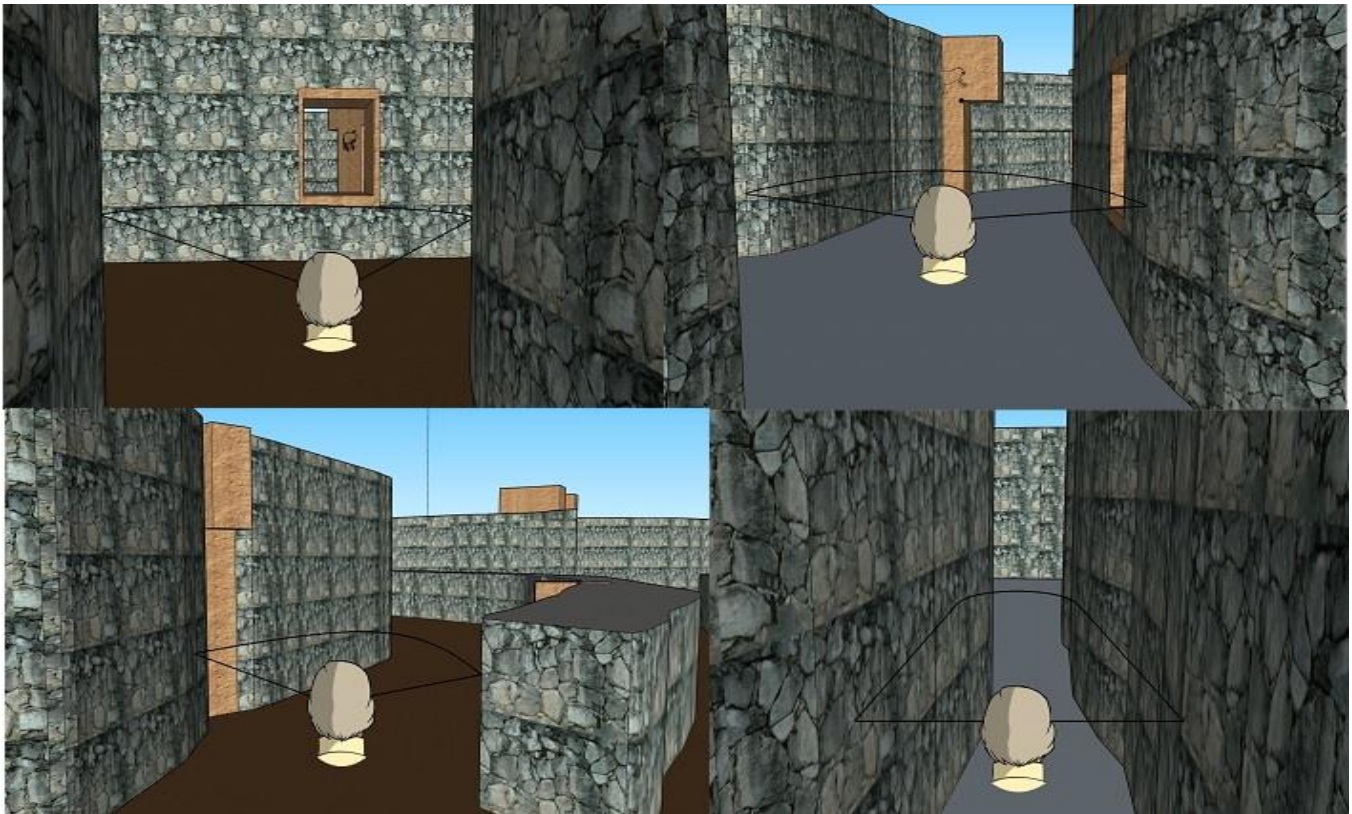


Figure 5. Visual Analysis with a 3D Model. The images demonstrate how the walls are constructed to visually direct an inhabitant towards the public spaces in the Enclosure. Model designed in *Sketchup*.

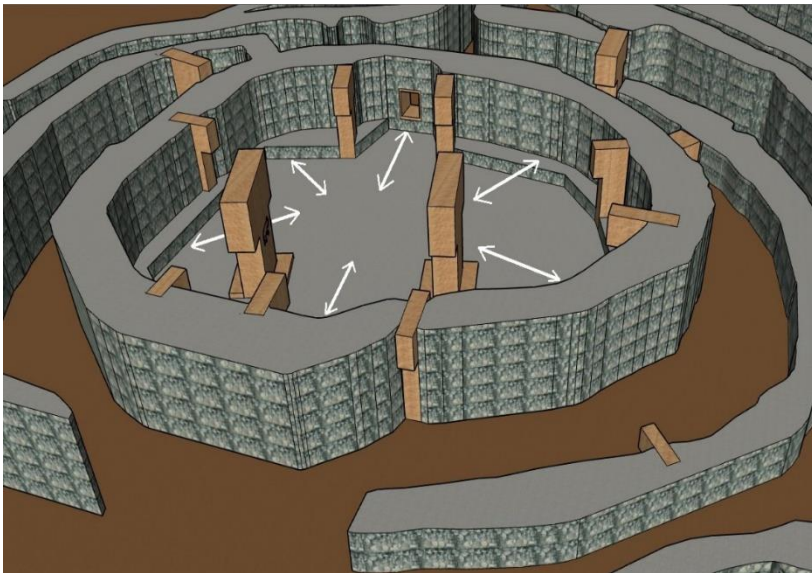


Figure 6. Enclosure C Visual Axial Lines. The image demonstrates that once inside the enclosure a person's view remains unobstructed in all areas, and is thereby a space for inclusive interactions. Model designed in *Sketchup*.



Figure 7. Western Plateau Quarry. The image depicts the quarrying stages of the T-shaped Pillars for the site. This unfinished pillar was discovered *in situ* on the Western plateau (Schmidt 2012, p. 99).

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