

The Book of Job: When, Where and Why?

Abstract. The Book of Job is full of fascinating paradoxes: despite it is the oldest book of the Bible (Job 19:23), it is very badly known, despite the fact that many details, even insignificant, about the life of Job are known this character is merely regarded like the Good Samaritan (a parable), despite the main question all over the book is: "why evil prevails?" the answer would be: "please, look at the hippopotamus and the crocodile" (Job 40:1-42:6), which is poetic but quite absurd. However, as Maimonides had already understood a long time ago the Book of Job: it includes profound ideas and great mysteries, removes great doubts, and reveals the most important truths (The Guide for the Perplexed III:22). Indeed Job lived (1710-1500) near Bozra in Idumea and received a deep and detailed answer, when the Israelites were suffering in Egypt (the Hyksos), in order to know when and how the evil angel, Leviathan a.k.a. Satan, will be defeated by Behemoth the first creature of God (Job 40:19). In a surprising manner, archaeology has shown that all the geographical and historical details in the Book of Job are accurate and reliable.

The Book of Job is the only one written in Old Hebrew among all the biblical scrolls found at Qumran, beside the books of Moses, and it is also the only one translated into Aramaic before our common era (Targum of Job), beside the Book of Leviticus¹. According to the Talmud: *Moses wrote his book and the section of Balaam and Job* (Baba Bathra 15a) and as it is written: *After this Job lived for 140 years, and he saw his children and his grandchildren —4 generations. Finally Job died, after a long and satisfying life* (Job 42:16-17), Job must have lived at least 140 years before Moses wrote his book. As Job made the following request: *If only my words were written down, if only they could be inscribed in a book* (Job 19:23) and as *seen the outcome Jehovah gave* (James 5:11), it is likely that his request was granted. Consequently the Book of Job is the oldest book of the Bible.

Many people who think themselves wise assume that Job was a fictional character like the Good Samaritan, a parable to teach morals. This assumption is illogical and even absurd. Indeed, what is the importance of knowing many insignificant details as: *So Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite went and did what Jehovah had told them to do (...) So Jehovah blessed the last part of Job's life more than the beginning, and Job came to have 14,000 sheep, 6,000 camels, 1,000 pairs of cattle, and 1,000 female donkeys. He also came to have 7 more sons and 3 more daughters. He named the first daughter Jemimah, the second Keziah, and the third Keren-happuch* (Job 42:9-14). If the Book of Job was a parable Satan would have persecuted a fictional character. Those who suppose that Satan must be the principle of evil lead to an absurdity because in that case God would have discussed with "it": *Jehovah said to Satan: Have you taken note of my servant Job? There is no one like him on the earth. He is an upright man of integrity, fearing God and shunning what is bad. At that Satan answered Jehovah: Is it for nothing that Job has feared God? Have you not put up a protective hedge around him and his house and everything he has? You have blessed the work of his hands, and his livestock has spread out in the land*" (Job 1:8-10). Some claim that God is itself a concept, but in that case one must be a convinced atheist to believe in such a nonsense (Romans 1:20), actually if Daniel, Job and Noah (Ezekiel 14:14, 20) are fictional all ancient characters of history, including Jesus, would be fictional.

The suspicion toward the Bible comes mainly from archaeologists who, because of the lack of data, claim frequently that historical evidence are wrong. For example, most archaeologists believed that major trade trips between Mesopotamia and Canaan were mythical despite the fact that a trip of 1620 km between Uruk and Lebanon (c. 2500 BCE) is already mentioned in the Epic of Gilgamesh (III:9-12), however several archaeological

¹ E. Tov – Textual Criticism of the Bible
Minneapolis 2012 Ed. Fortress Press pp. 96-97, 148-149.

surveys since 1990 have shown that these trips were quite frequent². Many academics refer again and again to Albright's statements of 1940, for who camels in the Bible were anachronistic, persisting to ignore archaeological evidence of a domestication around 2000 BCE³. Professor Edward Lipinski, in contrast, states⁴: *Camel seems to have been domesticated in Arabia since the 3rd millennium BCE*. Several studies mention relics, texts and animal remains that support domestication of the camel in Arabia⁵ starting prior 2000 BCE. Many petroglyphs⁶ occurring on rocks in Saudi confirm this as the presence of camel bones dating to late 3rd millennium⁷. Sometimes some petroglyphs are accompanied by a text containing the names of characters that can be located in time like the one found in the desert east of Edfu with the name Imai which is uncommon and appears only during the reign of Pepi II and situated the inscription around 2150-2100 BCE⁸. Archaeologists claim that at that time the majority of people were illiterate and only professional scribes knew writing, however the analysis of correspondence of the Assyrian merchants, around 1850 BCE, in Kanesh⁹ (Hittite capital in Anatolia) have shown that many of them were sending letters to their family, including their wives, and they got written responses through letters. For archaeologists Moses, if he ever existed (!), could not write the Pentateuch because the paleo-Hebrew only appeared after 1050 BCE¹⁰ and scribal schools in Palestine only began to exist after 800 BCE¹¹. These statements and dates are historically grotesque since those authors are well aware that the Semites who came from Egypt and lived in Palestine knew the old writing called proto-Canaanite¹², the ancestor of Old Hebrew. Moreover the oldest epigraphs in paleo-Hebrew, dated 1550-1480 BCE¹³ are close to that yet much later (c. 950 BCE) found at Tel Zayit, come from a professional scribe who inscribed his name in cuneiform: Ali-dîn-ili of Kup[patu?] (*a-lî-di-in-î-lî ša ku-up-[pa-tu? "high building"]*) and engraved it in paleo-Hebrew as: 'LDN'L GB' (Alidinel of Gaba "hill?") on the edge of the tablet¹⁴ (see *Dating the Five Books of Moses*).

As chronology is the backbone of history, at which epoch Job did he live (see "Dating the Biblical Chronology")? Job's genealogy is not known, probably because he was not an Israelite, but the genealogy of Elihu, one of his youngest comforters, is partly given: *So Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite began to speak, saying: "I am young and you men are aged"* (Job 32:6). The genealogy of Buz is given: *After this it was reported to Abraham: "Here Milcah has also*

² P. BUTTERLIN – Les temps proto-urbain de Mésopotamie
Paris 2003 Éd. CNRS Editions pp. 15-18, 196-198.

³ S.A. ROSEN, B.A. SAIDEL – The Camel and the Tent: An Exploration of Technological Change among Early Pastoralists
in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69:1 (2010) pp. 74-76.

⁴ E. LIPINSKI – Itineraria Phoenicia
in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 127 (2004) Éd. Peeters pp. 205-212.

⁵ S. AD SAUD ABDULLAH – The Domestication of Camels and Inland Trading Routes in Arabia
in: *Atlas. The Journal of Saudi Arabian Archaeology* Vol. 14, Riyadh 1996 pp. 129-131.

⁶ E. ANATI – Rock-Art in Central Arabia
Louvain Ed. Institut Orientaliste Vol. 1 (1968) pp. 109-111; Vol. 4 (1974) pp. 128,234..

⁷ J. ZARINS – Camel
in: *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. New York 1992 Ed. Doubleday pp. 824-826.

⁸ ZBYNEK ZABA – The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia
Prague 1974 Ed. Tzechoslovak Institute of Egyptology pp. 237, 238, Fig. 409 CCXXIX.

R.D. ROTHE, W.K. MILLER, G.R. RAPP – Pharaonic Inscriptions from the Southern Eastern Desert of Egypt
USA 2008 Ed. Eisenbrauns, p. 132.

⁹ C. MICHEL – La correspondance des marchands assyriens du XIX^e siècle av. J.-C.: de l'archivage des lettres commerciales et privées
in: *TOPII* Supplément 9 (2008, IFAO) pp. 117-140.

¹⁰ J.F. HEALEY – Consolidation de l'alphabet et extension vers l'Ouest
in: *La naissance des écritures du cunéiforme à l'alphabet* (Seuil, 1994), pp. 281-284.

¹¹ D.W. JAMIESON-DRAKE – Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah: A Socio-Archaeological Approach
Sheffield 1991, Ed. Sheffield University Press pp. 11-47.

¹² A. LEMAIRE – Les «Hyksos» et les débuts de l'écriture alphabétique au Proche-Orient
in: *Des signes pictographiques à l'alphabet* (Karthala, 2000) pp.103-133.

¹³ S. DALLEY – Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schøyen Collection
in: *Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* Vol. 9 (CDL Press, 2009) pp. 1-16, 112, plates LIH, CLHIV.

¹⁴ L. COLONNA D'ISTRIA – Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schøyen Collection
in: *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* N°3 (2012) pp. 61-63.

borne sons to Nabor your brother: Uz his firstborn, Buz his brother, Kemuel the father of Aram, Chesed, Hazo, Pildash, Jidlaph, and Bethuel." Bethuel became the father of Rebekah. Milcah bore these eight to Nabor the brother of Abraham (Genesis 22:20-23). Given that Job received exactly the double of all he had before his trial¹⁵ (Job 42:10), he was likely 70 years old (i.e. an aged man) at that time since he received a supplement of 140 years: *After this Job lived for 140 years, and he saw his children and his grandchildren —four generations* (Job 42:10,16). A generation at Job's time was lasting around 35 years (= 140/4). As it is written: *There is no one like him on the earth, he is an upright man of integrity, fearing God and shunning what is bad* (Job 1:8), Job was put to the test, after Joseph (a man of integrity) was yet alive. Consequently Job had to be born some years after 1748 BCE (= 1678 + 70), however as Moses (1613-1493) was also a man of integrity, Job had to be born before 1703 BCE (= 1493 + 140 + 70). The genealogy of Eliphaz II gives another clue because Sheik Teman in Edom was a descendant of Esau through his firstborn Eliphaz I (Genesis 36:10-11,15). Given that Abraham's genealogy can be precisely dated, Job was likely a contemporary of Manasseh (Genesis 50:23):

Abraham (2038- -1863)			Nahor II (2098-1963?)			
			Uz	Buz	Bethuel	
Isaac (1938-1758)	Esau (1938-1760?)	(Keturah)	[-]	[-]	Rebekah	Laban
Jacob (1878- -1731)	Eliphaz I (1900?-1800?)	Shuah	[-]	[-]		Rachel
	Teman (1860?-1770?)	[-]	[-]	[-]		
Joseph (1788-1678)	[-]	[-]	[-]	Barakel		
Manasseh (1753-1650?)	Eliphaz II	Bildad	(Job)	Elihu		

The precision "Eliphaz the Temanite" means literally "Eliphaz the one of Teman", which can be understood either "Eliphaz the descendant of Teman" or "Eliphaz the man of Teman (city)", which is the meaning suggested by the text of Jeremiah 49:7, in addition, the normal genealogy would have been "Eliphaz the Edomite". Consequently, Eliphaz the Temanite had to live in Teman. It was usual in the past of giving names to cities or regions from its founder or from a famous ancestor. For example Nahor II, Abraham's brother, who died before his arriving in Harran (Genesis 11:29-31) gave his name to the city of Naḥur (Til-Naḥiri), mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets (1800-1750) and in the letters of governor Itur-Asdu to King Zimri-Lim¹⁶ (1680-1667). Teman city (Tawilan)¹⁷ is near Petra, in the south of Bozra (Buseirah), between Sela (es-Sela') and Punon (Faynan). Given that Eliphaz was a close friend of Job, one can assume that they were living not very far from each other, besides Teman and Bozra were probably the two main cities of Edom (Amos 1:12). Furthermore, Job lived in the land of Uz (Job 1:1) and as it is written: *O daughter of Edom, living as you do in the land of Uz* (Lamentations 4:21); *starting with Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, her kings and her princes, to make them a ruin, an object of horror, something to whistle at and a curse, as it is today; then Pharaoh king of Egypt and his servants, his princes, and all his people, and all their mixed populations; all the kings of the land of Uz; all the kings of the land of the Philistines, Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron, and those remaining of Ashdod; Edom, Moab, and the Ammonites; all the kings of Tyre, all the kings of Sidon, and the kings of the island in the sea; Dedan, Tema, Buz, and all those with hair clipped at the temples; all the kings of the Arabians and all the kings of the mixed populations who reside in the wilderness* (Jeremiah 25:18-24), one can deduce that the land of Uz encompassed the land of Edom and also Uz was the forefather of Job rather than Edom

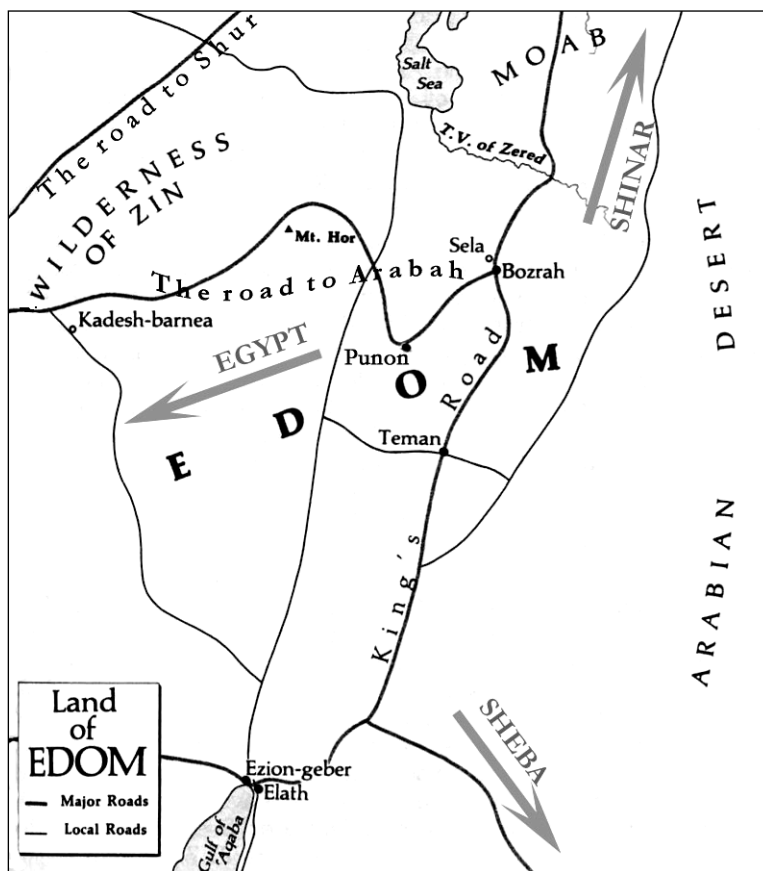
¹⁵ Job came to have 7 sons and 3 daughters (Job 42:13) as many as before his trial (Job 1:2) it is because the resurrection is implied. The targum of Job translated "7 sons and 3 daughters" into "14 sons and 3 daughters" (for the Jews only the sons are a blessing!). According to the Talmud, when Gamaliel I (25-50 CE) found a targum of Job he immediately requested it to be immured (Shabbat 115a).

¹⁶ A. PARROT – Abraham et son temps in: *Cahiers d'Archéologie Biblique* N°14 (Delachaux & Niestlé, 1962) pp. 48-49.

R. DE VAUX – Histoire ancienne d'Israël Paris 1986 Éd. J. Gabalda pp. 189-190.

¹⁷ Y. AHARONI – Land of the Bible Pennsylvania 1979 Ed. The Westminster Press pp. 40-45.

(Esau). Job was dwelling likely in a city not far from the wilderness situated on King's Road between Bozrah and Elath because it is written: *a messenger came to Job and said: The cattle were plowing and the donkeys were grazing beside them when the Sabaeans [from Sheba] attacked and took them, and they killed the servants with the sword. I am the only one who escaped to tell you (...) While he was still speaking, another one came and said: The Chaldeans [coming from Shinar] formed three bands and made a raid on the camels and took them, and they killed the servants with the sword (...) Suddenly a great wind came from the wilderness, and it struck the four corners of the house* (Jon 1:14-19). In addition, the text of Job 6:19 mentions the caravans of Tema (Arabian city south of Teman) and Job 22:24 mentions the gold of Ophir (or Sheba, Psalms 72:15). The language of Job was presumably Old Canaanite, language of the region at that time, although heavily influenced by Arabic as the names he has given to his daughters are of Arabic origin, like Jemimah (Job 42:14) "dove" in Arabic instead of Jonah "dove" in Hebrew (he also used 26 times the Arabic form Eloah "God", which became Allah, instead of the Hebrew El).



Several clues converge to locate Job's city or residency near Bozrah. Job was "as a king" a leading figure in the area at the time and as he possessed large herds and slaves (Job 1:3; 19:15; 29:25) so he needed large pastures which were to be located in an area eastward of Teman because of the climate¹⁸. Second clue: the routes taken by caravans coming from the north of Palestine to go into Egypt were either the road of the Sea (Via Maris), the road to Shur or the road to the Arabah but never the part of King's Road reaching the Gulf of Aqaba. First example (the road to Shur): *Let us go to Dothan. So Joseph went after his brothers and found them at Dothan (...) When they looked up, there was a caravan of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead. Their camels were carrying labdanum gum, balsam, and resinous bark, and they were on their way down to Egypt* (Genesis 37:17,25). Second example (the road to the Arabah): *Now in the days of*

¹⁸ J.J. BIMSON, J.P. KANE – New Bible Atlas
Leicester 1985 Ed. Inter-Varsity Press pp. 14-15.

Amraphel [Chaldean] king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, these made war with Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela, that is, Zoar. All of these joined forces at the Valley of Siddim, that is, the Salt Sea. They had served Chedorlaomer for 12 years, but they rebelled in the 13th year. So in the 14th year, Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him came and defeated the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, the Zuzim in Ham, the Emim in Shaveh-kiriathaim, and the Horites in their mountain of Seir down to El-paran, which is at the wilderness. Then they turned back and came to En-mishpat, that is, Kadesh, and conquered the whole territory of the Amalekites and also the Amorites who were dwelling in Hazazon-tamar (Genesis 14:1-7). The route for the return trip taken by Chedorlaomer (1990-1954) and his allies is well described in the biblical text. The places travelled are: 1) Kadesh-[barnea], 2) the mountain of Seir, down to Elparan, which is at the wilderness, 3) the Low Plain of Siddim (Salt Valley, LXX) and 4) Hôbah, which is north to Damascus (Genesis 14:6-8, 15). This road was known as "King's Road". The name Hôbah is mentioned as an area north of Damascus in the Execration Texts (2000-1800), but its spelling is fluctuating: Apu (*i-p-w-m*) or Aupa' (*i-w-p3-3*) in hieroglyph¹⁹, Api or Ubi in syllabic cuneiform (El-Amarna letter 189) and Hbt in alphabetic cuneiform²⁰. The Canaanite cities of Sharuhên (Tell el-Far'ah) which appeared later (c. 1750 BCE) and Kadesh-barnea ('Ain Qadeis) marked the southern boundaries with Egypt (Joshua 15:1-4; 19:6). Damascus, *dimašqa/i* or *dumašqa* in Akkadian, was often called URU/KUR *ša-imêrišu* "place of donkey driver", which alludes to its role as caravaneer relay.



¹⁹ S. AHITUV – Canaanite toponyms in ancient Egyptian documents
Jerusalem 1984 Ed. Magnes Press, Hebrew University p. 193.

²⁰ R. DUSSAUD – Nouvelles archéologiques
in: *Syria* 16:2 (1935) p. 228.

The Chedorlaomer's route (in green; Abraham's route is in red) and the description of his actions show that this king came to an area near Egypt in order to maintain control over a new land trade route. The same way that main cities on the path from Ur to Ugarit or Byblos were vassal of Šulgi and paid him taxes, Chedorlaomer had made vassals some major cities on the King's Road. The revolt which occurred in the 13th year of his rule (Genesis 14:4) was likely caused by an excessive withdrawal. During this year (1955 BCE) Šulgi's archives report an exceptional booty that the king got from Šimaški (Elam). Chedorlaomer's trip was therefore a police operation to force rebel kings to pay, but as they refused their cities were looted. Those cities drew their wealth from exports to Egypt of precious materials such as silver (the ratio silver/gold was 2/1 in Egypt), resins, spices, malachite and galena²¹ (and maybe export of wine²²).

Although Job is a cattle farmer he was not a nomad since he and his sons lived in houses of clay (Job 1:4,19; 4:19) near a public square: *I used to go out to the city gate and take my seat in the public square* (Job 29:7). Job also knew the existence of copper mines (Job 28:2), which must be those of Punon (Faynan), near Bozrah, the only ones known at that period²³ in this area²⁴. Thus Job and his sons probably lived in Bozrah, but only a tiny part of this old city²⁵ has been excavated and the oldest remnants are dated around 9th century BCE²⁶. Given that for most archaeologists *an absence of evidence is an evidence of absence*, the land of Edom never existed before. However, even if archaeological remnants are no longer, there are a few Egyptian documents which confirm the biblical account. The former name of the land of Edom was Mount Seir: *the Horites in their mountain of Seir down to Elparan, which is at the wilderness (...) So Esau took up dwelling in the mountainous region of Seir. Esau is Edom. And this is the history of Esau the father of Edom in the mountainous region of Seir (...) These are the sons of Esau, and these are their sheikhs. He is Edom. These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants of the land: Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishon, Ezer, and Dishan. These are the sheikhs of the Horites, the sons of Seir, in the land of Edom* (Genesis 14:6; 36:8-21). The land of Seir (Šêr) is mentioned²⁷ (š-‘r-r) in the Thutmosis III's Syrian list²⁸ dated around 1450 BCE. Then, in some El-Amarna letters²⁹ dated around 1350 BCE several names quoted in the book of Genesis appear as: *Mount Seir* (KUR.ḪA še-e-ri^{ki}, EA 288:26) and *city of Zoar* (zu-uh-ra^{ki}, EA 334:3) located at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea³⁰ (Genesis 13:8-10) and *Ayyab*, major of Ashtartu a city in the land of Ammon (EA 256:6,13, EA 364:2), a name close to Iyyob (Job). The land of Seir also appears on a stele and an obelisk (š-‘j-r) of Ramses II (1283-1216). Ramses III (1192-1161) claimed to have smitten the Seirites, clans of Bedouins (Shasu), referring to the same nomads mentioned in the ‘Amara-West list, and *the land of Edom* (i-d-w-m-), instead of *the land of Seir*, is mentioned as the provenance of nomadic (Shasu) clans, who were granted permission during the reign of Sethy II (1207-1202) to enter the vicinity of Sile with their herds in order to pasture upon the water-meadows. Egyptian documents confirm three biblical information: Edom existed long before the 9th century BCE, its former name was "the land of Seir" and its inhabitants were

²¹ B. MANLEY – Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt
London 1996 Ed. Penguin Books pp. 48-49.

²² Export of wine to some Canaanite cities is also likely because Sodom and Gomorrah, northern Negev, were renowned for this product, according to Genesis 19:29-35 and Deuteronomy 32:32-33, that is confirmed by archaeology (J.-P. BRUN – Le vin et l'huile dans la Méditerranée antique. Paris 2003 Éd. Errance p. 11).

²³ E. BEN-YOSEF, T.E. LEVY, & ALS – The beginning of Iron Age copper production in the southern Levant (...) Faynan, Jordan in: *Antiquity* 84 (2010) pp. 724-746.

²⁴ B. MANLEY – Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt pp. 18-19.

²⁵ Today called Buseirah (30°43' N 35°39' E).

²⁶ E.M. BLAIKLOCK, R.K. HARRISON – The New International Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology
Michigan 1983 Ed. Zondervan Publishing House p. 107.

²⁷ S. AHITUV – Canaanite toponyms in ancient Egyptian documents
Jerusalem 1984 Ed. Magnes Press, Hebrew University pp. 90, 169.

²⁸ Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia I:337.

²⁹ W.L. MORAN – Les lettres d'El Amarna

in: *LIPO* n°13 Paris 1987 Éd. Cerf pp. 483-484, 515, 559, 577, 602, 604.

³⁰ Yohanan Aharoni identifies Zoar with es-Safi, situated on the delta of the torrent valley of Zered (Wadi el-Hasa’).

mostly Bedouin livestock (consequently the cities of Edom were to be small). These name changes highlight the need knowing when and in which language the document is quoted before comparing information. For example, according to the biblical text, Moses finished his book (Torah) just before he died (in 1493 BCE) and after entering the Promised Land: *As soon as Moses had completed writing the words of this Law in a book in their entirety (...) For this is no empty word for you, but it means your life, and by this word you may live long in the land that you are crossing the Jordan to possess. Jehovah spoke to Moses on this same day, saying: Go up into this mountain of Abarim, Mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, which faces toward Jericho, and view the land of Canaan, which I am giving to the Israelites as a possession. Then you will die on the mountain you are about to ascend, and be gathered to your people, just as Aaron your brother died on Mount Hor and was gathered to his people* (Deuteronomy 31:24, 32:47-50).



The numerous information about the dynasties and genealogies of Edomite kings, mentioned in chapter 36 of the book of Genesis, had to be collected by Moses during his stay to Bozrah. The book of Job was probably written at the same time as the book of Genesis for the following reasons: both books mention the same Edomite genealogies, the same archaic unit: the *qesitah* (Job 42:11, Genesis 33:19) and the same place (Bozrah) from which have been collected the information. Although Moses may heard about the

misadventures of Job when he stayed in Midian (Exodus 3:1), he had to write his book of Job shortly after his death because many insignificant details (like the number of heads of cattle for example) were known yet. As insignificant details disappear very quickly after the death of protagonists, we can assume that Job died shortly (around 1500 BCE?) before the account of Moses (in 1493 BCE). Moses, did he meet Job? That is unlikely because as he was afraid to be killed by Egyptian soldiers (Exodus 2:15) he had taken refuge in remote locations (and not near cities), in addition, he was not yet appointed for reporting God's words (Exodus 4:1,10). Job's life should be around 1710-1500 BCE.

The Septuagint gives an amazing detail at the end of the book of Job: *Now Job lived after his calamity 170 years, and all the years he lived were 248 years. And it has been written that he will rise again with those whom Jehovah raises up. This [man] is described from the Syriac book as residing in the land of Ausitis, on the borders of Idumea and Arabia. And formerly his name was Jobab (...)*³¹. This late comment (c. 160-150 BCE) has many errors³²: he did not receive an amount of years in double (170 ≠ 2x78) and Jobab died many years before Job's death. If one supposes an average of 30 years per (normal) generation (Genesis 50:23, Job 42:16-17), we get:

Abraham	2038-1863	Horite		
Esau (Edom)	1938-1760	Seir		Isaac (1938-1758)
Eliphaz I	1898?-1800?	SHEIK OF THE HORITE		Genesis 36:19-20
Teman	1860?-1770?	Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, etc.		Jacob (1878-1731)
SHEIK OF EDOM	reign			
Teman	1800-1770			
(Beor father of Bela)	1770-1740			Joseph (1788-
KING OF EDOM	reign	City of dwelling		
Bela (Zerah)	1740-1710	Dinhabah	(Bozrah)	
Jobab	1710-1680	Bozrah	Job (1710-	-1678)
Husham (Bedad)	1680-1650	Teman		
Hadad I	1650-1620	Avith	-1640	Moses in:
Samlah	1620-1590	Masrekah		Egypt (1613-1573)
Shaul (Achbor)	1590-1560	Rehoboth		Midian (1573-
Baal-hanan	1560-1530			-1533)
Hadad II	1530-1500	Pau	-1500)	Sinai (1533-
			Numbers 20:14-21	-1493)

According to the reconstruction above, Jobab died around 1680 BCE, or 180 years before Job's death, and Job's trial occurred around 1640 BCE when Hadad I was king of Edom. As Job was an eminent character at that time he was probably considered as a sheik [of Bozrah] however he was not an Edomite because he lived in the land of Uz, not Edom, and he was accomplishing faithfully several points of Jehovah's worship (Job 1:5, 31:26-28) like his forefather Nahor II (Genesis 31:53), contrary to Esau (Genesis 26:34-35). However, his name likely might have been changed because *ʾayyab* (אֵיִיב) means nothing but it is close to the words *ʾōyeb* (אֹיֵב) "being enemy" (1Samuel 18:29) or *ʾeybah* (אֵיבָה) "enmity" (Genesis 3:15) and it is strange as a birth name. It seems likely that his birth name was to be Ayyab (אֵיִיב) "where is father" and this name became Iyyob after his persecution in the same way that Abram "Father of loftiness" became Abraham once he had proved his faith, a name which means nothing but close to Abhamon "Father of a crowd" (Genesis 17:5).

³¹ After taking an Arabian wife, he became father to a son whose name was Ennon. But he himself was the son of his father Zare, a son of the sons of Esau, but [was the son] of his mother Bosorra [Bozra], so that he was the 5th [in line] from Abraham. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom, of which country he also was ruler: first, Balak, the son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba; but after Balak, Jobab, the one called Job; but after this one Hasom, who happened to be governor out of the country of Thaimanite; but after this one Hadad, the son of Barad, who cut off Madiam in the plain of Moab, and the name of his city was Gethaim. But the friends that came to him [were] Eliphaz, of the sons of Esau, king of the Thaimanites; Bildad the tyrant of the Sauchites; Sophar the king of the Minites (Job 42:16-17, LXX).

³² A. YOSHIKO REED -Job as Jobab: The Interpretation of Job LXX Job 42:17b-e in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120:1 (2001) pp. 31-55.

WHAT HAPPENED IN 1640 BCE?

The misfortunes of Job would have occurred around 1640 BCE, but archaeologists argue that the Chaldeans and Sabaeans left traces only after the 10th century BCE. Once more, archaeologists turn their lack of evidence into an evidence of lack. Were there nomads coming from Sheba or from Chaldea in 1640 BCE? First of all, one should be aware that geographical, linguistic and ethnic areas overlap only partially and that they have been defined mainly by Babylonian scribes. For example, Mesopotamia is an area which has been defined by Greeks (*mesopotamia* is a Greek translation of the Babylonian area called "[land] between the [two] rivers") but the Mesopotamians (the inhabitants of Mesopotamia) are never mentioned in Babylonian tablets (which would be a new anachronism according to archaeologists!) because the Babylonian scribes were using other definitions for their country. The northern part of their country has been called the "land of Akkad" and the southern part, the "land of Sumer". In time, the land of Akkad became Assyria (north) and Babylonia (south) and the land of Sumer was encompassed inside the Babylonian empire, which was ruled by the Kassites to the north and by people of Sea-land to the south (see *Dating the Fall of Babylon and Ur*):

LAND OF AKKAD				LAND OF SUMER		Biblical character	
AWAN I	Reign	BABYLON	Reign	UR III			
<i>[-]-lu</i>	<i>2015-1990</i>	Ur-Nammu	2020-2002	(UR)	2038 - -1963	Abram (CANAAN)	1963 -
<i>Kudur-Lagamar</i>	<i>1990-1954</i>	Šulgi	2002-1954				
(ELAM)		Amar-Sîn	1954-1945				
		Šu-Sîn	1945-1936	ISIN	Reign		
		Ibbi-Sîn	1936- 1912	Išbi-Erra	1923 - -1890		
				Šû-ilišu	1890-1880		
				Iddin-Dagân	1880-1859		
				Išme-Dagân	1859-1839		
				Lipit-Eštar	1839-1828	Early sheiks (EDOM)	
				Ur-Ninurta	1828-1800		
		Sûmû-abum	1799 -1785	Bûr-Sîn	1800-1779		
		Sûmû-la-II	1785 - -1749	Lipit-Enlil	1779-1774		
				Erra-imitti	1774-1767		
				Enlil-Bâni	1767-1743		
		Sâbium	1749 - -1735	Zambiya	1743-1740		
				Iter-piša	1740-1736		
				Ur-dukuga	1736-1732		
		Apil-Sîn	1735-1717	Sîn-mâgir	1732-1721	Job	
		Sîn-muballiṭ	1717-1697	Damiq-ilišu I	1721-1698	(EDOM)	1710 -
		KASSITE	Reign	Hammurabi	1697-1654	SEALAND	Reign
Gandaš	<i>1661-1635</i>	Samsu-iluna	1654 - -1616	Ilum-maz-ilî	<i>1654</i> - -1594	Moses (EGYPT)	1613 - -1573
Agum I	<i>1635-1613</i>					(MIDIAN)	1573 -
Kaštiliaš I	<i>1613-1591</i>	Abi-ešuḫ	1616-1588	Itti-ili-nîbî	<i>1594-1578</i>		
Ušši	<i>1591-1583</i>	Ammiditana	1588 - -1551	Damqi-ilišu II	<i>1578-1562</i>		
Abirattaš	<i>1583-1567</i>			Iškibal	<i>1562-1546</i>		
Kaštiliaš II	<i>1567-1551</i>			Šuši	<i>1546-1530</i>		-1533
Urzigurumaš	<i>1551-1535</i>	Ammišaduqa	1551-1530	Gulkišar	<i>1530-1514</i>	(SINAI)	1533 -
Harbašihu	<i>1535-1519</i>	Samsuditana	1530 - - 1499	Pešgaldarameš	<i>1514-1498</i>		
Tiptakzi	<i>1519-1503</i>			Ayadaragalama	<i>1498-1482</i>		-1493
Agum II	<i>1503-1487</i>			Akurulana	<i>1482-1466</i>	(CANAAN)	
Burna-Buriaš I	<i>1487-1471</i>			Melamkukurra	<i>1466-1459</i>		
Kaštiliaš III	<i>1471 - -1455</i>			Ea-gam[il]	<i>1459 - -1450</i>		
Ulam-Buriaš	<i>1455-1439</i>						
Agum III	<i>1439-1423</i>						

When Abraham left Ur (in 1963 BCE), which was in the land of Sumer, his city was ruled by Babylonian kings. However he was not a Sumerian or a Babylonian but a Hebrew (Genesis 14:13). Actually most of the inhabitants of Sumer were not Sumerians and their language and ethnic background collapsed in 1912 BCE. Actually the relationship between ethnicity and geographical area have changed. The precision "Ur of the Chaldeans" (Genesis 11:28,31; 15:7) at the time of Abraham, for example, is considered anachronistic because the Chaldeans appear only 1000 years later. Chaldea refers to a region in the south of Babylonia. The Septuagint translated the phrase "Ur of the Chaldeans" as "country of the Chaldeans," which refers to a geographical area, not to an ethnic area. According to Strabo, a Greek geographer: *In Babylonia a settlement is set apart for the local philosophers, the Chaldaeans, as they are called, who are concerned mostly with astronomy; but some of these, who are not approved of by the others, profess to be astrologers. There is also a tribe of the Chaldaeans, and a territory inhabited by them, in the neighbourhood of the Arabians and of the Persian Sea, as it is called. There are also several tribes of the Chaldaean astronomers. For example, some are called Urukeans, others Borsippeans, and several others by different names* (Geography XVI:1:6). The location of the Chaldeans is related to a profession not an ethnic group. Herodotus also described the Chaldeans as priests-astronomers and not as an ethnic group apart (The Histories I:181,183). The Greek word *kaldaiōn* "Chaldeans" comes from the Assyrian *kaldū* which comes from the Old Babylonian *kašdu*³³ prior to 1400 BCE³⁴. However, the Hebrew word "Chaldeans" in the Bible is not *kaldū* but *kašdim* which corresponds to *kašdu*. This word comes from the Sumerian *kiššatu*, which meant both "Totality [of the world]" and "[those of] Kiš". The Chaldeans are relatively poorly known. It is in an inscription of Ashurbanipal II they appear for the first time in 872 BCE. If Chaldeans are found in some major Babylonian cities (Sippar, Kuta, Kiš, Nippur, Uruk), their privileged dwelling place seems to have been southern Babylonia and the land of marshes (Sealand), where they established permanent settlements, that the Assyrian kings had to conquer. In the same way that the term Akkad refers both to the capital and its country, the name Kiš has designated several centuries earlier and in the same region both the namesake city and all the geographical set formed between the Euphrates and Tigris at their entry into lower Mesopotamia³⁵. The expression "Ur of the Chaldeans" therefore derives from an older "Ur Kašdim" very close to the ancient "Ur Kiššatum". Kiš was the first city to receive the kingdom, according to the Sumerian King List³⁶. Chaldea and Sumer (Shinar) are merely geographical designations because despite the land of his birth was Chaldea, Abraham was not a Chaldean. Similarly, although he lived in the land of Sumer he was not a Sumerian. When Abraham resided in Canaan, then in Egypt, he is qualified as Aramean (*A'amu*) because he was a nomad of Aramaic language (close to Hebrew at that time). He was in fact a son of Eber, that is a Hebrew (Genesis 10:21; 14:13). The word *'eber* means "to pass-over" in Hebrew³⁷ or "to cross over (*eberum*)/ migrant" in Babylonian³⁸.

Shinar was a region south of Mesopotamia composed of at least three major cities³⁹: Babylon (Babel), Uruk (Erech) and Aggad (Akkad), according to Genesis 10:10. In time the name Babylon has come to mean the whole Babylonia (Daniel 1:2). The etymology of the

³³ J. BLACK, A. GEORGE, N. POSTGATE – A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian Wiesbaden 2000 Ed. Harrassowitz Verlag pp. 152, 162.

³⁴ A.F. RAINEY – Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets Atlanta 1996 Ed. Society of Biblical Literature pp. 41-42.

³⁵ F. JOANNÈS – Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne Paris 2001 Éd. Robet Laffont pp. 175-176, 448-449.

³⁶ The corpus of this ancient civilization is still very low compared to that of Sumer (E. LIPINSKI - Semitic Languages Outline of a Comparative Grammar in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 80. Leuven 2001 Ed. Peeters pp. 51-52).

³⁷ Abraham "passed over" the Euphrates, Moses "passed over" the Red Sea and Jesus "passed over" the Jordan River.

³⁸ J.M. DURAND - Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari in: LIPO n°18 (Paris 2000 Éd. Cerf) p. 205.

³⁹ Some translations add a fourth unknown city "and Kalneh", but the Hebrew word should rather be vocalized *nekullanah* and therefore be translated as "all of which are [in the land of Shinar]".

name of this region is complex⁴⁰. During the 3rd millennium BCE the Sumerians designated their country as KI.EN.GI, which was pronounced *kenger* in a Babylonian dialect, then in the 2nd millennium BCE this name evolved into *šanḫar* and was translated *šumeru* into Akkadian (meaning unknown) whose derives the name Sumer. Egyptians (of the time of Thutmose IV) pronounced this name *šanger* (*š3-n-g-r*) which confirms the Canaanite pronunciation *šan'ar* or Akkadian *šanḫar*. Thus Hebrew transcription of the name Sumer is quite close to its pronunciation in the early 2nd millennium BCE (Shinar). Transcription and translation of a few Sumerian names of the 3rd millennium BCE⁴¹:

Name	Sumerian	Akkadian transcription	Akkadian translation	Hebrew (MT)	Greek (LXX)	Reference
Shinar	KI.EN.GI(R)	Šanḫar	Šumeru (?)	Šin'ar	Sennaar	Genesis 10:10
Chaldeans	ŠÚ	Kiššatum	Entirety	Kašdim	Kaldaïôn	Genesis 11:28
Ur	URI	Ur	?	'Ur	-	Genesis 11:28
Babylon	KA.DINGIR.RA	Babilla	Gate of god	Babel	Babulôn	Genesis 10:10
Akkad	UR.RA	Akkad	?	Akad	Arkad	Genesis 10:10
Uruk	UNUG	Uruk	?	Erek	Orek	Genesis 10:10
Euphrate	BURANUN	Purattu	?	Perat	Euphrates	Genesis 2:14
Tigris	HAL.HAL	Idiglat	?	Hiddeqel	Tigris	Genesis 2:14
<i>king/ viceroy</i>	LU.GAL/ MAN	<i>lugal/ man</i>	<i>šarru/ šanu</i>	<i>melek</i>	<i>basileus</i>	Genesis 14:1

The term "Ur of the Chaldeans" therefore means "Ur in Chaldea," the Chaldeans (Kašdim) being the inhabitants south of Shinar (Sumer). At the time of Job (in 1640 BCE) the Chaldeans, whose king was Ilum-maz-ilî (1654-1594), are called the "people of Sealand" by Babylonian scribes. These kings constantly claimed their connecting to the ancient kingdom of Kiš, as did Ayadaragalama (1498-1482) calling himself⁴²: *šanu* (MAN) *kiššati* (ŠÚ) "viceroy of the Kiššatum (entirety)" in Old Babylonian which can be translated "king of the Kašdim" into Hebrew. From the year 9 of Samsu-iluna the huge Babylonian empire began to crumble, then from the year 12 (in 1642 BCE) the entire southern part (with the cities of Ur, Uruk and Larsa) came under control of the Sealand dynasty and the northern part began to be attacked by Kassites⁴³ (Kiššû). These political upheavals have caused serious economic difficulties which to have pushed some Chaldean groups to perform raids on countries having yet some wealth (like the region of Sodom). Archaeologists claim that the area south of Canaan was insignificant at that time and therefore devoid of wealth.

According to the Bible, there were many goods in the region of Sodom (Genesis 14:11-12, 21-23) and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed a few years before Abraham was 100 years old (Genesis 19:28-29;21:5), around 1940 BCE. The exact meaning of these old names is uncertain but presumably they are of Semitic origin⁴⁴. The region of Sodom is called Šutu[m] in execration texts⁴⁵ (c. 1950 BCE). This old megalopolis should be important at that time because there were several princes of Upper and Lower Šutu[m] as Ayyabum (Ayyab!), Kušar, Zabulanu and Šumuabu whom all names are Semitic⁴⁶. The historical existence of Sodom and Gomorrah is still in dispute by archaeologists, as little

⁴⁰ E. LIPINSKI – Shinéar

in: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible, Brepols, 1987, p. 1201.

⁴¹ The letter *gyn* does not exist in Sumerian it was vocalized either "g" or "h" in Akkadian. Likewise the Sumerian word E.GAL "house-great" has been transcribed *hékal* "palace" into Hebrew. For the Sumerians, NAM.TAR "destiny" (*namtaru* in Akkadian) was the god of death for evil gods (demons) and the Sumerian word TAR.TAR "cut off/fate" has been transcribed "Tartarus" into Greek (Iliad 8:13-16; Job 41:24; 2Peter 2:4). For an unknown reason, the letters "t" and "d" are interchanged regularly in Akkadian transcriptions.

⁴² S. DALLEY – Gods from north-eastern and north-western Arabia in cuneiform texts from the First Sealand Dynasty (...) c. 1500 BC in: *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 24:2 (2013) pp. 177-185

⁴³ F. JOANNÈS – Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont pp. 468-469, 752-753.

⁴⁴ B. MACDONALD – "East of the Jordan" Territories and Sites of the Hebrew Scriptures Boston 2000 Ed. American Schools of Oriental Research p.52.

⁴⁵ J. BRIEND, M.-J. SEUX – Textes du Proche-Orient ancien et histoire d'Israël Paris 1977 Éd. Cerf pp. 30-36.

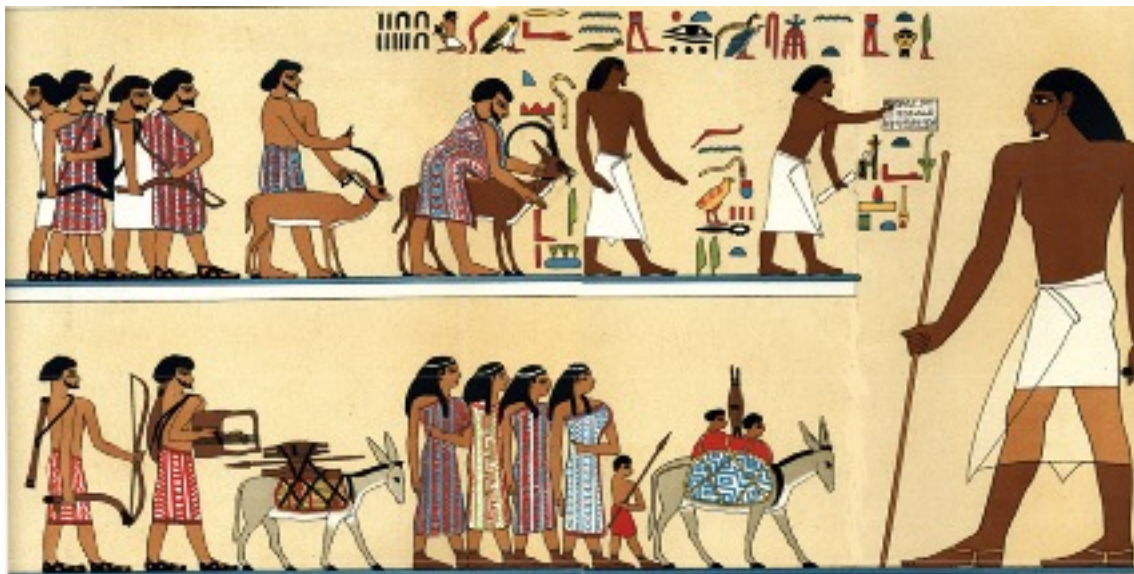
⁴⁶ R. DUSSAUD – Nouveaux renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie vers 2000 avant notre ère in: *Syria* 8:3 (1927) pp. 213-233.

archaeological evidence has ever been found in the regions where they were supposedly situated. Among scholars who locate the cities of the Plain in the southern area of the Dead Sea, there are some who posit that Sodom, Gomorrah, and other cities have been submerged by rising waters. Egyptian trade in Canaan⁴⁷ over the period 2000-1850 BCE:



⁴⁷ B. MANLEY – Atlas historique de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 1998 Éd. Autrement pp. 48-49.

As the word *sodom* means nothing in Akkadian (*sudum* / *sadam*), Egyptian transcripts in the Execration Texts *šutu*[*m*] are probably more reliable and could correspond to the Old Babylonian word *sūtum*⁴⁸ which means "tenant farming". This name appears for the last time in the form "Šu[tum]" in Tomb N°3 at Beni Hasan⁴⁹. One of the inscriptions that accompanies the painting describes the arrival of the "Asiatics", led by Abša[r]⁵⁰ (*i-b-š3*), a "ruler of a foreign land (*ḥq3 ḥ3st*)" or a sheik, who are bringing black eye-paint to the nomarch Khnumhotep, here designated as the "Administrator of the Eastern Desert" in the 6th year of Senwosret II's reign⁵¹ (1863-1855). Abša[r]'s name is Semitic and means maybe "Father [of] prince". As galena, the material from which the black eye-paint is ground, is commonly found along the Red Sea coast and near Aswan, these Asiatics had to be Bedouins from Šutu[m], a region which will then be called Moab (*Mw-i-b-n*) by Egyptians from Ramses II⁵². This name change is consistent with the biblical text since the former region of Sodom (Genesis 10:19) became the "field of Moab" (Genesis 36:35). Moab was Lot's firstborn who dwelt near Sodom (Genesis 19:23-38).



As Galena, the material from which the black eye-paint is ground (mascara), is commonly found along the Red Sea coast and near Aswan, these Canaanites from Shu[tum] could dwell in a region encompassing Edom. It is possible that the Beni Hasan tomb painting may represent an official contact between Egypt and a sheik of the Horite dwelling in the land of Edom (Genesis 36:21), and one which points to a relatively peaceful style of interaction, the same depicted in the Tale of Sinuhe. According to the famous geographer Strabo (-64 24): *Many other evidences are produced to show that the country is fiery; for near Masada are to be seen rugged rocks that have been scorched, as also, in many places, fissures and ashy soil, and drops of pitch that emit foul odours to a great distance, and ruined settlements here and there; and therefore people believe the oft-repeated assertions of the local inhabitants, that there were once 13 inhabited cities in that region of which Sodom was the metropolis, but that a circuit of about 60 stadia of that city*

⁴⁸ In Numbers 24:17 (LXX) the chiefs of Moab are compared to Seth's sons but it is likely a wordplay (buttock's sons) because Moab's father was Lot and the word *seth* (שֵׁט) means "buttock" in Hebrew (Isaiah 20:4) or "setting" (Genesis 4:25).

⁴⁹ The Tomb belongs to the nomarch Khnumhotep III, who is also an "Overseer of the Eastern Hill Countries". Besides illustrating the presentation of various types of "cattle" to the nomarch, the painting depicts the arrival of a group of 37 Asiatics who are being led by an Egyptian with the title "Overseer of hunters". The Asiatics are bearded, and wear the traditional dress of Semites as depicted in Egyptian artwork; they carry weapons typical of Middle Bronze Age Canaan, including what appear to be composite bows and a "duckbilled" axe.

⁵⁰ The sound r is often rendered by an Egyptian 3 at this time, but the reading Absha[r] "Father of gift" (2Sam 10:10) is also possible.

⁵¹ S.L. COHEN - Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections
Indiana 2002, Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. 33-50.

⁵² S. AHITUV - Canaanite toponyms in ancient Egyptian documents
Jerusalem 1984 Ed. Magnes Press, Hebrew University pp. 143, 184.

escaped unharmed; and that by reason of earthquakes and of eruptions of fire and of hot waters containing asphalt and sulphur, the lake burst its bounds, and rocks were enveloped with fire; and, as for the cities, some were swallowed up and others were abandoned by such as were able to escape (Geography XVI:2:44). Among the 650 place names appearing in the (partial) geographical atlas found at Ebla (c. 2300-2200), there is a trade route from Ebla to Seir, which was important at that time as archaeology confirmed⁵³. The names of a few cities are recognizable⁵⁴ on this ancient path (from north to south)⁵⁵ like Sodom, Admah and Zeboim (Genesis 14:2), which also appear on some tablets⁵⁶, however the transcriptions of Canaanite names in Ebla geographical atlas are approximate.

The major disagreement between archaeologists and historians, concerning the old periods of history before 1000 BCE, is about what can really be considered a proof. It is particularly evident with nomadic or semi-nomadic kingdoms because they have left no archaeological trace, except some pottery, although the population of these nomadic kingdoms was of the same order of magnitude as that of the great empires of the time (Babylonian, Assyrian, Elamite, etc.). Actually we know only the nomadic kingdoms that have had contact with old empires through wars or commercial contracts as ones of the Haneans, Benjaminites, Suteans (c. 1800 BCE) mainly thanks to the kings of Mari⁵⁷ or to contracts with the Babylonian kings⁵⁸. With the nomadic kingdoms (Aramean, Chaldean, Edomite, etc.) it is far more difficult because they became semi-nomadic only around 1000 BCE, which leads to an important bias with historians: the Aramean and Chaldean presence in southern Mesopotamia is currently dated by carbon-14 only from 1000 BCE⁵⁹. We know that Aramean kingdoms in Syria were founded by Aramean tribes which came from Lower Mesopotamia⁶⁰. The term *Ahlamû* "Arameans" was used to designate nomadic enemies of Assyria⁶¹ under Aššur-rêš-iši I (1133-1115), Tukultî-Ninurta I (1242-1206), Salmaneser I (1271-1242), Adad-nêrârî I (1302-1271) and Arik-dên-ili (1313-1302). Around 1350 BCE, the term *Ahlamû* (letter EA 200) was used to designate some disruptive ones in the Nippur area⁶² under Burna-Buriaš II (1360-1333). According to the Bible, the Arameans had settled mainly in Lower Mesopotamia prior to 1800 BCE: *Joshua then said to all the people: Yahweh, the God of Israel, says this, "From time immemorial, your ancestors, Terah, father of Abraham and Nabor, lived beyond the Euphrates, and served other gods. I then brought your ancestor Abraham from beyond the Euphrates and led him through the length and breadth of Canaan. I increased his descendants and I gave him Isaac (Joshua 24:1-2); In the presence of Yahweh your God, you will then pronounce these words: My father was a wandering Aramean, who went down to Egypt with a small group of men, and stayed there, until he there became a great, powerful and numerous nation (Deuteronomy*

⁵³ M.M. IBRAHIM – The Jordan Valley during the Early Bronze Age

in: *A Timeless Vale (Archaeological Studies Leiden University 19, 2009)* pp. 81-95.

⁵⁴ W.H. SHEA – Two Palestinian Segments from the Eblaite Geographical Atlas

in: *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth (Eisenbrauns, 1983)* pp. 589-608.

⁵⁵ n°199 LÚ-a-bi-ra-um^{ki} (Ibleam), n°202 BABBAR^{ki} (Lebona), n°210 ad-mu-ut^{ki} (Admah), n°211 sa-dam^{ki} (Sodom), n°214 i-ṭi-rū^{ki} (Ataroth), n°215 'a-wu-rū^{ki} (Aroer), n°217 sa-ri-a^{ki} (Seir) and n°219 aq-qā-bi^{ki} (Aqabah).

⁵⁶ Tablets TM.76.G.524 si-da-mū^{ki}, TM.75.G.2231, obv. X 4 sa-dam^{ki}, TM.75.G.2231, obv. I 7 ad-mu-ut^{ki}, sa-bi-im^{ki} (G. PETTINATO, M. DAHOOD -The Archives of Ebla: An Empire Inscribed in Clay. New York, 1981 Ed. Doubleday & Company, Inc. p 287).

⁵⁷ J.-R. KUPPER -Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari

in: *Syria 35:1 (1958)* pp. 117-120

⁵⁸ S. YAMADA – An Adoption Contract from Tell Taban, the Kings of the Land of Hana, and the Hana-style Scribal Tradition

in: *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* volume CV (2011) pp. 61-84.

⁵⁹ F.M. FALES -Moving around Babylon: On the Aramean and Chaldean Presence in Southern Mesopotamia

in: *Babylon. Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident/ Science Culture Between Orient and Occident*, de Gruyter, 2011, pp. 91-111.

⁶⁰ F. JOANNÈS - Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne

Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont pp. 63-68.

⁶¹ D.D. LUCKENBILL – Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I

Chicago 1926 Ed. University of Chicago Press §§ 73, 116, 166, 209.

⁶² R. DE VAUX - Histoire ancienne d'Israël des origines à l'installation en Canaan

Paris 1986 Éd. Gabalda pp.194-198.

A.T. CLAY – Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur dated in the reigns of Cassite rulers

in: *Babylonian Expedition (1906) Vol XIV p. 16; Vol XV pp. 44, 168.*

26:5); *The God of glory appeared to our ancestor Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia before settling in Haran, and said to him, "Leave your country, your kindred and your father's house for this country which I shall show you"* (Acts 7:2-3); *Then Isaac sent Jacob away, and Jacob went to Paddan-Aram, to Laban son of Bethuel the Aramean and brother of Rebekah the mother of Jacob and Esau* (Genesis 28:5); *Jacob fled to the countryside of Aram, Israel slaved to win a wife, to win a wife he looked after sheep* (Hosea 12:13). The term Aram designated the country of the Arameans at that time: 2200-1800. This country is therefore very ancient⁶³ it appears as a toponym (A-ra-mu^{ki}) in an inscription at Ebla listing geographical names (c. 2200 BCE), in some inscriptions of Naram-Sin (2163-2126): *the ruler of Simurru [near Diyala river] (and) Dubul, the ruler of Aram* (ENSI Si-mu-ur Dub-ul ENSI A-ra-me^{ki} ik-mi-ù) and in a Sumerian administrative document, from the Ur-III period (c. 2000 BCE), which lists animal brought to the central-park at Puzriš-Dagan (near Nippur) a city A-ra-mi^{ki} is mentioned after Ešnuna. Archaeological and biblical data are consistent: the Arameans cattle breeders were originally installed in Lower Mesopotamia (2200-1800) who later moved westward, first in Upper Mesopotamia (1800-1500) and finally in Syria (after 1200 BCE).

The long journey of Abraham from Ur to Egypt occurs at the time of Sinuhe where Orientals are called in Egyptian Aamu. For example, a text associated with Amenemhet I (1975-1946) called "The Prophecy of Neferti", makes mention of Asiatics: *He (Neferti) was concerned for what would happen in the land. He thinks about the condition of the east. Asiatics (ʿ3mw) travel with their swords, terrorizing those who are harvesting, seizing the oxen from the plow (...) All happiness has gone away, the land is cast down in trouble because of those feeders, Asiatics (Styw) who are throughout the land. Enemies have arisen in the east, Asiatics (ʿ3mw) have come down to Egypt. A fortress is deprived of another beside it, the guards do not pay attention of it (...) Asiatics (ʿ3mw) will fall to his sword, Libyans will fall to this flame, rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might, as the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels to him. One will build the "Wall of the Ruler", life prosperity and health, to prevent Asiatics (ʿ3mw) from going down into Egypt*⁶⁴. The Egyptian words Aamu (ʿ3mw) and Retenu (Rtmw) are usually translated as "Asiatics" and "Syria-Palestine", they fit well to the biblical terms "people of Canaan" and "Canaan". As the Execration Texts⁶⁵ transcribe the names Ascalon and Jerusalem by ʿIsq3nw (Ašqalun)⁶⁶ and 3wš3mm ([U]rusalimum), the Egyptian letter ʿ (3) being used for sound r/l (at least up to 1800 BCE), the word ʿ3mw, could be read Aramu "those of Aram". The Egyptian word Setiu (Stym) "those of Seth" is also translated as "Asiatics", but refers more specifically to Suteans [of Moab], called "sons of Seth" in the Bible (Numbers 24:17). When Idrimi (1500-1470) fled to the south of Syria, he met the Sutu [Suteans], and then lived 7 years with the Habiru [Hebrews] in the country of *Ki-in-a-nim*^{ki} [Canaan]⁶⁷. This term Canaan, which is Semitic, does not appear in Egyptian texts (except perhaps as 'Sand Dwellers')⁶⁸, moreover, because of migration, it has designated different areas according to the time: Lebanon at the time of Ebla, c. 2300 BCE (the name Canaan appears in the sentences: *kù nig-ba* ^dBE(lum) *Ga-na-na-im* "gift (for) the lord of Canaan"; *é* ^dGa-na-na-im "temple of divine Canaan")⁶⁹, Upper Mesopotamia at the

⁶³ E. LIPINSKI – The Aramaeans
in: *Analecta* 100, 2000, pp. 26-31.

⁶⁴ J.K. HOFFMEIER – Israel in Egypt. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition
New York 1996 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 58-59.

⁶⁵ R. DUSSAUD – Nouveaux textes égyptiens d'exécution contre les peuples syriens
in: *Syria* 21:2 (1940) pp. 170-182.

⁶⁶ Ascalon is written ʿIsq3rnmw (instead of ʿIsq3mw) during Amenhotep II's reign.

⁶⁷ P. GARELLI, J.M. DURAND, H. GONNET, C. BRENIQUET - Le Proche-Orient Asiatique
Paris 1997 Éd. P.U.F. pp. 139-140.

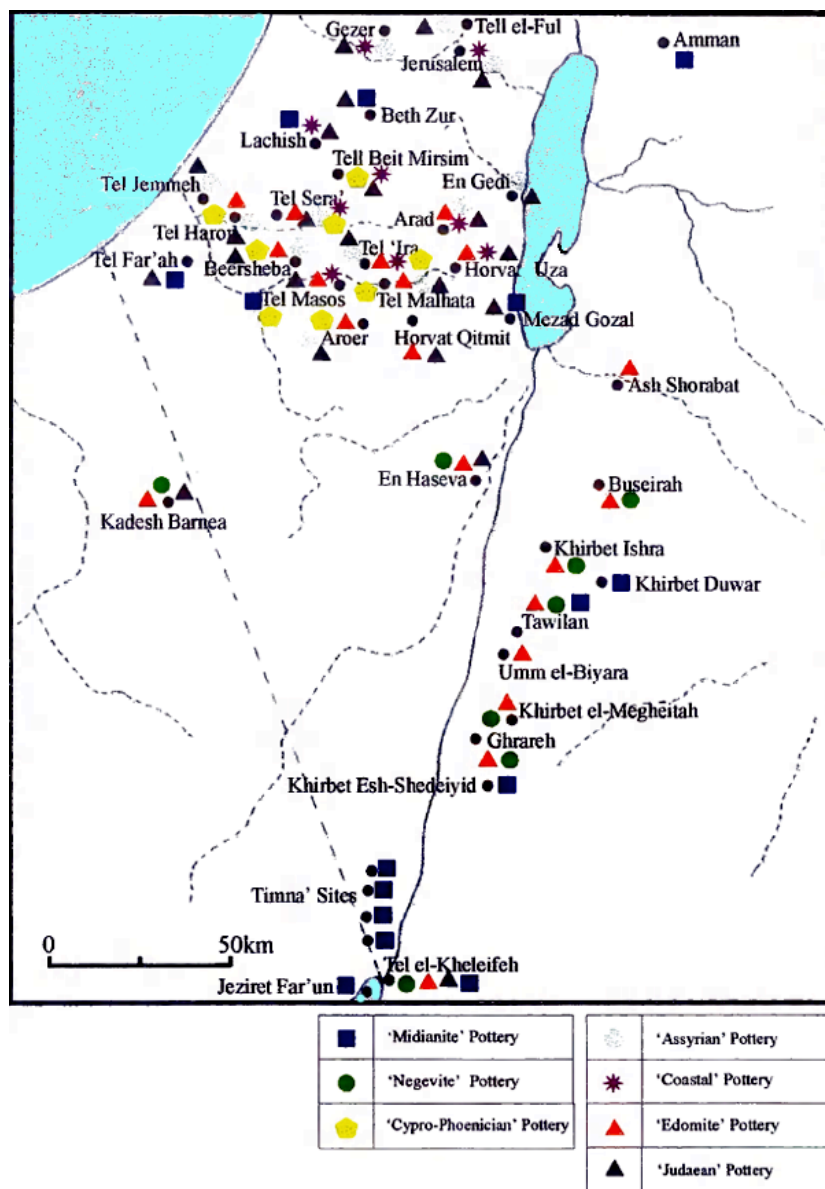
⁶⁸ Y. AHARONI, A.F. RAINEY – Land of the Bible. A historical geography
Philadelphia 1979 Ed. The Westminster Press pp. 67-77.

⁶⁹ J.N. TUBB – Peoples of the Past. Canaanites

London 1998 Ed. British Museum p. 15.

A. ARCHI – The Head of Kura-The Head of ʿAdabal
in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 64:2 (2005) pp. 81-100.

time of Mari c. 1800 BCE (written *Ki-na-ah-nu*)⁷⁰, Syria-Palestine at the time of Idrimi (c. 1500 BCE) and Philistia at the time of Merenptah (c. 1200 BCE). Although the Aramean tribes began to migrate from Lower Mesopotamia to Lower Egypt since late 3rd millennium BCE (as was the case of Abraham), first archaeological remains of the Aramaic kingdoms are not earlier than early 1st millennium BCE. There is the same problem with Edomite kingdoms⁷¹ because the Edomite remains are constituted only of pottery which are not datable, except occasionally by stratigraphy combined with the carbon-14 dating (c. 1100 BCE)⁷². According to the archaeological excavations of 2008 in southern Jordan, the kingdom of Edom would have appeared (suddenly from nowhere!)⁷³ around 1100 BCE⁷⁴.



Distribution of different styles of pottery in the Southern Levant

⁷⁰ G. DOSSIN – Une mention des Cananéens dans une lettre de Mari in: *Syria* n°50 1973, pp. 277-282.

⁷¹ C.M. WHITING –Complexity and diversity in the late iron age southern Levant: the investigation of 'Edomite' archaeology and scholarly discourse in: PhD theses Department of Archaeology, Durham University (2002) Vol 2 pp. 9-11.

⁷² T.E. LEVY & ALS –Reassessing the chronology of Biblical Edom: new excavations and 14C dates from Khirbat en-Nahas (Jordan) in: *Antiquity* 78:302 (2004) pp. 865-879.

⁷³ Ø.S. LABIANCA, R.W. YOUNGER –The Kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom: (..) in Late Bronze/Iron Age (ca. 1400-500 BCE) in: *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (Leicester University Press, 1995) pp. 399-415.

⁷⁴ N.G. SMITH, T.E. LEVY –The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbat en-Nahas, Jordan: A Preliminary Study in: *BASOR* 352 (2008) pp. 41-91.

Although archaeologists are very critical about ancient writings which place the biblical Edomite kingdom six centuries earlier, all their "scientific" conclusions are in fact only scholarly guesses or conjectures:

- All datings are based on stratigraphy combined with 14C, but actually it is not possible to know if a piece of charcoal next to a pottery is from the same period or not, which alters the conclusions of one or several centuries depending on hypotheses⁷⁵.
- The extent of the former Edomite kingdom is determined by the distribution of Edomite style potteries which are considered Edomite if they are found in Idumea, the former Edomite territory. The reasoning is therefore fully circular.
- The identification of the ruins of an old city is determined using historical data which are often imprecise, thus the choice for identifying is often speculative and controversial even with a well-known city as Bozra (= Buseirah ?).
- The identification of a seal of the ancient kings of Edom is determined using historical data but these inscriptions are frequently hard to read, for example, *lqws[br] mlk '[dm]* "belonging to Qos-Ga[br], king of E[dom]"⁷⁶, is probably the same Qaush-gabri, king of Edom mentioned on the Prism of Esarhaddon⁷⁷.
- Archaeologists have difficulty to admit but many past events have left no archaeological trace (even the capital of the famous empire of Akkad has not yet been found).

Given the above remarks, if an archaeologist wants to be absolutely rigorous, the only thing he can conclude is that we cannot conclude anything safe. Even doubts are not sure! The safest conclusion about the ancient nomadic kingdoms before 1000 BCE is relying on historical documents, including the Bible because it has proven its reliability⁷⁸:

Sheik of Edom	Reign	Event	Reference
Abishar	1870-1860	Abishar, a "ruler of the foreign countries" came into Egypt	Beni Hasan tomb
Lotan	1860-1830	Lotan, son of Seir the Horite, was the first sheik	Genesis 36:20
King of Edom			
Bela	1740-1710	Bela, son of Beor, was dwelling in Dinhabah (?)	Genesis 36:31-32
Jobab	1710-1680	Jobab, son of Zerah, was dwelling in Bozrah	Genesis 36:33
[Hadad I]	-1640	The Sabaeans and Chaldeans made a raid in Edom	Job 1:15-17
Hadad I	1650-1620	Hadad I defeated the Madianites in the field of Moab	Genesis 36:35
Hadad II	1530-1500	Moses asked Hadad II for crossing Edom but he refused	Numbers 20:14-21
[Unnamed]	1450-1440	Seir is mentioned on Thutmosis III's Syrian list	Thutmosis III list
[Unnamed]	1360-1340	Abdi-Heba, mayor of Jerusalem, was at war with Seir	Letter EA 288:26
[Unnamed]	1280-1220	Seir is mentioned on an obelisk of Ramses II	Obelisk
[Unnamed]	1220-1200	Bedouin tribes of Edom came into Egypt	Pap. Anastasi VI
[Unnamed]	1090-1030	Saul went warring against Edom	1Samuel 14:47-48
[Unnamed]	1030-1040	David struck down 18,000 Edomites and defeated Edom	2Samuel 8:13-14
Hadad III	1040-1000	Hadad III was a resister to Solomon	1Kings 11:14-22
[Unnamed]	900-880	Jehoram struck down the Edomites	2Kings 8:20-22
[Unnamed]	840-800	Amaziah struck down 10,000 Edomites	2Kings 14:7,22
[Unnamed]	800-780	Mention of the towers of Bozrah and city of Teman	Amos 1:11-13
Qaush-malaku	750-730	Tribute to Tiglath-pileser III	2Kings 16:6
Aia-rammu	730-710	Tribute to Sennacherib	Assyrian annals
Qaush-gabri	680-660	Tribute to Esarhaddon, then to Ashurbanipal	Assyrian annals
[Unnamed]	600-575	Edom associated with Nebuchadnezzar to destroy Israel	Jeremiah 27:1-8
[Unnamed]	575-550	Edom is incorporated in the Kingdom of Arabia by	Nabonidus

⁷⁵ I. FINKELSTEIN, L. SINGER-AVITZ -The Pottery of Khirbet en-Nahas: a Rejoinder in: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 141:3 (2009), pp. 207-218.

⁷⁶ P. VAN DER VEEN - The Seal Material

in: Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960-1965 (P. Bienkowski, 2011) pp. 79-84.

⁷⁷ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts

Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 291,294.

⁷⁸ E. LIPINSKI -Edom

in: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible (Brepols, 1987) pp. 379-380.

The disagreement of about 700 years between archaeology and history concerning the kingdom of Edom (beginning in 1740 BCE instead of 1040 BCE) is easily explained. The first kings of Edom were tribal leaders who had neither capital nor palace according to the Bible (Genesis 36:31-39), they were nomads residing in tents and living from breeding and raiding (Genesis 49:19). After the kings Saul and David defeated the Edomite kings during the 11th century BCE, the town of Bozrah was fortified with towers and these nomads became sedentary, living in houses instead of tents. Thus, when the Bible says: *The cattle were plowing and the donkeys were grazing beside them when the Sabaeans attacked and took them, and they killed the servants with the sword (...) The Chaldeans formed three bands and made a raid on the camels and took them, and they killed the servants with the sword* (Job 1:15,17), this is consistent with context of the time when (c. 1640 BCE) some bands of Chaldeans came from a land called Sealand (Chaldea) by Babylonian scribes under king Ilum-maz-ilī (1654-1594) to make raid into Edom for plundering during the reign of Hadad I (1650-1620).

The Bible explains when and why the kingdom of Edom disappeared, in addition, without hardly a trace. When Tiglath-pileser III annexed the regions of Galilee and Gilead (2Kings 15:29), which previously had been recaptured in part by Jeroboam II (2Kings 14:25), he received support of [Qa'ushmalaka] King of Edom (Amos 1:13-15), [Sanip] King of Ammon⁷⁹ and Shalman King of Moab, devastating the Gileadite city of Beth-Arbel (Hosea 10:14), the modern Irbid. This powerful coalition (Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, Tyre, Assyria) left a painful memory⁸⁰ (Psalms 83:4-8). When Nebuchadnezzar conquered Judah and destroyed Jerusalem in 587 BCE, Edomite hatred was clearly revealed as they urged on the devastators of Jerusalem (Psalms 137:7-8). Because of its wickedness, Edom was to become like Sodom and Gomorrah, uninhabited for all time (Jeremiah 49:7-22). The history of Edom and Ammon is very poorly known but biblical data are extremely accurate thus a seal dated c. 600 BCE bears the inscription: *Baalyisba' the king of the sons of Ammon*⁸¹:

BCE	Events that occurred just before and after the end of the kingdom of Edom	Reference
605	Nebuchadnezzar II defeated Egypt and created a new satrapy called "the countries by the Sea" (7 th in Behistun inscription), which was including Phoenicia and Palestinian Syria (Herodotus III:91).	Jeremiah 46:2,13
587	<i>Baalis the king of the sons of Ammon</i> made to murder Gedaliah the governor of Judah appointed by Nebuchadnezzar II, which was a treacherous action.	Jeremiah 40:11,14 Ezekiel 25:12-14
561	Amel-Marduk released Jehoiaquin the king of Judah.	Jeremiah 52:31-32
553	Nabonidus defeated Ammon (and likely Moab) just before Edom ⁸² .	
551	Nabonidus defeated Edom and destroyed the main buildings in Bozrah ⁸³ . Edom was then embedded in the satrapy of Arabia (5 th in Behistun inscription).	
539	Cyrus crushed the Babylonian empire and released some westward peoples. The satrapy of Arabia (including Edom) turned into an ally kingdom, which remained an independent ally when Darius I became king in 521 BCE (Herodotus III:88).	Ezra 1:1-4
518	Though Edom says: <i>We have been shattered, but we will return and rebuild the ruins</i> , this is what Jehovah of armies says: <i>They will build, but I will tear down, and they will be called "the territory of wickedness" and "the people whom Jehovah has forever condemned"</i> .	Malachi 1:4,6-12 Zechariah 7:1-12
450	The Edomite region was inhabited by the Nabataean Arabs (Herodotus III:4-5).	

⁷⁹ C.W. TYSON –The Ammonites: Elites, Empires, and Sociopolitical Change (1000-500 BCE)
New York 2014 Ed. Bloomsbury T&T Clark, pp. 251-252.

⁸⁰ The chronological agreement among all these characters is remarkable: Ahaz king of Judah (742-726), Jeroboam II King of Israel (823-782), Hosea governor (738-729) then king of Israel (729-720), Pekah king of Israel (758-738), Qa'ushmalaka king of Edom (760-732), Rezin king of Syria (750-732), Shalman king of Moab (740-720), Sanip king of Ammon (750-730), Tiglath-pileser III king of Assyria (745-727) and Babylon (729-727). All these historical, geographical and chronological details regarding many kingdoms, whose situations were extremely complex and changing, prove that the writing of the biblical text had to be done at the time of the facts. In addition, their complexity involved a long report (1Chronicles 9:1; 2Chronicles 16:11), which excluded limited supports as clay tablets.

⁸¹ A.J. LERNER, F. LOEWE –Seal of an assassin. Ammonite King Plotted Murder of Judah's Governor
in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 25:2 (March/April 1999), pp. 46-49, 66.

⁸² A. LEMAIRE –Nabonidus, in Arabia and Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period
in: *Judah and The Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (Eisenbrauns, 2003), pp. 285-300.

⁸³ B.L. CROWELL –Nabonidus, as-Sila', and the Beginning of the End of Edom
in: *The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 348 (2007), pp. 75-88.

Archaeological investigations made in order to reconstruct the past of the Edomite kingdom are illusory because, according to the remaining historical testimonies⁸⁴, there is almost nothing left. Indeed, the rare large buildings that existed at Bozrah were destroyed by Nabonidus (in 551 BCE). The city was gradually abandoned and probably looted by the Arabs who founded Petra, the new capital of the Nabataean kingdom. Given the paucity of historical evidence, the history of the Nabataean kingdom remains controversial⁸⁵.

If the dating of Edomite and Chaldean kingdoms is controversial it is the same for the Sabaeen kingdom. According to the Bible: *Shem was the father of Arpachshad who was the father of Kainan who was the father of Shelah who was the father of Eber who was the father of Joktan who [lived c. 2600 BCE] was the father of Sheba and Ophir and Havilah* (Genesis 10:21-31); Havilah city was near Shur, which is in front of Egypt (Genesis 25:18). In the beginning of our common era the kingdom of Sheba was still existing⁸⁶ and according to Strabo, a Greek geographer, philosopher and historian (c. 20 CE): *The extreme part of the country above-mentioned [Yemen] is occupied by the four largest tribes; by the Minaeans, on the side towards the Red Sea, whose largest city is Carna or Carnana; next to these, by the Sabaeans, whose metropolis is Mariaba [Marib]; third, by Cattabanians, whose territory extends down to the straits and the passage across the Arabian Gulf, and whose royal seat is called Tamna; and, farthest toward the east, the Chatramotitae, whose city is Sabata. All these cities are ruled by monarchs and are prosperous, being beautifully adorned with both temples and royal palaces. And the houses are like those of the Egyptians in respect to the manner in which the timbers are joined together (...) Cattabania produces frankincense, and Chatramotitis produces myrrh; and both these and the other aromatics are bartered to merchants. These arrive there in 70 days from Aelana [Aqaba], Aelana is a city on the other recess of the Arabian Gulf, the recess near Gaza called Aelanites, as I have said before, but the Gerrhaeans arrive at Chatramotitis in 40 days* (Geography 16:4:2-3). The kingdom of Sheba was located at the far south of Arabia (Yemen), the "ends of the earth" for the Jews at that time, that's why Jesus said: *On Judgement Day the Queen of the South will appear against this generation and be its condemnation, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon* (Matthew 12:42). Assyrians knew the kingdom of Sheba (Saba') and the names of some of its queens⁸⁷. For example, Tiglath-pileser III (in 736 BCE) wrote: *Samsi, the queen of Arabia who had acted against the oath by Shamash (...) Arabia in the country of Sa[ba'] ...] The inhabitants of Mas'a, Tema (and) the inhabitants of Saba' (...) their tribute: gold, silver, [male and female ca]mels and all kinds of spices, and Sargon II (in 720 BCE): I received tribute from Pharaoh of Egypt, from Samsi, queen of Arabia (and) It'amar the Sabaeen. Although the Kingdom of Sheba already appears in Assyrian sources in the 8th century BCE, this benchmark was not considered sufficient for archaeologists to date the early history of ancient South Arabia, because the first absolutely reliable dating starts with the military campaign of Aelius Gallus in 25 BCE, and the mention of the king Ilasaros. For earlier times the chronology had to be established on the basis of a comparison of the Old South Arabian finds with those from other regions, through palaeography, on the basis of the reconstructed sequence of kings and by Carbon-14 dating. Here two schools of thought have essentially evolved: the "Short Chronology" and the "Long Chronology". At the end of the 19th century E. Glaser and F. Hommel dated the beginning of the Old South Arabian Civilisation to the late 2nd century BCE, a dating that persisted for many years. In 1955 J. Pirenne published a comparison of Old South Arabian and Greek art and came to*

⁸⁴ P. LECOQ – Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide
Paris 1997, Ed. Gallimard pp. 14-15, 130-138.

⁸⁵ P. BRIANT – Histoire de l'empire perse
Paris 1996, Ed. Fayard pp. 736-738.

⁸⁶ Diodorus Siculus (Historical Library III:46:1-2) ca. 40 BCE

Pliny the Elder (Natural History VI:32:36-40) ca. 70 CE.

⁸⁷ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts
Princeton 1969, Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 283-285, 663-664.

the conclusion that the South Arabian Civilisation first developed in the 5th century BCE under Greek influence. She also supported this new "Short Chronology" by means paleaeographic analysis of the forms Old South Arabian letters. Based on the American excavations in Timnah and Marib in 1951–52 another "Intermediary Chronology" came into being at about the same time, which merely set the beginning of Qatabān and Ma'in at a later time than in the "Long Chronology". On the basis of the study of a rock inscription at Marib, A. G. Lundin and H. von Wissmann dated the beginning of Saba' back into the 12th or the 8th century BCE. Thus the "Short Chronology" was wrong and in more recent times many more arguments have been brought against it⁸⁸. Recent excavations have thus shown that the ancient South Arabian script (primary endpoint of civilization) should in fact go back to 1200 BCE⁸⁹, 8 centuries earlier than archaeologists believed before 1970! In addition, some temples in the region, like that of Almaqah, Lord of Bar'an (near Marib, west of Hadramawt), or that of Raybun⁹⁰ (east of Hadramawt), were founded from the 10th century BCE⁹¹. Thus, the first assertions of archaeologists were only the result of their ignorance. The history of this region is still poorly known, for example, more than 10,000 graves dated 3rd millennium BCE⁹² were recently inventoried in Yemen⁹³. As the story of Job is located in the 17th century BCE, Sabaeans nomads who came into Edom (Job 1:15) therefore must exist at least since that time. We know that Queen Hatshepsut during her exceptional expedition to the kingdom of Punt (in 1474 BCE) brought numerous myrrh trees and frankincense⁹⁴. Several details of her narrative enable identifying the kingdom of Punt to the kingdom of Sheba: 1) aromatic resins (myrrh and frankincense) brought back into Egypt came from Punt in the south of Arabia, 2) the only known country at this time farther than Nubia (Cush) is Yemen 3) navigation on the Red Sea began with a course to port (on left) or along the coast to the south of Arabia (ancient navigation is coastal shipping), 4) the Kingdom of Punt was ruled by the prince Parahu and his wife Ity and the only kingdom known historically in this region is the ancient kingdom of Sheba. In addition, gold from Punt is mentioned in the time of king Khufu⁹⁵ (2479-2456) and it is noteworthy that the artificial harbour of Khufu has been recently discovered at Wadi el-Jarf on the Red Sea (119 km south of Suez). Furthermore, a south-eastern track going from northern Egypt to Saudi Arabia through Sinai, dating back to the reign of Ramses III, is a good clue proving that Punt was somewhere in the south of Saudi Arabia⁹⁶ (Yemen).

As seen, Egyptian documents confirm the biblical data about the area occupied by the Edomites, first of all called Shutu[m] (Sodom), then Seir, Edom and finally Idumea, and in addition contradict the statements of the archaeologists who claim that there was nothing (especially in Bozrah) before 1100 BCE.

⁸⁸ Above all because of the results of new archaeological research, such as that carried out by the Italians in Yala / Hafari and by the French in Shabwah the "Long Chronology" attracts more and more supporters. Meanwhile the majority of experts in Sabaean studies adhere to Wissman's Long Chronology.

⁸⁹ E. LIPINSKI - Semitic Languages Outline of a Comparative Grammar in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 80. Leuven 2001 Ed. Peeters pp. 81-83.

A. LEMAIRE - La diffusion de l'alphabet dans le bassin méditerranéen in: *Langues et écritures de la Méditerranée* (Éd. Khartala, 2006) pp. 204-206.

⁹⁰ J.F. BRETON - Le Yemen du royaume de Saba à l'islam. Les sanctuaires de la capitale de Saba, Mârib in: *Dossiers d'Archéologie* n°263 mai 2001 pp. 2, 15, 48.

A.V. SEDOV - Temples of Ancient Hadramawt Pisa 2005 Ed. Edizioni Plus pp. 1, 187-191.

⁹¹ J. SCHIETTECATTE - Villes et urbanisation de l'Arabie du Sud à l'époque préislamique Paris 13 mars 2006 Thèse à l'Université Paris 1 -Panthéon-Sorbonne pp. 30-37.

⁹² Dating on carbonate-hydroxylapatite, mineral component of bone datable by C14.

⁹³ T. STEIMER-HERBET - Des milliers de tombes préhistoriques in: *Archéologia* n°382 octobre 2001 pp. 38-45.

⁹⁴ M. DESSOUDEIX - Lettres égyptiennes II Paris 2012 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 81-128.

⁹⁵ The earliest recorded Egyptian expedition to Punt was organized by Pharaoh Sahure (2378-2364).

⁹⁶ P. TALLET - Deux notes sur les expéditions au pays de Pount à la lumière de nouvelles données archéologiques in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 64 (2013) pp. 189-203.

Ancient trade routes⁹⁷ in the 17th century BCE from Chaldea (Sealand) or Sheba (Punt) to Egypt (Shur) though Edom (Seir).



⁹⁷ H.G. MAY, G.N.S HUNT – Oxford Bible Edition
1993 New York Ed. Oxford University Press, pp. 66-67..

The ancient trade routes between Egypt and Sheba (Punt) or Chaldea are poorly documented because they involved a highly valuable freight traffic as gold and incense (coveted items), hence the confidentiality of trade⁹⁸. The merchants of Sheba were traders of incense, myrrh and other aromatics with Egypt, through Edom, since ancient times: *The caravans of Tema [Tayma] look to them, and on them Sheba's convoys build their hopes* (Job 6:19). The kingdom of Sheba could also be reached by the Red Sea: *King Solomon also made a fleet of ships in Ezion-geber, which is by Elath, on the shore of the Red Sea in the land of Edom. Hiram sent his own servants with the fleet of ships, experienced seamen, to serve along with the servants of Solomon. They went to Ophir and took from there 420 talents of gold and brought it to King Solomon. Now the queen of Sheba heard the report about Solomon in connection with the name of Jehovah, so she came to test him with perplexing questions. She arrived in Jerusalem with a very impressive entourage, with camels carrying balsam oil and great quantities of gold and precious stones* (1Kings 9:26-10:2). Two products of Sheba were particularly appreciated: the gold [coloured alloy?] of Ophir and incense (Isaiah 60:6). If the gold of Ophir was abundant, only until the fall of Babylon in 539 BCE (Isaiah 13:11-12), the trade of incense lasted until the end of the Kingdom (Ezekiel 27:22, Jeremiah 6:20). Herodotus specified (c. 450 BCE) that incense was coming solely from this region of Arabia (The Histories II:8, III:107). Most archaeologists before 1985 believed that Ophir was a fairy tale land, but an ostrakon (opposite figure) with "gold of Ophir" (c. 700 BCE) was found in Tell Qasile⁹⁹.



Most archaeologists believed that major trade trips between Mesopotamia and Canaan were mythical despite the fact that around 2500 BCE a trip of 1620 km between Uruk and Lebanon is already mentioned (Epic of Gilgamesh III:9-12). However, several archaeological surveys since 1990 have shown that these trips were quite frequent¹⁰⁰.

JOB: WHEN AND WHERE: RESULT OF INVESTIGATIONS

Although Job's biography is allusive it contains no inconsistency or anachronism. The patriarch (Ayyab) is mostly presented as a man of integrity, rich and respected. His hometown (Bozrah will become the capital of Edom after 1000 BCE) was at the crossroads of trade routes at his time (c. 1640 BCE) between northern Egypt (Shur) and Mesopotamia (Shinar) or southern Arabia (Sheba called Punt by Egyptians) involving a highly valuable freight traffic as gold of Ophir (Job 28:16) and incense coming from Tema (Job 6:19). This region (formerly known as Shutum by Egyptians in the execration texts) was rich and led by sheiks (called Hyksos "ruler of the foreign lands"). The term Chaldean (Job 1:17) refers to the inhabitants of Chaldea, a region also known as Shinar (Sumer), which was inhabited by Sumerian aristocrats and Semitic nomadic peoples at the time of Abraham like Arameans or Amorites but mainly by descendants of Sumerians (people of Sealand "from Kish", a mythic capital) at the time of Job. Job spoke Old Canaanite, like Moses, but strongly influenced by Arabic (Job 42:14) and he also knew the existence of Egyptian books¹⁰¹ or stelae through his contacts with northern Egypt (Job 8:11; 19:23-24).

Given that the biography of Job is very brief, we know neither his genealogy (but Uz was likely his forefather), nor the name of his wife (but it's the same with Noah's wife),

⁹⁸ K.A. KITCHEN - On the Reliability of the Old Testament
Cambridge 2003 Ed. W.B. Eerdmans pp. 116-121, 603.

⁹⁹ A. LEMAIRE, B. HALPERN, M.L. ADAMS - The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception
Leiden 2010, Ed. Brill, pp. 265-266.

¹⁰⁰ P. BUTTERLIN - Les temps proto-urbain de Mésopotamie
Paris 2003 Éd. CNRS Editions pp. 15-18, 196-198.

¹⁰¹ Job had to know writing because it reads: *If only my accuser had written out the charges in a document* (Job 31:35).

his exact age is not specified (but he received a bonus of 140 years, the double that he had), it was quickly completed and distorted, firstly by the Septuagint¹⁰² (c. 150 BCE), then by the Testament of Job (c. 50 CE). In consequence, Rabbi Simeon ben Laqish (c. 200 CE) was claiming that Job never existed (Midrash Genesis Rabbah LXVII). In this view, Job was a literary creation by a prophet who used this form of writing to convey a divine message. This absurd conclusion echoed today by many biblical scholars had been prophesied in the very text of Job 5:13: *For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, for it is written: He catches the wise in their own cunning. And again: Jehovah knows that the reasonings of the wise men are futile* (1Corinthians 3:19-20). Studies on the Book of Job, generally of an impressive erudition, usually claim that if it includes ancient elements of badly defined origin, it was written later probably around the 6th century BCE. For example, a recent comprehensive study which concluded that Job is "unfinalizable" approximates the name of Job (A-ia-ab in cuneiform) to the Egyptian 'Ayabi-ilu'¹⁰³ "Where is my father, O God?". Actually this approximation is very conjectural. The name 'Ayabi-ilu is found in an Egyptian writing (Brooklyn papyrus 35.1446)¹⁰⁴ dated from year 10 of Amenemhet III (c. 1830 BCE) to year 2 of Sobekhotep III (c. 1700 BCE), which is a record of the Bureau of labour¹⁰⁵. Almost 2/3 of one household's staff (95 names) have Asiatic names, while other documents contain titles such as "officer in charge of Asiatic troops" and "scribe of the Asiatics". This document shows that at this time (when the Hebrews were working in Egypt, according to the Bible) there were many Asiatics from Canaan who were working for Egyptian masters. The document further indicates that these Asiatic names were systematically changed into Egyptian names, which is consistent with the Egyptian custom of that time, as stated in the biblical text in the case of Joseph (Genesis 41:45). However the transcription of the name *H-j-i-b-i-r(?)*-w as well as its vocalization *Heiabiru* (= Ayyab-Ilu?) are speculative¹⁰⁶. Another comprehensive study which claim also that Job is above all "a theological poem" written around the mid 5th century BCE, concluded that Job had to live in Hauran instead of Edom through an in-depth etymological analysis of names, like the name Bildad which would come from an ancient Apil-Hadad found in Nuzu¹⁰⁷. Once more this conclusion, based on an uncertain etymological analysis, is speculative because of the very few documents of that time. As the name Eldad (Numbers 11:26) means "God is beloved," the probable meaning of Bildad would be "my Lord is beloved (*Baal-dodi*)" identical to the Akkadian name Be-lí-da-dí¹⁰⁸ (Ur III, c. 2000 BCE). The only plausible conclusion regarding names is their great antiquity, like Eliphaz (Job 2:11) which means "My God is refined [gold?]" is close to gu-ba-zu^{ki}/gu-pazu/ "The Voice is refined [gold?]", an Eblaite toponym¹⁰⁹ (c. 2000-1800).

To determine the period at which belongs Job, academics frequently perform comparative analysis of the literature devoted to the 'Righteous Sufferer'. These studies ignore two essential points that distinguished the Book of Job from all other wisdom books: 1) Job is not polytheistic and 2) he never implore God to heal him but he only asks:

¹⁰² M. GOREA – Job repensé ou trahi? Omissions et raccourcis de la Septante Paris 2007 Éd. J. Gabalda et C^{ie} Éditeurs pp. 223-228.

¹⁰³ S.W.T. HYUN – Job the Unfinalizable: a Bakhtinian Reading of Job 1-11 Leiden 2013 Ed. Brill p. 34.

¹⁰⁴ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 553-554.

¹⁰⁵ B. MENU – Le papyrus du Brooklyn Museum n° 35.1446 et l'immigration syro-palestinienne sous le Moyen Empire in: *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5 (2012) pp. 19-30.

¹⁰⁶ G. POSENER – Les asiatiques en Egypte sous les XIIe et XIIIe dynasties in: *Syria* 34:1-2 (1957) p. 150.

¹⁰⁷ J. LÉVÉQUE – Job et son Dieu. Essai d'exégèse et de théologie biblique Paris 1970 Éd. J. Gabalda et C^{ie} pp. 86-90.

¹⁰⁸ R. A. DI VITO – Studies in Third Millenium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names in: *Studia Pohl Series Maior* 16 (Roma, 1993 Ed. Pontificio, Istituto Biblico) pp. 199, 266, 308.

¹⁰⁹ G.F.P. PETTINATO – Materiali epigrafici di Ebla Vol 2 Napoli 1980 Ed. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli 1980/1 p. 41 obv. IV 4

Why do the wicked live on, grow old, and become wealthy? (...) and God does not punish them with his rod (Job 21:7,10). For example, 'The Ludlul-Bel-Nimeqi is a Sumerian poem which chronicles the lament of a good man suffering undeservedly. Also known as "The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer", the title translates as "I will praise the Lord of Wisdom". In the poem, Tabu-utul-Bel, age 52, an official of the city of Nippur, cries out that he has been afflicted with various pains and injustices and, asserting his own righteous behaviour, asks why the gods should allow him to suffer so. In this, the poem treats the age old question of 'why do bad things happen to good people' and the poem has thus been linked to 'The Book of Job'. No scholarly consensus exists on a date for the writing of Job while Ludlul-Bel-Nimeqi dates to c. 1700 BCE. Because of the similarity of the themes addressed, so many have compared the two works, even referring to Ludlul-Bel-Nimeqi as "The Sumerian Job", that there exists today the oft-repeated claim that The Book of Job was taken from the earlier work¹¹⁰. While there is, obviously, some merit to this claim, it is not necessarily so. The Ludlul-Bel-Nimeqi could as easily be compared to other books in the Bible such as Ecclesiastes or the third chapter of The Lamentations of Jeremiah. The speaker in Ecclesiastes asks the same questions as Tabu-utul-Bel and Lamentations chapter 3 has very similar imagery to Ludlul-Bel-Nimeqi. While it is certainly possible that the later work drew on the earlier, it is just as probable that the two works simply treat of the same theme. People in the modern day are still wrestling with the question of why good people suffer. Why, then, must a modern reader insist that The Book of Job derives from Ludlul-Bel-Nimeqi? There are more significant differences between The Book of Job and the Sumerian work than there are similarities and, while it may be that the earlier work was drawn on as source material for the later, to read Ludlul-Bel-Nimeqi as simply a 'rough draft' of Biblical narrative (or to dismiss Job as 'derivative') is to demean the works as well as miss the point of the pieces. The question 'why do bad things happen to good people' is as old as human beings themselves. Tabu-utul-Bel, like Job, endures terrible suffering even though he has been very religious, observed all the rites and prayers. He says: *But I myself thought of prayers and supplications —Prayer was my wisdom, sacrifice my dignity* and yet still he suffers. Job says likewise: *My feet have closely followed his footsteps; I have kept to his way without deviating. I have not departed from the commandment of his lips. I have treasured up his sayings even more than what was required of me* (Job 23:11-12). Both works ask how a human being is supposed to understand the will of God and, in the end, both protagonists are healed of their afflictions through divine intervention. The differences, however, are in the details of the two works and the culture from which they spring. The most obvious difference in the two is that the Sumerian work is a monologue while the Hebrew composition is a drama. That aside, however, and also granting the obvious difference of Job's deliverance by God himself and Tabu-utul-Bel's salvation through a necromancer, the most significant difference is in what the suffering consists of and the depiction of the deities. Tabu-utul-Bel suffers in his person and extrapolates from this suffering to consider the sufferings of others and the futility of existence: *Where may human beings learn the ways of God? He who lives at evening is dead in the morning (...) At one moment he sings and plays; In the twinkling of an eye he howls like a funeral-mourner*. Job suffers in his person but also must endure the deaths of his children and the loss of all he has worked for in his life. He, also, considers others' suffering and wonders how one may learn the reason for it: *Let someone arbitrate between a man and God, as one would between a man and his fellow* (Job 16:21). The deities themselves, however, reveal the greatest difference in the two works. In ancient Mesopotamian religion there were between 300 - 1000 deities at work at any given time and, this being so, the good which a god such as Marduk might wish for an individual could be thwarted by

¹¹⁰ The phrase "They wept for 7 days and 7 nights (Job 2:12-13)" is typically Sumerian (Epic of Gilgamesh X:3).

another such as Erra. Tabu-utul-Bel's complaint is that he should not suffer because he has done right by his god and, while no one would fault him for complaining about the many afflictions he lists, he would have had to know that it was not Marduk's fault he was suffering so, nor his own fault; suffering could come from any one of many deities and for any reason. The Penitential Prayer to Every God tablet (dating from mid-7th century Sumer) makes this clear in that the penitent in that prayer begs for mercy and forgiveness from whichever god he has offended unknowingly. Tabu-utul-Bel is cured at the end of the piece by a necromancer (conjurer) who Marduk sends to him and the title of the poem praises Marduk for the healing. In the Sumerian piece, then, the problem of suffering is dealt with through one god (of many) working through an intermediary to deliver justice. An ancient audience to the poem's recitation would have understood that, however undeserved they felt their own suffering to be, the gods would deal justly with them in the same way. As human beings were created to be co-labourers with the gods, the god who wished them well would, in time, redress their wrongs and cure their afflictions. In The Book of Job, however, the one supreme deity handles the situation differently. God appears himself toward the conclusion, speaking out of a whirlwind, and asks: *Where were you when I founded the earth? Tell me, if you think you understand. Who set its measurements, in case you know, or who stretched a measuring line across it?* (Job 38:4-5) asking, in other words: *Who are you to question my ways?* There is a 'happy ending' to The Book of Job, the righteous sufferer is rewarded with new children and a new life and the question: *Why do the wicked live on, grow old, and become wealthy? (...) and God does not punish them with his rod* (Job 21:7,10), is answered but in a cryptic way that Job understood: *My ears have heard about you, but now I do see you with my eyes. That is why I take back what I said, and I repent in dust and ashes* (Job 42:5-6).

Given the context of the misfortunes of Job is fully misunderstood, it implies also a misunderstanding of the answer to the question: *Why does God allow evil?*, the scholarly answer generally is the following: *So why did God put Job through all of his suffering? Primarily it was to reveal Himself to Job. Through this interrogation, God has taught Job that He alone created everything—the heavens and the earth, and all that is in them—and He alone controls all that He created. He alone has the right to do with His own as He pleases. He is under no obligation to explain His actions to His creation. He alone is sovereign and unaccountable to anyone*¹¹¹. So, God would have made written a book to answer that he did not want to answer! Which logical mind can accept such a nonsense, except to assume an authoritarian God, even a little sadistic? Fortunately, the period of time 1640-1500 BCE and the message recipients are known (see *Dating the war of the Hyksos*), it is God's servants who were in Egypt under the 15th Dynasty:

13 th Dynasty			Reference	Reign
1778 -	Asiatics			
	14 th Dynasty	Israelite ruler		
	1753-1741	Joseph co-regent	Genesis 41:40-45	1758-1744
	1741-1690	Cattle princes	Genesis 47:6	1744 -
	1690-1682	Death of Joseph	Genesis 47:28	-1678
	15 th Dynasty	Great Hyksos		
	1682-1613	Foolish princes of Tanis	Isaiah 19:11-13	1678-1613
-1573	1613-1573	Pharaoh Apopi (Moses)	Exodus 11:3	1613-1573
17 th Dynasty	16 th Dynasty	Theban kings		
1573 -	1573-1533	Moses alien resident in Madian	Acts 7:21-42	1573 -
-1530	1533-1530	then come back into Egypt (Apopi)		-1533
18 th Dynasty				
1530 -	(in Sinai)	Exodus	Exodus 16:35	1533-1493
-1295				

¹¹¹ L.J. WATERS – Reflections on Suffering from the Book of Job in: *Bibliotheca Sacra* 154 (October–December 1997) pp. 436-451.

Job lived in the 17th century BCE. According to dating Middle Bronze Age strata, the first part of the 13th Dynasty could be dated in 1750-1660 BCE (+/- 30 years), the 15th Dynasty in 1660-1540 BCE (+/- 20 years) and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty in 1540 BCE (+/- 10 years). The material culture of the Canaanite settlers¹¹² in the eastern Delta displays a distinct similarity to the material culture found at Middle Bronze Age sites in Palestine¹¹³ and studies of scarabs of the Middle Bronze period from both region argue for the southern Levant as the place of origin of the Second Intermediate Period foreign rulers in Egypt¹¹⁴. The site of Tell el-Dab'a, identified with ancient Avaris, was recently identified with the New Kingdom port of *Prw Nfr*, when two possible harbours were found¹¹⁵.

13 th Dynasty	Memphis				
	1778-1686	14 th Dynasty	Tanis		
	Thebes		1750-1680		
Sobekhotep IV	1686-1677	15 th Dynasty	Avaris	Job (Edom)	1710 -
Sobekhotep V	1677-1672	?? (Great Hyksos)	1680 -		
Sobekhotep VI	1672-1670		-1668		
Ibia	1670-1659	[Šamqenu?]	1668-1656		
Aÿ	1659 -	[‘Aper-‘Anati?]	1656-1644		
	-1635	[Sakir-Har?]	1644 -		-1640
Ani	1635-1633		-1632		1640-1500
Sewaditu	1633-1630	[Khyan?]	1632 -		
Neferhotep II Ined	1630-1627				
Hori	1627-1622				
Sobekhotep VII	1622-1620				
??	1620 -	[Jannes]	-1613		
	-1576	Apopi	1613-1573	Moses	1613-1573
??	1576-1573	Khamudi	1573-1572	(Midian)	1573 -
17 th Dynasty	Thebes	16 th Dynasty	Edfu		
Rahotep	1573 -	? (Theban kings)	1572-1571		
	-1569	Djehuty	1571-1568		
Sobekemsaf I	1569-1567	Neferhotep III	1568-1567		
Sobekemsaf II	1567-1557	Mentuhotepe	1567-1566		
Antef VI	1557-1555	Nebiriau I	1566-1550		
Antef VII	1555 -	Nebiriau II	1550-1550		
	-1545	[-]	1550-1549		
Antef VIII	1545-1545	Bebiankh	1549 -		
Ahmose (Iahmes)	1545-1544				
Taa (Seqenenre)	1544 -		-1537		
		Dedumose I	1537-1534		
(met Apopi)	-1533	Dedumose II	1534-1533	(return into Egypt)	-1533
Kamose	1533 -	Mentuemsaf	1533-1532	(Exodus in Sinai)	1533 -
		Mentuhotepe VI	1532-1531		
	-1530	Senwosret IV	1531-1530		
18 th Dynasty	Thebes				
Ahmose	1530-1505				-1493

In 1640 BCE, the situation of the Israelites in Egypt (Aÿ was likely the pharaoh of Upper Egypt and Sakir-Har? the vassal ruler of Lower Egypt) was turning particularly dramatic because not only they were in a pagan country, but more importantly they were enslaved by some Hebrew princes (Great Hyksos) who were their own brothers: *The princes*

¹¹² M. BIETAK – Egypt and Canaan During the Middle Bronze Age

in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 281 (1991) pp. 27-72.

¹¹³ D. BEN-TOR – Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period
in: *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 27 (2007) pp. 1-3.

¹¹⁴ D. BEN-TOR – Can Scarabs Argue for the Origin of the Hyksos

in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1:1 (2009) pp. 1-7.

¹¹⁵ B. BADER – Traces of Foreign Settlers in the Archaeological Record of Tell el-Dab'a

in: *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 202, 2011) pp. 137-158.

of Zoan (Tanis) are foolish. The wisest advisers of Pharaoh give unreasonable advice. How can you say to Pharaoh: I am a descendant of wise ones, a descendant of ancient kings? Where, then, are your wise men? Let them tell you if they know what Jehovah of armies has decided concerning Egypt. The princes of Zoan have acted foolishly; The princes of Noph (Memphis) have been deceived; The chiefs of her tribes (the Hyksos) have led Egypt astray (Isaiah 19:11-13). Although Moses was established Pharaoh (Apopi) from his childhood (Exodus 2:8-10, 11:3, Acts 7:21-22, Hebrews 11:24-26), some Hebrew princes refused to cooperate with him: *Now in those days, after Moses had become an adult (he was 40), he went out to his brothers to look at the burdens they were bearing, and he caught sight of an Egyptian beating a Hebrew, one of his brothers. So he looked this way and that, and seeing no one, he killed the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. But he went out on the following day, and there were two Hebrew men fighting with each other. So he said to the one in the wrong: Why do you strike your companion? At this he said: Who appointed you as a prince and a judge over us? Are you planning to kill me just as you killed the Egyptian? Moses now was afraid and said: Surely the matter has become known! Then Pharaoh heard about it, and he attempted to kill Moses; but Moses ran away from Pharaoh and went to dwell in the land of Midian, and he sat down by a well (Exodus 2:11-15); Now in the way that Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses, so these also go on opposing the truth. Such men are completely corrupted in mind, disapproved as regards the faith (2 Timothy 3:8).* The precision: *disapproved as regards the faith* proves that they were Jewish rulers, not Egyptian priests. According to the Jewish literature of the first century, Jannes and his brother Jambres opposed Moses under the influence of Belial (Damascus Document 5:18-19). According to Manetho, Jannas ruled as king (16th Dynasty) after Apopi. The name Jannes appears on an inscription at Avaris¹¹⁶ indicating he was the son of Khyan, the Hyksos king (15th Dynasty) just before Apopi.

lifespan	character	fathered	died		reference
1788-1678	Joseph	37 years	110 years	-	Genesis 41:46-50; 50:22
1758-1678	[generation lifespan]	25-30 years	[75-90 years]		Genesis 50:23
[1710-1500]	Job	?	210 years	1640 BCE	Job 42:12-17
[1640-1500]	[generation lifespan]	35-40 years	?		Job 42:16-17
[1683-1550]	Qehat	[40 years]	133 years		Exodus 6:18
[1643-1506]	Amram	[20 years]	137 years	-	Exodus 6:20
1623-1493	Miriam	?	130 years	-	Numbers 20:1,29 Ex 2:1-4
1616-1493	Aaron	?	123 years	-	Numbers 33:39
1613-1493	Moses	40 years	120 years		Deuteronomy 34:7
1573-1513	[generation lifespan]	20 years	60 years		Numbers 32:11-13
1573-1463	Joshua	?	110 years		Judges 2:8
1573-1493	[generation longevity]	?	80 years	-	Psalms 90:1,10

Given that context, a man like Qehat who was 43 in 1640 BCE, grandfather of Moses, could logically asked, as Job did: *Why do the wicked live on, grow old, and become wealthy? (...) and God does not punish them with his rod (Job 21:7,10), especially since they knew the prophecy sworn to Abraham (2038-1863): Then He (God) said to Abram: Know for certain that your offspring will be foreigners in a land not theirs and that the people there will enslave them and afflict them for 400 years (Genesis 15:13).* Strangely the Egyptian prophecy of Neferty¹¹⁷ stated under Amenemhat I (1975-1946) is similar to the 400 years' prophecy of Genesis 15:13. While Job has received a long answer to his question, it does not seem to have been well understood since it was raised again several times in the Bible: *They say: How does God know?*

¹¹⁶ M. BIETAK - Avaris the Capital of the Hyksos
London 1996 Ed. British Museum Press pp. 64-67.

¹¹⁷ He (Neferti) was concerned for what would happen in the land. He thinks about the condition of the east. Asiatics (3mw) travel with their swords, terrorizing those who are harvesting, seizing the oxen from the plow (...) All happiness has gone away, the land is cast down in trouble because of those feeders, Asiatics (Styw) who are throughout the land. Enemies have arisen in the east, Asiatics (3mw) have come down to Egypt. A fortress is deprived of another beside it, the guards do not pay attention of it (...) Asiatics (3mw) will fall to his sword, Libyans will fall to this flame, rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might, as the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels to him. One will build the "Wall of the Ruler", life prosperity and health, to prevent Asiatics (3mw) from going down into Egypt.

*Does the Most High really have knowledge? Yes, these are the wicked, who always have it easy. They keep increasing their wealth. Surely in vain I have kept my heart pure and washed my hands in innocence (Psalms 73:11-13); How long, O Jehovah, must I cry for help, but you do not bear? How long must I ask for help from violence, but you do not intervene? Why do you make me witness wrongdoing? And why do you tolerate oppression? Why are destruction and violence before me? And why do quarrelling and conflict abound? So law is paralyzed, and justice is never carried out. For the wicked surround the righteous; That is why justice is perverted (Habakkuk 1:2-4)*¹¹⁸. Why the answer that Job received seems so incomprehensible?

THE BOOK OF JOB: WHY?

The book of Job was written to answer two crucial questions: one asked by Satan at the beginning of the narrative: *Is it for nothing that Job has feared God? Have you not put up a protective hedge around him and his house and everything he has?* (Job 1:9-10) and a second by Job towards the end of his misfortunes: *Why do the wicked live on, grow old, and become wealthy? (...) and God does not punish them with his rod* (Job 21:7,10). The first question did not involve only Job but also all men who serve God: *Satan answered Jehovah: Skin for skin. A man will give everything that he has for his life. But, for a change, stretch out your hand and strike his bone and flesh, and he will surely curse you to your very face* (Job 2:4-5). The exemplary behaviour of Job facing hardships clearly showed that upright men do what is right by principle rather than by interest (such as the Epicureans). The answer to the question of Job is given in two steps: *Jehovah continued to answer Job: Should a faultfinder contend with the Almighty? Let the one who wants to reprove God answer (...) Brace yourself, please, like a man; I will question you, and you inform me. Will you call into question my justice? Will you condemn me so that you may be right? Do you have an arm as powerful as the true God's, or can your voice thunder like his? Adorn yourself, please, with glory and majesty; Clothe yourself with dignity and splendour. Release the fury of your anger; Look at everyone who is haughty, and bring him low. Look at everyone who is haughty, and humble him, and tread down the wicked where they stand. Hide them all in the dust; Bind them in the hidden place, then even I would acknowledge to you that your right hand can save you* (Job 40:1-14). This preliminary basically points out that for justice prevails, one must have the means to enforce it, that is to say be more powerful than the aggressor. After all, Job who is complaining only has to act himself. Thus Job realized how he is unable to eradicate the evil, unlike God. The chief Adversary of God is clearly identified: it's Satan (Job 1:6-2:7), the "Resister", *satan* means "resister" in Hebrew¹¹⁹. Satan's power exceeds human power, he is able to encourage looters stealing (Job 1:15,17), he is able to produce storms (Job 1:16,19), diseases (Job 2:7) and generate bad influence upon intimate friends of Job by means of spiritualism (Job 4:15). The answer to the first question is simple and clear: the righteous one serves God by principle, not by interest. The first part of the answer to the second question is also simple and clear: Satan is responsible for evil and is more powerful than men (1Chronicles 21:1; Zechariah 3:1-2), however the second part is quite confusing indeed: *consider Behemoth and Leviathan* (Job 40:15; 41:1). What does it mean this gibberish?

The more puzzling regarding the answer about Behemoth and Leviathan is that it was understood by Job (Job 42:1-6) but not by most of his successors since God will be regularly charged by senseless ones either of slowness (2Peter 3:9), or impotence (Ezekiel 8:12), or even to be inexistent (Psalm 14:1). However one reads: *the wicked ones will act wickedly, and none of the wicked will understand; but those having insight will understand* (Daniel 12:9-10). The Book of Job gave a warning (Job 5:13) quoted by Paul to the Corinthians influenced by philosophers: *For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, for it is written: He*

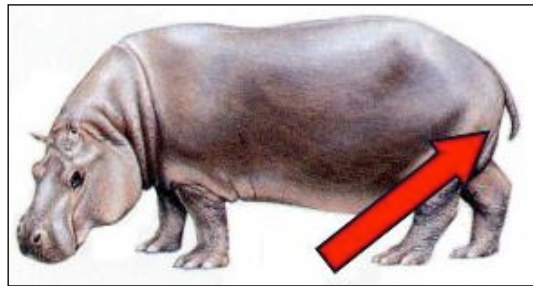
¹¹⁸ The answer given to Habakkuk (Hab 1:5-6) and Asaph (Psalms 79:1-3) was concerning Temple's destruction by the Chaldeans.

¹¹⁹ See 1Samuel 29:4; 2Samuel 19:21-22; 1Kings 5:4, 11;14,23,25.

catches the wise in their own cunning. And again: Jehovah knows that the reasonings of the wise men are futile (1Corinthians 3:18-20), consequently the true insight about the origin and end of evil comes from the Bible itself, not from the wise men of this world. When the Bible says that the wisdom of this world is foolishness, is this warning baseless or not?

Currently most translations of the Bible indicate in their notes that Behemoth and Leviathan are two encrypted names for hippopotamus and crocodile (*sus-ye'or* and *tanin* in Hebrew), some translations replace these two names of mammals inside the very text¹²⁰. This bewildering explanation is straightforwardly absurd for the following reasons:

- The translators of the Septuagint who knew Hebrew and were living in Alexandria and thus well knew hippopotamus and crocodiles¹²¹, did not translate¹²² Behemoth and Leviathan into "hippopotamus (ἵππο-πόταμος)" and "crocodile (κροκοδείλια)" but "wild beasts (θηρία)" and "dragon (δράκος)".
- The crocodile has an immovable tongue as already noted by Herodotus (The Histories II:68), this is not the case of Leviathan (Job 41:1), who has also several heads (Psalm 74:14), that is obviously not the case of a real animal. Likewise the hippopotamus bends its tail like a cedar tree (Job 40:17), that is obviously not possible for a real animal because its tail is tiny (opposite figure). In fact, the tail of Behemoth is straight unlike the one of the tortuous dragon (Apocalypse 12:4).
- The text of Job 40:19 about Behemoth: *It is the beginning of the ways of God*, has puzzled many Jewish commentators from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE¹²³. If Behemoth was a literal domestic animal (hippopotamus, elephant, water buffalo, etc.), it should be classified among mammals however, according to Genesis, they appeared at the 5th day of creation, that is to say, a day after and not before the great sea animals (Genesis 1:20-25). Jewish commentators had logically concluded that Behemoth and Leviathan were to be fantastically powerful animals that were to appear in messianic times for killing each other. One can read in a book written around 150 BCE: *the Holy Michael said to me: What sight has disturbed you like this? Until today has the day of His mercy lasted and He has been merciful and long suffering towards those who dwell upon the dry ground. And when the Day, and the Power, and the Punishment, and the Judgment come that the Lord of Spirits has prepared for those who worship the Righteous Judgment, and for those who deny the Righteous Judgment, and for those who take His name in vain —and that Day has been prepared. For the chosen a covenant, but for the sinners a visitation. And on that day two monsters will be separated from one another, a female monster whose name is Leviathan, to dwell in the depths of the sea, above the springs of the waters. And the name of the male is Behemoth who occupies with his breast an immense desert named Dendayn on the east of the Garden where the chosen and the righteous dwell. And I asked that other Angel to show me the power of those monsters, how they were separated on one day, and thrown, one into the depths of the sea and the other on to the dry ground of the desert (...) These two monsters, prepared in accordance with the greatness of the Lord, will feed them that Punishment of the Lord. And children will be killed with their mothers and sons with their fathers. When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits rests upon them it will remain resting so that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come in vain upon these* (The Book of Enoch LX:4-9,24-25). The Babylonian Talmud offers



¹²⁰ Living Bible; Contemporary English Version; New Life Version; Orthodox Jewish Bible.

¹²¹ The crocodile and the hippopotamus were depicted by Herodotus around 450 BCE (The Histories II:68,71).

¹²² The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English (Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), p. 696.

¹²³ A. CAQUOT – Léviathan et Behémoth in: *Semítica* XXV (1975) pp.111-122.

the fanciful explanation (c. 200 CE): *All that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in his world he created male and female. Likewise, Leviathan the slant serpent and Leviathan the tortuous serpent he created male and female; and had they mated with one another they would have destroyed the whole world. What [then] did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He castrated the male and killed the female preserving it in salt for the righteous in the world to come; for it is written: And he will slay the dragon that is in the sea. And also Behemoth on a thousand hills were created male and female, and had they mated with one another they would have destroyed the whole world. What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He castrated the male and cooled the female and preserved it for the righteous for the world to come; for it is written: Lo now his strength is in his loins —this refers to the male; and his force is in the stays of his body, —this refers to the female. There also, [in the case of Leviathan], he should have castrated the male and cooled the female [why then did he kill the female]? —Fishes are dissolute. Why did he not reverse the process? —If you wish, say: [It is because a] female [fish] preserved in salt is tastier. If you prefer, say: Because it is written: There is Leviathan whom Thou hast formed to sport with, and with a female this is not proper. Then here also [in the case of Behemoth] he should have preserved the female in salt? —Salted fish is palatable, salted flesh is not (Baba Batra 74b).*

It is therefore evident that Behemoth and Leviathan are two symbolic animals¹²⁴ and not mammals. How skilled specialists succeeded to turn and twist such an explanation so elementary. Actually, the changes occurred gradually. Jerome (347-420), who translated the Hebrew Bible into Latin, came to the conclusion that Behemoth was an evil force because the description of its fantastic strength looked like the one of Leviathan, while noting that the text of Job 40:19 usually applied to Jesus because of Colossians 1:15, was strange. He deduced, to remain consistent with his interpretation that Good and Evil had been created together at the beginning¹²⁵. The few commentators who will follow will develop especially the interpretation of a diabolical Behemoth and will seek to identify it either to the Antichrist described as an angel of light (2 Corinthians 11:14) in the writings¹²⁶ of Olympiodorus (500-565) or an allegorical representation of human passions considered as evil. Then, unexpectedly in the late 12th century, two commentators, a Jew and a Christian, will stand out from the previous interpretations. Maimonides, connoisseur of the Talmud, stated that the book of Job were connected to deep thoughts and from the context the evil and good inclination, contrary to what usually said Jewish tradition, could not be inherent tendencies of man, but rather two angels (Talmud Shabbat 119b). Satan was the evil inclination and another angel being the good inclination (not elucidated by Maimonides). At about the same time (c. 1190) Martin Legion¹²⁷, a Roman Catholic, had reached a more surprising conclusion, he thought that if Leviathan was the Dragon, Behemoth which was depicted in parallel should represent a resurrected Jesus. Although very revolutionary, the contribution of these two scholars did not change the works that followed, they marked rather the end of allegorical researching about those two powerful creatures. The remarks of two theologians, Albert the Great (1206-1280), and Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274), were decisive. Their interpretation, mostly accepted today have directed subsequent research toward the literal meaning. Whereas the allegorical interpretations were "rantings" and too complicated, they finally opted for a literal interpretation of the two animals, Behemoth was identified as an elephant (despite Job 40:19!) and Leviathan as a whale (Job 41:18-19!). After the 13th century, some researchers will be directed back to a symbolic identification, but their works remained anecdotal.

¹²⁴ Behemoth (7x): Dt 32:24; Jr 12:4; Ha 2:17; Ps 50:10; 73:22; Jb 12:7; 40:15; Leviathan (6x): Is 27:1; 27:1; Ps 74:14; 104:26; Jb 3:8; 40:25.

¹²⁵ HIERONYMI - *Commentarii in librum Job XL*

in: *Patrologia Latina* XXVI Éd. (1845, JP. Migne) pp.781-790.

¹²⁶ OLYMPIODORI ALEXANDRINI - *In beatum Job*

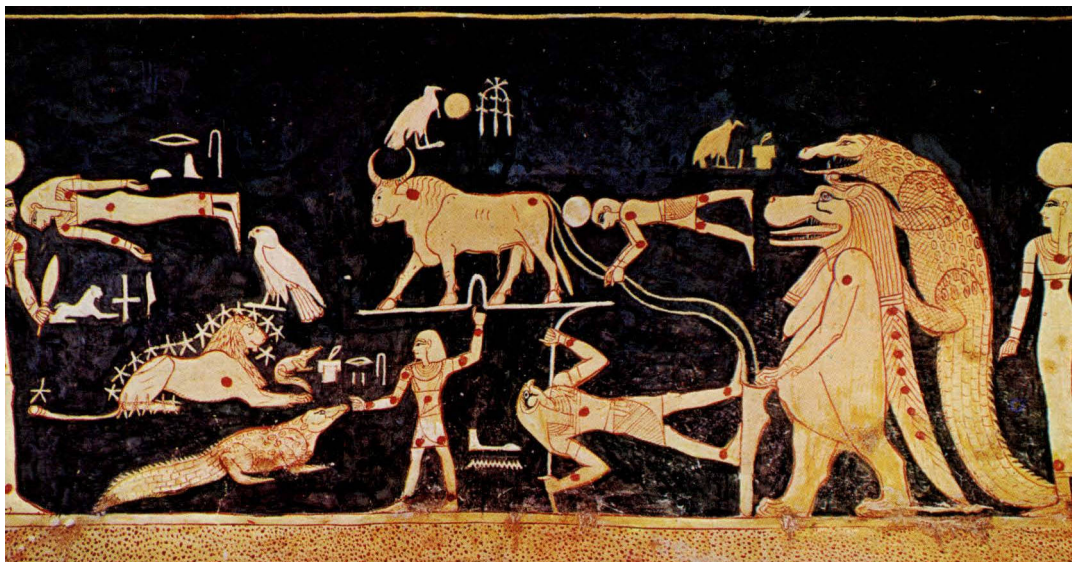
in: *Patrologia Graeca* XCIII, Turholt (1966 Ed. Brepols) pp. 419-435.

¹²⁷ Martini Legionensis - *Sermo XXVI in ressur. domini*

in: *Patrologia Latina* CCVIII (1855, Éd. JP. Migne) pp. 934-940.

Archaeological discoveries in the 20th century revealed that Mesopotamian and Egyptian myths already were describing from long ago evil forces under the form of monstrous animals. These findings have convinced theologians and biblists that Leviathan and Behemoth were in fact mythological animals and that ancient myths had to inspire the biblical narratives¹²⁸. Although there has been a debate¹²⁹ for choosing between the Mesopotamian myth, representing evil forces in the form of a bull and a snake, and the Egyptian myth representing these forms as a hippopotamus and a crocodile, a consensus has emerged in favour of the Egyptian myth for the following reasons:

- The Egyptian myth that describes some ambivalent evil forces¹³⁰ in the form of a hippopotamus associated with a crocodile is very old. The evil form is represented by Seth (male)/ Sobek against Horus, the beneficial form by Thueris (female)/ Sobek¹³¹.
- The Egyptian myth of the hippopotamus associated with the crocodile (Dragon) is shown in several ancient zodiacal astronomical ceilings like the one of Senenmut's tomb dated year 9 of Thutmose III (1463 BCE) or Seti I's tomb (figure below), the two mythological monsters being in the midst of star constellations represented by cosmological goddesses and gods¹³². This coincidence was considered crucial because the text of Job in the Septuagint describes several constellations of stars, including the stars of Pleiades and Orion, just before the description of Behemoth and Leviathan: *Did you understand the bond of Pleiades and did you open the barrier of Orion* (Job 38:31-32).



- A coincidence of sonority between the Egyptian word *pa-ih-mu* "the water ox" and the Hebrew word *behema* (singular of *behemoth*) was considered as a final argument.

The above arguments are really of great learning, but what is the most impressive is that they are all wrong. The word *pa-ih-mu* is a modern invention that has never existed. The hippopotamus was well known in Egypt and there are indeed several Egyptian words to describe it (*db*, *h3b*) in addition to the very colourful term "bull of marshes" (*k3 mhy*), but the fanciful word *ih-mu* "water ox" was never used to refer to the hippopotamus. Regarding

¹²⁸ J. V. KINNIER WILSON - A Return to the Problems of Behemoth and Leviathan
in: *Vetus Testamentum* 25:1 (January, 1975), pp. 1-14.

¹²⁹ J. VERMEYLEN - Behémot
in: *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible* (Brepols, 1987), p. 192.

¹³⁰ The giant snake Apophis is the more common.

¹³¹ N. GUILHOU, J. PEYRÉ - *La mythologie égyptienne*
Paris 2005 Éd. Marabout pp. 320-323.

¹³² M. CAZENAVE - *Encyclopédie des symboles*
Paris 1996 Éd. Le livre de poche pp. 174-176, 308.

the Septuagint translation, Pleiades and Orion constellations are also inventions because the word "constellation" does not appear in the Hebrew text and the translation of Hebrew words *kimah* "herd" and *kesil* "fool" into Pleiades and Orion is pure speculation. Lastly the fact to assume that the symbolism of biblical animals got inspired by Egyptian cosmogony shows a profound ignorance of the Bible because there has always been a conflict between the Egyptian and Israelite concepts about interpretations from the divine (Genesis 40:8; 41:8). Moreover there is a powerful biblical warning against myths: *For there will be a period of time when they will not put up with the wholesome teaching, but according to their own desires, they will surround themselves with teachers to have their ears tickled. They will turn away from listening to the truth and give attention to myths* (2Timothy 4:3-4).

Theological speculations have favoured cataclysmic or spooky interpretations. For some Behemoth and Leviathan are symbols of frightening dictatorships¹³³ like the one of Nazis¹³⁴, for others they are allegories of absurdity of the world like for Kafka¹³⁵ or dreamlike madness¹³⁶ like "The Wonderful Wizard (Satan) of Oz (Uz)".

BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN: WHAT DOES IT MEAN THIS GIBBERISH?

It must be remembered that Behemoth and Leviathan are the final answer to the nagging question of Job: *Why do the wicked live on, grow old, and become wealthy? (...) and God does not punish them with his rod* (Job 21:7,10) and he was able to understand it (Job 42:1-6). First of all Job knew the Leviathan and understood what Behemoth meant. We read: *Job said: Let the day perish on which I was born also the night when someone said: A man has been conceived! (...) Let those who curse the day put a curse on it, those who are able to awaken Leviathan. Let the stars of its twilight grow dark* (Job 3:2,8-9); *And those who provoke God are secure, those who have their god in their hands. However, ask, please, Behemoth, and it will instruct you; Also the birds of the heavens, and they will tell you. Or give consideration to the earth, and it will instruct you; And the fish of the sea will declare it to you. Who among all these does not know that the hand of Jehovah has done this?* (Job 12:6-9). Job viewed very differently these two symbolic creatures; indeed the behaviour of Leviathan is depicted as malefic whereas the one of Behemoth is beneficial. Similarly the presentation of Behemoth is positive: *Here, now, is Behemoth, which I made as I made you* (Job 40:15); unlike the Leviathan, which is ironic: *Can you catch Leviathan with a fishhook or hold down its tongue with a rope? Can you put a rope through its nostrils or pierce its jaws with a hook? (...) Will you play with it as with a bird or tie it on a leash for your little girls?* (Job 41:1-2,5). It must be remembered that Job was speaking Old Canaanite and was able to understand it so the words Behemoth and Leviathan had meaning for him. Behemoth is the plural of *behemah* which means "domestic animal" (Genesis 1:24) consequently it means "domestic animals" or "beasts" (Deuteronomy 32:24). However, when a plural is used with a singular verb it becomes a plural of abstraction or majesty, for example *hokhmoth* means "wisdom" or "wise ones" depending of the verb, singular or plural. As the translation of *behemoth* into "beasts" in Job 12:7 and 40:15 does not make clear sense (*ask, please, the beasts, and it will instruct you*), it must be considered rather as a prestigious name¹³⁷ which was understood by Job as "the Creature". The meaning of Leviathan ("dragon" LXX) is not as clear, some scholars link this name to Levi "adherence" (Genesis 29:34) or to first sheik called Lotan "enveloping" (Genesis 36:26). Anyway, Job was aware of Leviathan long before his misfortunes and knew that it was an evil creature, a gliding serpent (Job 3:8-9; 26:13), a resister ("Satan").

¹³³ T. HOBBS - Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil (published in 1651).

¹³⁴ F.L. NEUMANN - The Nazi Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism. 1942-1944, Reprint 1983, Ed. Octagon.

¹³⁵ S. LASINE - The Trials of Job and Kafka's Josef K. in: *The German Quarterly* 63:2 (Spring, 1990), pp. 187-198.

¹³⁶ T. LINAFELT - The Wizard of Oz: Job, Dorothy, and the Limits of the Sublime in: *Biblical Interpretation A Journal of Contemporary Approaches* (01/2006) 14:1-2 pp. 94-109.

¹³⁷ P. JOÜON, T. MURAOKA - A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Part Three: Syntax Roma 1993 Ed. Pontificio Istituto Biblica pp. 499-504.

What Job knew exactly about the dragon Leviathan? One can read in a text dated c. 2000 BCE: *He brought forth the Warrior dragon from the great fortress of the mountains (...) He brought forth the Seven-headed serpent from the ... of the mountains (...) He hung the Seven-headed serpent on the shining* (Ninurta's return to Nippur §§ 33,39,62). On a Sumerian seal¹³⁸ dated under Sargon of Akkad (2243-2187) there is a 7-headed dragon which is attacked in front by a god with attendant, and from behind by another god with a smaller follower. Three of the heads of the dragon are alive and fighting, while four heads hang limp and defeated. Flames are seen arising from the back of the dragon. On a small shell plaque the 7-headed dragon is attacked in front by a god. Six of the heads of the dragon are alive and fighting, while one head hangs limp and defeated (see below):



The name of the 7-headed dragon was Lotan or Leviathan as shown some epics found in Ugarit (dated 1350-1200 BCE). For example, one reads: *Serves Puis[sant] Baal, ministers to the Prince, Lord of Earth (...) What enemy's ris[en] against Baal, what foe against the Rider of Clouds? (...) Did I not, pray, muzzle the Dragon? I did crush the crooked serpent, tyrant¹³⁹ of the seven-headed (...) If thou smite Lotan, gliding serpent, destroy the crooked serpent, tyrant of the seven-heads¹⁴⁰.* The identification of Satan, an evil god (1John 5:19) and gliding serpent (Job 26:12-13), with the monstrous animal called Leviathan, a 7-headed dragon, is confirmed by other biblical texts: *In that day Jehovah, with his hard and great and strong sword, will turn his attention to Leviathan, the gliding serpent, even to Leviathan, the crooked serpent, and he will certainly kill the sea monster that is in the sea* (Isaiah 27:1); *You yourself stirred up the sea with your own strength; You broke the heads of the sea monsters in the waters. You yourself crushed to pieces the [7] heads of Leviathan* (Psalms 74:13-14); *And another sign was seen in heaven, and, look! a great fiery-coloured dragon, with 7 heads and 10 horns and upon its heads seven diadems; and its tail drags a third of the stars of heaven, and it hurled them down to the earth. And the dragon kept standing before the woman who was about to give birth, that, when she did give birth, it might devour her child (...) And war broke out in heaven: Michael and his angels battled with the dragon, and the dragon and its angels battled but it did not prevail, neither was a place found for them any longer in heaven. So down the great dragon was hurled, the original serpent, the one called Devil and Satan, who is misleading the entire inhabited earth; he was hurled down to the earth, and his angels were hurled down with him* (Revelation 12:3-9).

The final answer of God has enabled Job understanding that his misfortunes were coming not from God as he believed (Job 1:21) but from Satan, known at that time under the name Leviathan (Job 3:8). Despite the tremendous power of Satan (Job 41:29-34), Job learned that there was an even more powerful creature, Behemoth: *Its bones are tubes of copper; its strong bones are like wrought-iron rods. It is the beginning of the ways of God; its Maker can bring near his sword (...) If the river acts violently, it does not run in panic. It is confident, although the Jordan should burst forth against its mouth* (Job 40:18-23). Some translators have suggested that the divine sword (רבה) was symbolizing a tusk¹⁴¹ (no comment!). Consequently this divine sword gave

¹³⁸ J.B. PRITCHARD - The Ancient Near East in Pictures 1969, Princeton University Press pp. 218,221,332.

¹³⁹ The word *šlyt* (which gave "sultan") means "domineering one" (see Genesis 42:6) or "tyrant" (W.M. SCHNIEDEWIND, J.H. HUNT – A Primer on Ugaritic. Language, Culture and Literature. 2007 Cambridge University Press p. 207).

¹⁴⁰ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 135-138.

¹⁴¹ P. DHORME - Le livre de Job Paris 1926 Éd. J. Gabalda pp. 566-567.

hope to Job that in the future Behemoth would receive the power of beheading the Leviathan since he stated: *Be frightened for yourselves because of a sword, for the sword means a raging against errors, in order that you men may know there is a judge* (Job 19:29). The final outcome was different from that Job wished: *O that in the Grave you would conceal me, that you would hide me until your anger passes by, that you would set a time limit for me and remember me! If a man dies, can he live again? I will wait all the days of my compulsory service until my relief comes. You will call, and I will answer you. You will long for the work of your hands* (Job 14:13-15). In order not suffering any longer Job wanted to die waiting for resurrection, he was convinced to earn his resurrection and that he had a redeemer with God: *For I well know that my redeemer is alive; He will come later and rise up over the dust. After my skin has thus been destroyed, while yet in my flesh, I will see God, whom I will see for myself, whom my own eyes will see, not someone else's* (Job 19:25-27). The identity of this redeemer is not clear¹⁴² but Job was convinced that he had to exist on account of his concept of justice (Job 29:14-25). Job's hope (mentioned in Job 19:26) was unanimously understood by readers¹⁴³ as the resurrection to come¹⁴⁴. Elihu will correct Job's point of view about redeemer's identity. This redeemer exists but not independently of God (as Job believed), it is an angel, a mediator from God: *Then, if there is an Angel near him, a Mediator, one in a thousand, to remind him where his duty lies, to take pity on him and to say, 'Spare him from going down to the abyss: I have found the ransom for his life, his flesh will recover its childhood freshness, he will return to the days of his youth. He will pray to God who has restored him to favour, and will come into his presence with joy. He will tell others how he has received saving justice and sing this hymn before his companions, 'I sinned and left the path of right, but God has not punished me as my sin deserved. He has spared my soul from going down to the abyss and is making my life see the light. All this is what God keeps doing again and yet again for human beings, to snatch souls back from the abyss and to make the light of the living still shine* (Job 33:24-31). Thus Job was able to understand that Satan, an evil heavenly creature (a snake with 7 heads) at the origin of his misfortunes will be soon destroyed in the future by his redeemer (with a sword) who was actually the first creature of God. These explanations have enabled Job to understand that the final conflict between Behemoth and Leviathan also involves other angels (depicted by stars): *Now the day came when the sons of the true God entered to take their station before Jehovah, and Satan also entered among them (...) When the morning stars joyfully cried out together, and all the sons of God began shouting in applause?* (Job 1:6; 38:7). In the past stars were usually regarded as celestial beings (Numbers 24:17; Judges 5:20), but star worship was condemned (Deuteronomy 4:19).

Once more, translators have been puzzled by the literal meaning of God's response which seems to be incomprehensible: *Then Jehovah answered Job (...) Can you tie the ropes of Kimah* or untie the cords of Kesil*? Can you lead out Mazaroath* in its season or guide Ash* along with its sons? Do you know the laws governing the heavens, or can you impose their authority on the earth?* (Job 38:1,31-33). Although the four untranslated words (with an asterisk) have a meaning in Hebrew or Arabic, all translators have thought it was an encryption of some constellations of the zodiac. That is absolutely absurd for the following reasons:

- The word constellation (*mazal* in Hebrew) appears nowhere in the verse. The very notion of "group of stars" is even not referred.
- The translation of certain words is problematic like: "Mazaroath [plural form] in its season [singular]" or "Ash along with its sons [constellation's sons?]"
- The description of constellations (*mazaloth*) has no bearing on the question about the destruction of the wicked (it would have been a real gibberish).

¹⁴² F.R. MAGDALENE – Who Is Job's Redeemer?: Job 19:25 in Light of Neo-Babylonian Law in: *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 10 (2004) pp. 292-316.

¹⁴³ Quoted (1st century) by Clement of Rome (Epistle to Corinthians 26:3) and a Jewish apocryphal (Testament of Job 39:12-13; 40:3).

¹⁴⁴ H. TREMBLAY – Job 19,25-27 dans la Septante et chez les pères grecs. Unanimité d'une tradition in: *Études Bibliques (Nouvelles séries)* N°47 (Gabalda, 2002) pp. 9-21.

- Job was not an astronomer and would therefore not have understood technical terms (as us today), which remain unknown, used by ancient astrologers (Isaiah 47:13)!
- Constellations are associated with false worship and have always a negative meaning in the Bible: *So he put out of business the foreign-god priests, whom the kings of Judah had appointed to make sacrificial smoke on the high places in the cities of Judah and the surroundings of Jerusalem, as well as those making sacrificial smoke to Baal, to the sun, to the moon, to the constellations [of the zodiac], and to all the army of the heavens* (2Kings 23:5), as well as astrologers (Daniel 2:7).

The literal translation of Job 38:31-33 is strange but not meaningless. If one uses the literal meaning¹⁴⁵ of *kimah* "herd [of camels]", *kesil* "stupid one" (Proverbs 1:32), *mazaroṯh* "scatterers" (Job 37:9) and *ash* "moth" (Job 4:19), the verse reads: *Can you tie the ropes of a herd or untie the cords of a stupid? Can you lead out a scattering¹⁴⁶ in its season or guide a moth along with its sons? Do you know the laws governing the heavens, or can you impose their authority on the earth?* Job likely understood that the stars mentioned in God's answer were representing angels and in the same way that he had inferred there was two powerful creatures, a beneficial Behemoth and a malevolent Leviathan, he had to infer that there were beneficial stars (angels) and also some malevolent stars (demons) whose names were ironic (herd, stupid, scattering, moth) like the one of Leviathan (crooked snake). Before God's final answer, Job had stated some mundane truths: *He is making the earth go quaking from its place, so that its very pillars shudder. He is saying to the sun that it should not shine forth, and around stars he puts a seal, stretching out the heavens by himself and treading upon the high waves of the sea; Making moth stupid and herd [of camels] and the interior rooms of Teman; Doing great things unsearchable, and wonderful things without number* (Job 9:6-10), but after God's answer, his statement gained a new sense: *Can you tie the "evil" stars (Job 38:7) and guide them, as God will do with Leviathan (Job 41:1-5)? Do you know the laws governing the heavens (Job 1:6), if you can impose their authority on the earth (Job 1:12; 2:6)?* The response to Job was not esoteric (or dreamlike as some would like to believe) but rather an eschatological prophecy similar to the one of the New Testament: *I want to remind you that Jehovah, having saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed those not showing faith. And the angels who did not keep their original position but forsook their own proper dwelling place, he has reserved with eternal bonds in dense darkness for the judgment of the great day (...) when Michael the archangel had a difference with the Devil and was disputing about Moses' body, he did not dare to bring a judgment against him in abusive terms, but said: May Jehovah rebuke you (...) stars with no set course, for which the blackest darkness stands reserved forever* (Jude 5-6,9,13).

The question of the origin and end of evil, first arisen in the book of Job, will occur again at the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by Babylonians. It is noteworthy that the same symbols have been used when a descendant of Asaph asked God: *They say: How does God know? Does the Most High really have knowledge? Yes, these are the wicked, who always have it easy. They keep increasing their wealth. Surely in vain I have kept my heart pure and washed my hands in innocence. And I was troubled all day long (...) They have given the dead bodies of your servants as food to the birds of the heavens and the flesh of your loyal ones to the wild beasts of the earth. They have poured out their blood like water around Jerusalem, and no one is left to bury them. We have become an object of reproach to our neighbours; Those around us ridicule and jeer us. How long, O Jehovah, will you be furious? Forever? (Psalms 73:11-13; 79:2-5).* Asaph's statement is quite similar to Job's response, including Behemoth and Leviathan: *How long, O God, will the adversary keep taunting? Will the enemy treat your name with disrespect forever? Why do you hold back your hand, your right hand? Draw it out of your bosom and put an end to them. But God is my King from long ago, the one performing acts of salvation on the earth. You stirred up the sea with your strength; You smashed the heads of the sea*

¹⁴⁵ F. BROWN, S.R. DRIVER, C.A. BRIGGS – A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament Oxford 1951 Ed. Clarendon Press, pp. 465,799.

¹⁴⁶ The word *mazaroṯh* (feminine plural) is close to *mazarim* "scatterers" (masculine plural) and given that the pronoun "its season" is singular, *mazaroṯh* may be understood as a plural of generalisation "scattering".

monsters in the waters. You crushed the [seven] heads of Leviathan; You gave it as food to the people, to those inhabiting the deserts (Psalms 74:10-14). The last point about the "food" is further developed in the Book of Revelation: *Write: Happy are those invited to the evening meal of the Lamb's marriage (...) I saw also an angel standing in the sun, and he cried out with a loud voice and said to all the birds that fly in midheaven: Come here, be gathered together to the great evening meal of God, so that you may eat the flesh of kings and the flesh of military commanders and the flesh of strong men and the flesh of horses and of those seated on them, and the flesh of all, of freemen as well as of slaves and of small ones and great. And I saw the wild beast and the kings of the earth and their armies gathered together to wage war against the one seated on the horse and against his army. And the wild beast was caught, and along with it the false prophet that performed in front of it the signs with which he misled those who received the mark of the wild beast and those who worship its image* (Revelation 19:9,17-21). It is noteworthy that if Leviathan's heads are crushed (prophetic past!), Behemoth is also mentioned in Asaph's response: *Until I proceeded to come into the grand sanctuary of God. I wanted to discern their future. Surely on slippery ground is where you place them. You have made them fall to ruins. O how they have become an object of astonishment as in a moment! [How] they have reached their end, have been brought to their finish through sudden terrors! Like a dream after awaking, O Jehovah, [So] when arousing [yourself] you will despise their very image. For my heart was soured and in my kidneys I was sharply pained, and I was unreasoning and I did not know Behemoth, I was with you¹⁴⁷, I am constantly with you; You have taken hold of my right hand. With your counsel you will lead me, and afterward you will take me even to glory. Whom do I have in the heavens? And besides you I do have no other delight on the earth* (Psalms 73:17-25). Most translators, who did not understand the role of Behemoth in the final resolution of the conflict with Leviathan, have invented a translation of *Behemoth* more or less understandable like "brutish" in the Jerusalem Bible!

In the same way that in the book of Job the final outcome about wickedness is related to the final fight between Behemoth and Leviathan and to the fall of evil stars like *kesil* "stupid one" or *kimah* "herd": *A pronouncement against Babylon (...) Look! The day of Jehovah is coming, cruel both with fury and with burning anger, to make the land an object of horror, and to annihilate the land's sinners from it. For the stars of the heavens and their stupid [kesil] ones will not give off their light; the sun will be dark when it rises, and the moon will not shed its light. I will call the inhabited earth to account for its badness, and the wicked for their error. I will put an end to the pride of the presumptuous, and I will humble the haughtiness of tyrants (...) How you have fallen from heaven, o shining one [Lucifer in the Vulgate], son of the dawn! How you have been cut down to the earth, you who vanquished nations! You said in your heart :I will ascend to the heavens. Above the stars of God I will lift up my throne, and I will sit down on the mountain of meeting, in the remotest parts of the north. I will go up above the tops of the clouds; I will make myself resemble the Most High. Instead, you will be brought down to the Grave, to the remotest parts of the pit (...) In that day Jehovah will turn his attention to the army of the heights above and to the kings of the earth upon the earth. And they will be gathered together like prisoners gathered into a pit, and they will be shut up in the dungeon; after many days they will be given attention. The full moon will be abashed, and the shining sun will be ashamed, for Jehovah of armies has become King in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem* (Isaiah 13:1,9-10; 14:12-15; 24:21-23). Most translators, influenced by the Septuagint, changed the surprising word "their stupid ones" by "their constellations", but this choice is just a guess because the literal meaning is quite clear, the "stupid stars" are demons (Revelation 12:3,7-9; 20:1-4). Similarly, one reads: *The virgin, Israel, has fallen (...) The One who made a herd (kimah) and stupid one (kesil), the One who turns deep shadow into morning, the One who makes day as dark as night (...) Jehovah is his name. He will cause destruction to burst out against the strong, bringing destruction on fortified places (...) Now you will have to carry away Sakkuth your king and Kaiwan, your images, the star of your god, whom you made for yourselves* (Amos 5:2,7-8,26). The literal meaning is surprising but not absurd: God created

¹⁴⁷ וְאֵלָּא אֲדַע בְּהִמּוּת הַיָּיִת עִמָּךְ and I [singular] did not know beasts [plural] / the Beast [plural of majesty], I was with you.

the stars that have become stupid but they will be destroyed by Him. Moreover Satan is also presented as the leader of the opposition to God: *And he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of Jehovah, and Satan was standing at his right hand to resist him. Then the angel of Jehovah said to Satan: May Jehovah rebuke you, O Satan, yes, may Jehovah, who has chosen Jerusalem, rebuke you! Is not this one a burning log snatched out of the fire?* (Zechariah 3:1-2).

The question of the end of wickedness is dealt only twice in all the Old Testament, first during the slavery in Egypt (Book of Job), then during the destruction of Jerusalem. Both times God's response was the same: the seven-headed serpent, Leviathan (Satan), and the herd of stupid stars will be destroyed in the future. The Bible describes the Leviathan only at these two dramatic events and also once when David makes an illegal census (around 1025 BCE) in order to clarify that Satan, or Leviathan (Psalms 104:26), was the real instigator of this evil (1Chronicles 21:1). The Seven-headed Serpent (from Sumerian *muš-saĝ-7*: snake with 7 heads), one of the oldest dragons belongs both to the Bible and Sumerian mythology¹⁴⁸, but contrary to the Bible which kept the original model, the following mythologies, as the Babylonian mythology¹⁴⁹ (c. 1100 BCE), have turned the dragon into a multitude of infernal monsters: *[Tiamat] gave birth to giant serpents (...) She clothed the fearful monsters with dread, she loaded them with an aura and made them godlike (...) She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero. The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man* (Enuma Elish 134-142). In the same way Homer wrote (c. 850 BCE): *he first commanded Bellerophon to kill that savage monster, the Chimaera, who was not a human being, but a goddess, for she had the head of a lion and the tail of a serpent, while her body was that of a goat, and she breathed forth flames of fire; but Bellerophon slew her, for he was guided by signs from heaven* (Iliad VI:181-182). Hesiod wrote (c. 700 BCE): *So she conceived and brought forth fierce offspring; first she bore Orthus the bound of Geryones, and then again she bore a second, a monster not to be overcome and that may not be described, Cerberus who eats raw flesh, the brazen-voiced bound of Hades, 50-headed, relentless and strong. And again she bore a third, the evil-minded Hydra of Lerna, whom the goddess, white-armed Hera nourished, being angry beyond measure with the mighty Heracles. And her Heracles, the son of Zeus, of the house of Amphitryon, together with warlike Iolaus, destroyed with the unpitying sword through the plans of Athene the spoil-driver. She was the mother of Chimaera who breathed raging fire, a creature fearful, great, swift-footed and strong, who had 3 heads, one of a grim-eyed lion; in her hinderpart, a dragon; and in her middle, a goat, breathing forth a fearful blast of blazing fire. Her did Pegasus and noble Bellerophon slay* (Theogony 306-325). Consequently these mythological monsters do not have much to do with the snake with 7 heads of the Bible, since neither its origin (a fallen angel) nor its look are known (the number of heads for the Hydra or Cerberus is very varying):



Hydra (c. 345 BCE)



Cerberus (c. 525 BCE)

The seven-headed serpent is therefore a biblical innovation that has not been influenced by various and fanciful mythologies. However, the first-century Jewish literature was partly influenced since it describes Satan as the ruler of demons with a multitude of

¹⁴⁸ Some parts of the Epic of Gilgamesh are close to Noah's narrative (Ziusudra) in Genesis 6.

¹⁴⁹ J. BOTTÉRO, S.N. KRAMER – *Lorsque les dieux faisaient l'homme* Paris 1993 Éd. Gallimard pp. 602-679.

names: Beelzebub (Matthew 12:24-28), Belial (2Corinthians 6:15), Azazel (Leviticus 16:8), etc. Satan appears little in the writings of Qumran except in certain treaties of demonology or in worship of the angels (Colossians 2:18). As noted in the answer to Job¹⁵⁰, the end of wickedness will occur when Leviathan will have its 7 heads severed. It is a prophecy and according to the Talmud: *all the prophecies are relating to the days of the Messiah* (Talmud Shabbat 63a); and according to the New Testament: *For no matter how many the promises of God are, they have become "yes" by means of him. Therefore, also through him is the "Amen" said to God, which brings him glory through us. But the one who guarantees that you and we belong to Christ (Messiah) and the one who anointed us is God* (2Corinthian 1:20-21); *Worship God! For the witness concerning Jesus is what inspires prophecy* (Revelation 19:10). If one uses this interpretation key, the response to Job gives a tremendous insight into the origin and the end of evil.

THE FIRST CREATURE VERSUS THE 7-HEADED SERPENT: THE END

The last book of the Christian Bible, the Book of Revelation, reveals clearly who were behind the first creature and the 7-headed serpent: *A revelation by Jesus Christ, which God gave him (...) write: These are the things that the Amen says, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation by God (...) Another sign was seen in heaven. Look! A great fiery-coloured dragon, with 7 heads and 10 horns and on its heads 7 diadems; and its tail drags a third of the stars of heaven, and it hurled them down to the earth (...) And war broke out in heaven: Michael and his angels battled with the dragon, and the dragon and its angels battled but they did not prevail, nor was a place found for them any longer in heaven. So down the great dragon was hurled, the original serpent, the one called Devil and Satan, who is misleading the entire inhabited earth; he was hurled down to the earth, and his angels were hurled down with him. I heard a loud voice in heaven say: Now have come to pass the salvation and the power and the Kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ (...) On this account be glad, you heavens and you who reside in them! Woe for the earth and for the sea, because the Devil has come down to you, having great anger, knowing that he has a short period of time* (Revelation 1:1; 3:14; 12:3-12). This chapter 12 reveals several crucial points about Jesus and Satan. Jesus was actually God's first creature (Colossians 1:15; Proverbs 8:22) and Satan "resister" the Devil "slanderer" was behind the original serpent (Genesis 3:1-15), he is still the ruler of the world (2Corinthians 4:4; Ephesians 2:2; 1John 5:19) but he will soon be defeated by Christ "the messiah" (Luke 10:18, John 12:31, Hebrews 2:14). The struggle between Satan and Jesus is announced at the very outset of the Gospels: *Then Jesus was led by the spirit up into the wilderness to be tempted by the Devil (...) the Devil took him along to an unusually high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory. And he said to him: All these things I will give you if you fall down and do an act of worship to me. Then Jesus said to him: Go away, Satan! For it is written: It is Jehovah your God you must worship, and it is to him alone you must render sacred service. Then the Devil left him, and look! angels came and began to minister to him* (Matthew 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-8).

The Book of Revelation also explains the meaning of the 7 heads of Leviathan: *And it [the dragon] stood still on the sand of the sea. And I saw a wild beast ascending out of the sea, with 10 horns and 7 heads, and on its horns 10 diadems, but on its heads blasphemous names. Now the wild beast that I saw was like a leopard, but its feet were like those of a bear, and its mouth was like a lion's mouth. And the dragon gave to the beast its power and its throne and great authority. I saw that one of its heads seemed to have been fatally wounded, but its mortal wound had been healed, and all the earth followed the wild beast with admiration. And they worshipped the dragon because it gave the authority to the wild beast, and they worshipped the wild beast (...) and it was given authority over every tribe and people and tongue and nation. And all those who dwell on the earth will worship it. From the founding of the world, not one of their names has been written in the scroll of life of the Lamb (Jesus) who was slaughtered (...) So the angel said to me: Why is it that you were amazed? I will tell you the mystery of the woman and of the wild*

¹⁵⁰ The text of Jude 14 mentions a prophecy of Enoch which could be known by a few descendants of Abraham's family like Job.

beast that is carrying her and that has the 7 heads and the 10 horns (Leviathan): The wild beast that you saw was, but is not, and yet is about to ascend out of the abyss, and it is to go off into destruction. And the inhabitants of the earth—those whose names have not been written in the scroll of life from the founding of the world—will be amazed when they see how the wild beast was, but is not, and yet will be present. This calls for a mind that has wisdom: The 7 beads mean 7 mountains, where the woman sits on top. And there are 7 kings: 5 have fallen, one is [Roman Empire in the 1st century], and the other [7th] has not yet arrived; but when he does arrive, he must remain a short while. And the wild beast that was but is not, it is also an 8th king, but it springs from the 7, and it goes off into destruction. The 10 horns that you saw mean 10 kings who have not yet received a kingdom, but they do receive authority as kings for 1 hour with the wild beast. These have one thought, so they give their power and authority to the wild beast. These will battle with the Lamb, but because he is Lord of lords and King of kings, the Lamb will conquer them. Also, those with him who are called and chosen and faithful will do so. He said to me: The waters that you saw, where the prostitute is sitting, mean peoples and crowds and nations and tongues. And the 10 horns that you saw and the wild beast, these will hate the prostitute and will make her devastated and naked, and they will eat up her flesh and completely burn her with fire. For God put it into their hearts to carry out his thought, yes, to carry out their one thought by giving their kingdom to the wild beast, until the words of God will have been accomplished. And the woman whom you saw means the great city that has a kingdom over the kings of the earth (...) And I saw an angel coming down out of heaven with the key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand. He seized the dragon, the original serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for 1,000 years. And he hurled him into the abyss and shut it and sealed it over him, so that he would not mislead the nations anymore until the 1,000 years were ended. After this he must be released for a little while (Revelation 13:1-8; 17:7-18; 20:1-3). Consequently the 7 heads of Leviathan mean 7 kings spread over time. The 5th head (1st century) is the Roman empire and the 7th head is associated with 10 small kings "10 toes" (Dn 2:40-44; 12:1-2). The 7 kings (heads) over time are those who have dominated over God's people (see *Dating the Biblical Chronology*):

HEAD	KING	Key events during the period of domination	period
1 st <i>Job</i>	Egyptian	The dominion began when Jacob enter into Egypt (Gn 45:11; 46:5-7). Is was oppressive (Ex 5:6-23) during the 16 th and 17 th Dynasties (1573-1533).	1748-1533
2 nd	Assyrian	Assyrian oppression began with Pul (781-745) an Assyrian coregent, then Tiglath-pileser III (1Ch 5:26) and ceased when Assur-uballit II (612-609) died.	781-609
3 rd <i>Asaph</i>	Babylonian (1 st beast)	Babylonian oppression began when Josiah died and lasted 70 years (Jr 25:9-12). It was also the 1 st beast (Dn 2:38-40; 7:1-4,17).	609-539
4 th	Medo-Persian (2 nd beast)	The dominion began with Darius the Mede and Cyrus when Belshazzar the son of Nabonidus (556-539) was killed (Dn 1:21; 5:30-31). This head with 2 horns was the kings of Media and Persia (Dn 8:20). The king of Persia was replaced by the King of Greece, who was replaced by a [6 th] mighty king (Dn 11:2-3).	539-331
5 th	Greek (3 rd beast)	The dominion began when Darius III (336-331) was shot by Alexander the Great who was the next head with the great horn (Dn 8:21), when he died his generals began ruling 4 Greek kingdoms (Dn 8:22; 11:4).	331-63
6 th <i>John</i>	Roman (4 th beast)	The oppression began when Roman General Pompey seized Jerusalem. This king was the 6 th (Rv 17:10) and also the 4 th beast (Dn 7:7-10). The Roman empire was extended in the form of the Holy Roman Empire which gave birth in time to four European empires, but one (the British Empire) will prevail over the three others (Spanish, French and Dutch) empires (Dn 7:8).	-63+1783
7 th	Anglo-American (dragon-lamb)	On 3 September 1783 the 13 British colonies became American which entailed the birth of the Anglo-American empire which lasts until the birth of God's kingdom in heaven (Dn 7:19-27). It is a dragon which looks like a lamb (Rv 13:11).	1783-1912
cut off	Last Days (World War)	God's kingdom begins its rule on heaven and expels Satan on earth, which causes great woes (Rv 12:7-12) like the Balkan wars (October 1912) which degenerated into a World War entailing some famines and plagues (Rv 6:2-8).	1912-1919
[8 th]	United Nations (10 toes)	World War I officially ended with the Treaty of Versailles (28 June 1919), which also created the League of Nations. All kings (10 toes) are crushed (Dn 2:44). The generation of the "great crowd" will see the end (Mt 24:34; Rv 7:9-10).	1919-[xxx]

One noticed that the Book of Revelation refers frequently to the Book of Daniel but it focused mainly on the 7th and last head of the dragon because it is the time when Jesus is enthroned in heavens and expels Satan (Revelation 6:1-17; 12:10-12) then crushes the last head of Leviathan a short while later (Revelation 20:1-4,7-10). As the king at the time of apostle John was the 6th (Roman empire), the Leviathan was getting its 6th head. The number of heads of Leviathan has changed over time, there was only 1 at the time of Job (Job 41:7) then 3 at the time of Asaph (Psalms 74:14). Surprisingly the 7th head is cut off for a short time during the first World War (Revelation 13:3-5,14-15), but Satan has managed not only to regenerate it but also to create a 8th king (Revelation 17:8-14), with no real power (no crown) but to give the illusion of a world order. God's kingdom, which was symbolized by the Judean kingdom of Shiloh "It is to him" (Genesis 49:10), was in the desert for 7 times (2x3.5 times = 2x1260 days = 2520 years¹⁵¹, from 609 BCE until to 1912 CE). This period without any legal Judean king is called the "times of the nations" (Luke 21:24). Thus the depiction of Satan as a dragon in the Book of Job fits perfectly:

LEVIATHAN	SATAN DEPICTED AS A 7-HEADED SERPENT	Reference
Job 41:1-2	No man can catch Leviathan with a fishhook or put a hook in its jaws.	Ezk 38:3-4
Job 41:7	No man can fill its head with fishing spears in order to bruise it.	Gn 3:15
Job 41:12	Grace of its proportions, model of perfection and perfect in beauty.	Ezk 28:12,17
Job 41:15-16	Furrows of scales are its haughtiness.	Ezk 29:3,4
Job 41:18-19	Its snorting flashes out light. Flashes of lightning go out of its mouth.	Ezk 32:2; Rv 12:3
Job 41:22	Before its destruction runs (LXX).	Ezk 38:10
Job 41:24	Its heart is hard as stone and corrupted.	Ezk 28:17
Job 41:30	Underneath, it is like sharp fragments of pottery, filled with violence.	Ezk 28:16
Job 41:32	Behind itself it makes a pathway shine.	2Co 11:14
Job 41:33	Upon the dust there is not the like of it.	Gn 3:14
Job 41:34	It glares at everything that is haughty, it is king over all dignity.	Ep 2:2; 2Co 4:4

Most translators who liken the Leviathan to a crocodile have changed the last verse "it is king over all dignity" into "it is king over all majestic wild beasts"¹⁵². As we saw, before God's response, Job believed in a redemptive and a destructive which proved to be Behemoth and Leviathan: *For I well know that my redeemer is alive; He will come later and rise up over the dust. After my skin has thus been destroyed* (Job 19:25-27; 33:21-28). According to the New Testament, Jesus is the Redeemer (Revelation 5:9-10) designed to crush Satan under his feet (Romans 16:20), he is also the Lion of Judah mentioned in Genesis 49:10 and the morning star of Numbers 24:17 (Revelation 5:5; 22:16). Conclusion: Behemoth is Jesus¹⁵³.

BEHEMOTH	JESUS DEPICTED AS A LION OF JUDAH	Reference
Job 40:15	Behemoth that I have made as well as you.	Rv 3:14
Job 40:15	Green grass it eats just as the bull does.	Is 11:7-8; 65:25
Job 40:16	Its power is in its hips, and its dynamic energy in the tendons of its belly	Na 2:1; Ho 12:3
Job 40:17	It bends down its tail like a cedar.	Gn 49:9; Ho 5:14
Job 40:18	Its bones are tubes of copper.	Rv 2:18
Job 40:19	It is the beginning (Gn 1:1) of the ways of God.	Pr 8:22; Col 1:15
Job 40:19	Its Maker can bring near his sword.	Is 49:2-25; Rv 2:16
Job 40:23	It does not run in panic.	Pr 30:30; Is 31:4
Job 40:23	It is confident, although the Jordan should burst forth against its mouth.	Jr 49:19; Pr 28:1

¹⁵¹ The "appointed times" of the nations during which Jerusalem be trampled on by the [beasts of] nations (Luke 21:24) refers to Daniel 4:13-14: *Let it cease to have a human heart, and be given the heart of a beast, and 7 times shall pass over him! Such is the sentence proclaimed by the Watchers, the verdict announced by the holy ones —so that every living thing may learn that the Most High rules over human sovereignty; he confers it on whom he pleases, and raises the lowest of humankind [the Messiah].* The Messiah is the "one who has the legal right" (Ezekiel 21:27). The "legal right" means to be of Judah, be anointed and be buried in the city of David. Since 3.5 times (Daniel 7:25; 12:7) are 42 months or 1260 days (Revelation 11:2-3; 12:6,14) and given that "1 day is for 1 year" (Numbers 14:34; Ezekiel 4:6-7), 1260 days are for 1260 years of judgement.

¹⁵² The word "sons of pride" must be translated by "dignity" because the verb is singular: *No dignity (plural) has (singular) trodden on it; the young lion has not prowled there* (Job 28:8). The ambiguity is probably desired between the "sons of pride" and the "young lion" (1Peter 5:8)

¹⁵³ INTERNATIONAL BIBLE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION – The New World Brooklyn 1942 Ed. Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, Inc. pp.314-320.