

CHAPTER 4

The anthropology of song: some hows, whens, wheres, whys and whos

Dina Dahbany-Miraglia [CUNY Graduate Center, New York]

Abstract: People move around all the time, and have for millions of years. It's a tough habit to break. All four fields of anthropology – physical, linguistics, cultural and archaeology – propose interrelated hypotheses, a few process models, and the beginnings of at least one theory – diffusion – to make our “journeys” substantively clearer.

*Migration is not strange but natural for the creative mind.*¹

Introduction

Physical anthropologists overwhelmingly agree. Beginning 4.4 million years ago [*henceforth* mya], we were walkers, and perhaps talkers then as well.² We cannot help ourselves. It's in our genes. Trekking and observing, commenting and naming, singing and joking, inventing, retooling and sharing, creating and connecting. With each other.

As *Homo erectus* we hiked to and from Africa, over and over again,³ across the Old World's varying climate zones,⁴ taking our tool kits with us, inventing more on the way.⁵ Along with all sorts of animals, seeds, plants, microbes, spores – for millions of years – we spread out, in all directions. We walked – perhaps hundreds of miles in one short lifetime-- mixing genes and sharing knowhow whenever we could.⁶ It's who we are.

Beginning c. 2.4 mya we colonised Riwat in north Pakistan, Donggutou in northern China, Erq-El-Ahmart, near Bethlehem, Israel, and the Pabbi Hills of northern Pakistan. Atapuerca, northern Spain, and Dmanisi Georgia, in Europe's Caucasus Mountains, welcomed us. About 1 mya we sailed to Indonesia – in Southeast Asia – and walked along a beach in East Anglia, in the UK.⁷ Mixing genes, and sharing tools, speaking, teaching, trading – and no doubt singing – along the way.

Hominin creativities: speech, language play and movement – who we are

The nomadic Kalahari Desert !Kung of Nyae Nyae, Namibia, roam and play, forage, craft, process, and invent. All the while speaking and singing. They compose poem-songs – expressing their feelings, recounting incidents past and present, concocting and sharing jokes, poetising repartée. They are in continuous conversations with each other – all of the hours – all of the day. Even when they are beyond one another's hearing. *Zajal*. As defined in Lane's *Dictionary* of 1863.⁸

zajala زجل loud sound, trilling, quavering, modulating. A specie of verse.
Unmeasured song, ballad.

!Kung men yell all the time. !Kung women are slightly more restrained.⁹ Women and girls compose and sing – solo and in choral polyphonies – most of the poem-songs. They compose in great varieties – subject and formats – often accompanied with hand-clappings – occasionally incorporating bits and pieces of the much fewer men's compositions.¹⁰ As they are not literate, their compositions are memorised.

A heavy deluge filling a huge water pan, becomes a venue for splashing and bathing. And one more venue – one more stimulus – for composing, singing, and yes – dancing in the water – and laughing, joking, and playing games.¹¹ They don't like to be out of touch with each other. Neither do we.

Hominin transformations: agriculture, trade, writing and schmoozing

Beginning 45 thousand years ago [*henceforth* kya], the seeds of changes to our hundreds of thousands of years of hominin foraging – literally – began taking root. We had been consuming, trading and manipulating their genomes – the so-called founder seeds – for over 100 ky.¹² Until they began to consume us between 12 kya and 8 kya.

Combining the flexibility and diversity of foraging with increasing domestication, helped to increase population numbers. The “newbies” produced more and more diverse products. They drove the expansion of the extant exchange networks – and at the same time multiplied the number of their contact nodes – across the Old World. More and more people needed to be fed, clothed, housed. Therefore, more and more of us needed to “sit down”, to farm, raise animals and craft. By 8 kya the grains, pulses and flax package, the dog, pig, goat, sheep and cattle collection – and the concomitant need for new kinds of tools and artefacts – began “nailing” us to sedentism.¹³

An anthropological aside. The primate core is a mother and her children. The evidence is overwhelming. She is biologically programmed to protect and provide for her offspring. To do so she must solve, resolve and invent. The survival of our specie depends primarily on her.¹⁴

Increasing populations over the past 12 thousand years pressurised too many of us to depend almost entirely on women’s inventions: permanent shelters and coverings; domesticating animals, grains, pulses, flax and the fig; brewing beer and fermenting wine; the loom; pottery; and no doubt – from c. 9 kya to 5 kya¹⁵ – the etched clay seals, the *bullae*, identifying owners and products.¹⁶ Our genetic proclivities for trade exploded in all directions. As did the number of travelers.

From foraging to roaming, beggars, laborers and wandering performers – jongleurs, storytellers, poem-singers, acrobats, magicians, fortune tellers, healers, crafters, artists – are now indigenes of the ancient global market’s multiplicities of trade routes.^{17, 18} They are welcome everywhere. Each can trade news plus personal talents, sell items, and share genomes, for food, shelter and “stuff”. Itinerant musicians brought their repertoires, on foot and by ship. “Good tunes and good rhythms travel well.”¹⁹ So, too, does capitalism and the free market.²⁰ They are as old as we.

Expanding and intensifying trade led to the invention of cuneiform and hieroglyphics c. 5 kya. About 4 kya the more efficient writing systems – the fewer symbols syllabaries and alphabets – were invented simultaneously in Egypt, Canaan/Israel, Indus, Iran, Mesopotamia and Europe.²¹ Although mostly limited to the privileged .01% of men, the invention of writing allows us to record all sorts of verbal creativities, like mathematician Enheduanna’s poem-songs, her hymns to Inanna 4,300 ya in Sumer.²²

Hegemonic hierarchies

Anthropologists of all stripes are intimately familiar with tyrannies: kingdoms and empires, nearly always topped by one man, nearly always a psychopath,²³ who deifies himself²⁴ – aided, abetted and enabled – by men.²⁵ Their fundamentals: own all resources, including people and their creativities. Beginning c. 5,500 ya – and thanks to the invention of writing – laws to protect property and ownership of same became necessary. At about the same time more and more people were being designated as chattel, women in particular.²⁶

For thousands of years, the Old World’s ancient global market routes flowed 24/7/366. People, goods and those wonderful ephemerals – different cultures’ languages, ideas, beliefs, stories and poem-songs – flowed in all directions.²⁷ Individuals and groups enjoyed going on pilgrimages, and attending life cycle and solstice events far from home. For some, travelling the roads was so attractive, they opted to add self to the ancient global market’s “communities” of wanderers. And invaders. They joined on-the-move multiethnic, multilingual worlds.

Multiethnic and multilingual when the Muslims invaded Spain, they encountered an equally diverse, multicultural, multilingual c. 6 million population. Their rulers – the earlier invading Visigoths – numbered c. 300,000.²⁸ Conquered and conqueror – both well-nourished with diversities – enjoyed an unequivocally beneficial result: intensive, long-distance communication via the ever-expanding ancient global market.

In the Cordoban courts, literate men – and women poem-singers, free and slave, the literate *giyān* in particular – crafted their poem-songs in circles of privileged creativity.²⁹ They composed verses, sometimes in competition – in Classical Arabic – in the structurally complex *muwashshah*.³⁰ When permitted, the identical-form *zajal*, sung in local dialects by whomever, about everything – including the kitchen sink – slipped into the rarified courts and thrived there as well. During the 11th and 12th centuries, both *muwashshah* and *zajal* sped across the Arabic-speaking world, welcomed with pleasure in Yemen.³¹

Hominin creativities: poem-songs

I. Scenario

Late 18th century. Composed by an illiterate Judeo-Arabic-speaking woman in Yarīm – Ibb governorate, Yemen – it was then a still-significant node of the aromatics trade of the ancient global market. Living along this major international and regional road, she – and her neighbors – hear all sorts of poetic forms from the travelers stopping for a day or two, and from those passing through. Her name is Thireyyah ثريا تريايا – chandelier.

She listens. But she cannot be bothered to remember the elegant and colloquial Arabics, even though – when similar to the Qur ān’s *uslī* – they are comprehensible. Nor can she imitate the shared format of the *muwashshah* and *zajal*.³² As a Yemenite Jewish woman she is familiar with both. She has heard them all her life. Part of – and in the Shábazi *Dīwān*, they are for men only – composition and performance – on Shabboth, the Sabbath, as well as holy days, rites of passage, in selected prayers, and when men and boys practise specific poem-songs for public performances.

Like most Yemenite Jewish women she must carry out her daily “grind”.³³ Literally. She is a housewife. Everything they eat, she prepares daily, from raw materials. In common with most Jewish women in Yemen she is expert as well in several trades. She grinds grains and spices, cooks, cleans, mends, spins wool, flax, cotton, hairs. She twines ropes, weaves cloth and baskets, and embroiders. All of her craftings are for home use and for sale.

And she is a potter, their most reliable moneymaking craft.³⁴ The subject of her very popular poem-song is inept. His job – the men’s job – is to mix the clay well enough for the women and girls to fashion their pots easily. All too often they have to remix every batch to achieve the right consistencies for each product-type, before coiling them into saleables. He is also responsible for prepping the kiln. All too often the women and girls have to prep it. He prefers to spend his days napping, chewing *qāt* and puffing his *shīshā*, a waterpipe.

Like most Yemenite Jewish women she can take her place at a funeral as a professional mourner.³⁵ But she has a special set of skills for which she is well-known in the surrounding district. She is a *maghanniyah*, a poem-singer of repute.

In common with her professional sisters and brothers, a *maghanniyah*’s memorised repertoire includes hundreds of verses, dozens of melodies – from which she selects and performs – in combinations appropriate to specific contexts.³⁶ Because Zaidi laws prohibit string and wind instruments, she is limited to a *ṭarbūqah*, a hand drum. An alternative is a *ṣahn*, a slightly curved copper plate she taps with a copper beer-opener-size mallet. She is expected as well to occasionally join others in a dance as she sings and plays. Poem-singer is a woman’s trade, going back thousands of years.³⁷ The ancient control mechanism – ridicule – is very well weaponised via poem-singing.

The following *zajal*-ish poem-song, has its format necessarily modified. Only the men can compose in the AA bb(b), cc(c), dd(d) etc pattern. The first 2 lines qualify as a *maṭla*’, the introductory couplet. The four that follow – the *ghusn* – all end in the same rhyme – AA bb bb bb. Perhaps hiding its intention to be a *zajal*?

In any case, the poem-song below illustrates the flexibility of persona selection, poetic configuration, and just plain old fashioned creativity that poem-singers utilise when they wish to make a point. This poem, in Judeo-Arabic, is composed by myself, following the poem-songs of the Jewish women that I heard performed since childhood.

<i>raḥmani min hadha felaha</i>	<i>marati tiḥibat bas nafs ha</i>
Pity me. She’s pitiless! Peasant!	My wife. She loves only herself.
<i>balash shughlaha dharabni ha</i>	<i>bas ma ḥaqha la tidili ha.</i>
Never mind her labors. She beats me!	Her properties, She refuses me!
<i>qal laha: mush ana zowajha</i>	<i>ramaytni al leyl min beytaha</i>
I told her: you are now divorced. ³⁸	That night she threw me out of her house!
<i>minnu ha marah bi raḥmanha</i>	<i>ana rajal lazam li marah</i>
Who is this woman! No compassion!	I am a man! I must have a woman!
<i>lazim hi qaddam li sayyid ha</i>	<i>hadha al-ḥibāb ṭarīqī ha</i>
She must submit to me. Obey me.	This is love. My way of loving her.

Analysis: Six points

The poem-singer takes on the persona of a clueless man who is upset and somewhat bewildered that his wife refuses to take care of him. She ridicules his self-absorption, his self-pity, his laziness, and his deep-seated unconcern for her. She is reflecting an unhappy marital relationship. She is ridiculing him, a very ancient technique aimed at correcting unacceptable behaviours.³⁹

1. The internal and final rhymes – /a/ and /ha/ – are deliberate. In Judeo Yemeni independent and final short syllables /a/ and /ha/ – when accented in a low emphatic voice – communicate contempt. /ha/ – her – is also a 3rd person feminine ending. /ha/’s semantic field also implies “possession” per “She is mine” – a variation of /ḥaqī/ – in the Sadāwī [Ibb governorate] vernacular of 100+ years ago. /ha/ applies to boys and men as well.

2. Moreover, the long syllable /hā/ – in conjunction with long syllable /yā/ – constitutes a sub-dialect of Judeo Yemeni, to which suprasegmental variations communicate meanings.⁴⁰ The /yā hā/ combination – when skilfully articulated and applied – becomes an excellent disciplinary mechanism for controlling childrens’ bad behaviours without resorting to physical punishments.⁴¹

3. Along with 7- and 11-syllable verses, the 9-syllable verse/rhythm is common in Judeo Yemeni poem-songs, particularly those that coordinate with the *dā’asah*, a women’s line dance, very similar to that of the carole and the rondeau in metre and steps. These – and the virelai and ballade – are names both for dance formats and for poem-songs.⁴² *Maghanniyath* are descendants of the ancient craft of poem-singing. In egalitarian systems – for thousands of years – women dominated the craft.⁴³

4. Yemenite Jewish poem-singers – women and men – compose poem-songs to fit their creative needs. They are much admired as exemplars of that much desired gift: *fūm kabīr* “well-spoken”. *Fum kabīr* فم كبير translates to Hebrew as *peh gadōl* פה גדול – and in

English as well – as “big mouth”. In both languages the translations are contemptuous pejoratives, not at all reflective of its semantic field.⁴⁴

Judeo Yemeni *fūm kabīr*’s semantic field encompasses “swallow the world”, and “the most deadly weapon”, as echoed in the ‘I-wish it-were-so’ English children’s rhyme

Sticks and stone may break my bones,
but names will never harm me.

On the contrary. “Names” – the well-spoken “word” – can, at the very least, scar. At its worst: torture and destroy.⁴⁵

5. Mixing prose and verse, incorporating impromptu dialogue, responding to and commenting on ongoing conversations, are elements-of-the-moment a skilled *maghanniyah* incorporates into her performances. In this respect – and in the moment – she carries on the ancient practices of her craft. Yemenite Jewish poem-singers are prepared to embrace melding prose, verse, melody, drumming and dance. And creating off-the-cuff ripostes and repartée at the same time. Very much like the literate *qiyān* of Andalus.⁴⁶

It is quite common for guests to join in, and even tweak a performance. On one occasion an attending woman added verses – perhaps made-up on the spot – perhaps egging her into a challenge duel.

<i>yā thiréyyah, ma sowwīlish hu?</i>	Hey, Thireyyah, what did he do to you?
[Thireyyah responds:] <i>gal lī</i>	He told me
<i>mashtīsh antī wi ‘īyālish hu</i>	I don’t want you or your children.
[Woman asks:]	
<i>dhurub antī wi ‘īyālish hu?</i>	Did he beat you and your children?
[Thireyyah responds:] <i>gal lī</i>	He told me
<i>akhū hu mātū almonī hū</i>	His brother died, made me a widow
<i>min ghayr ‘īyāl zowwajūni hū</i>	No children. They sold me to him.

Kin and neighbors, everyone knows everyone’s histories, going back generations. Neither the poem-song nor the ensuing repartée refer to Thireyyah. The poem-song speaks of her elder sister Badra *בדרא בדרה* “full moon”.

Again, the poem-song is mine. This section refers to incidents that I collected and have combined, reflecting anecdotes and stylistic couplets with which I am familiar. For the record, I am a *maghanniyah*.

At fourteen Badra was married to eighteen-year-old Sleiman, her mother’s sister’s youngest son. They live a few kilometers up the mountain from Yarīm, in as-Saddah. His father’s family are weavers, a craft for which Sleiman shows no competency. Badra’s and Thireyyah’s family are potters. Having visited Yarīm often with his mother since he was a baby, growing, he showed a liking for the potters’ craft – helping his uncles and cousins – at the same time absorbing their skills and their work songs.

Badra and Sleiman were a good team. And their cousin relationship quickly turned to love. She birthed two girls within three years. A cholera epidemic flashed up and down the mountain. Sleiman and the two girls died. A widow, barely eighteen years old, Badra was stuck in the “Ruth” quandary: actuating the Levir, *zīqqat ha yibbūm זיקת היבום* *زققت* *اليوم*.⁴⁷

When a woman’s husband dies and they have no living son, she is required to be acquired by her husband’s nearest male relative. His job is to inseminate her so that the resulting child/ren – preferably a boy/boys – can read the Aramaic *Qadhdhīsh*, the Prayer for the

Dead, for his soul's sake – at appropriate times during the year. It is her duty to produce a son in her dead husband's name.

Even had her daughters lived, Badra would have been forced to marry the family's "lump". Salem is unmarried, one of those useless men – no doubt a genetic psychopath – who refused to work at any craft. He sees his only responsibility – as a Jewish man – to obey his religious dictates. At the very least, pray twice a day, attend all holy day services, and add his presence to the mandatory *minyān* – the 10 men quorum – in the local synagogue.

Badra births two more girls, then two boys. Her last nearly killed her. Now in her forties, Badra is a grandmother, an elder, and one of the women who – Muslims and Jews – go to for help when they have a problem. An expert potter, Badra is also a healer, and interprets dreams. An adequate poem-singer, she spells her sister whenever Thireyyah is hired to perform at a *ḥinnah* – the women-only performance ritual – preceding the "wedding", the ceremony of acquisition.

The women and girls coil and create. The women and girls coil and shape all kinds and sizes of pots, platters, different size coffee cups with and without snug lids, candelabras – including *ḥanūkkīyōth*, the 9-branched Ḥanukkah menorah – and the ubiquitous round bellied wide-lip, narrow-opening, unglazed porous water pots. They are hung from hooks, hung outside 2nd-storey shaded windows. Evaporation cools the water inside.

The men's and boys' responsibilities are: to identify the divers clays for different kinds of pots; mix each batch with water and other additives; mix and stomp the clay until it is the right consistency. Men and boys build and maintain the kilns. The boys – and occasionally, if any are free to do so, the girls – join in collecting and prepping wood and animal dung for the firings. Men teach the boys how to build an efficient kiln, where to place the divers potteries for each type's most efficient baking, and how to be sensitised to the varying temperatures. These skills reduce considerably the number of potteries damaged during a firing.

In 19th century Yemen, every family member crafted. Each needed to be, at the very least competent, in several. In the *blād* where 99% of Yemenis – Muslims and Jews lived – the necessities of life were not always at hand or easily found. If you needed a rope, cord, threads, dyes, hairs, fibres and wool for weavings and baskets – for in-house use especially – you crafted it on the spot. Women and girls were especially adept. Visiting other women – even a short distance away – means carrying snacks and drinks for the visit. Some of the baskets and sacks hold the edibles and other materials they collect along the way. Like our forager ancestors.

6. Most poem-singers – women and men – adapt formats to suit what they want to say. If a format does not fit, you modify it. That it derives from a different language is irrelevant. The *muwashshah* itself has "countless variations in structure", and rhyming schemes.⁴⁸ The Yemenite poem-singer Shalom ash-Shabazi's *Dīwān* is rife with poem-songs that vary considerably from the expected templates.⁴⁹

Prose and poetic forms interplay in the same poem-song. The Old Testament "Song of the Sea"⁵⁰ and Deborah's "Victory Song"⁵¹ exemplify that most common of poem-songs: a prose poem. Figurative language having so many rhythmic structures – which in many languages are linked to one or more melodies – outweigh rhyme and metre.

In volume 1 of Maḥbūb's collection of ash-Shabazi's *Dīwān*, the Aḥereth in the Shīroth section – three 5-line verses plus an insert – is an exemplar. Sometimes the verses enjoy internal and final rhymes that follow this schema [cf. aaaaa, babbb (a) babbb]. More often than not, syllables are lengthened and shortened to suit. Occasionally, prose sentences appear, as prose-poetic inserts – like the one between verse 2 and 3 (a) – referring to a trip to al-Gades.⁵²

The voice is a woman's, most likely written by a man? The *Dīwān* is supposed to be written by and for men only. Shalom ash-Shabazi's daughter שמעה *שמעה* "candle

flame” – one of the few literate Yemenite Jewish women we know of – composed poem-songs as well.⁵³

<i>wā zūr alī al-Gades</i>	<i>almonī'a al a'lī</i>
I, by myself, am going up to al-Gades	I, a widow, alone, abandoned
[al- Gades is Cadiz, in Andalusia]	

Diffusion

All four fields of anthropology provide overwhelming proofs of diffusion. The “sniffs” of data above from physical anthropology tantalise. In common with all animates – and inanimates, like dust – we spread ourselves everywhere. An example. The Athabascan language family. For thousands of years – was and remains spoken – in three discontinuous geographic regions, thousands of miles apart. They are spoken now along the Pacific Coast, the southwestern United States, northwestern Canada, and the Alaskan interior.⁵⁴

A language ‘play’ – throwing-back-objects / transformations folktales – pop up everywhere in Eurasia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They have spread across northwestern America, from the east coast to California, and are still narrated in Greenland and Nova Scotia.⁵⁵

The European folk tale of the couple that escaped a pursuing monster by throwing backwards a number of objects which were transformed into obstacles... A comb thrown down becomes an impenetrable thicket, a whetstone an insurmountable mountain, a small amount of oil becomes an extensive lake, all of which detain the pursuer.⁵⁶

Mixing prose and poetry⁵⁷ is practically a universal. Like Hebrew *muwashshahat*, introduced to Jews in medieval Andalus, and welcomed into Shalom ash-Shabazi’s *Dīwān*. The Tanakh, Old Testament, shares mixes of prose and poetry – some prose poetry, some poetry prose – with the Gaelic traditions.⁵⁸ So, too, does Murasaki Shikibu’s *Tale of Genji* and Sei Shonagon’s diary, her *Pillow Book*.⁵⁹

As diverse as we look, we are virtually identical genomically. Jean-Jacques Hublin⁶⁰ suggests that parallel evolution – the results of similar selection pressures – shines a spotlight on the overwhelmingly genetic similarities characterising we hominins. We are truly one specie.

Postscript

Systems theory consists of a single sentence.
When one bit of a system goes wonky, so do all the other bits.

Diffusion theory can also be summed up in a trio-sentence.
We walk, talk, invent, share everything. Including genes. It’s genetic.

Both, however, can easily become process models in A Theory of Social Organisation. Forthcoming.

Acknowledgements

Many, many thanks to the wonderfuls at CUNY’s Graduate Center ILL department. Brenda Gomez, Kathleen Brennan, Sylvia Cho, Jessica McGivney, Mert, Jessica Fisher, Beth Posner, Herbie Pollard and Diana Teeter. Reference folks. Thank you, too! Katherine Pradt and Kate Angell, and research assistant Paula A.A. Ramos. And a big thank-you hug to Beth Baron, Director, Middle East and Middle East American Center. And a special thanks to Ed Emery for his editing.

REFERENCES

Abbo, Shahal; Lev-Yadun, Simcha; and Gopher, Avi (2010) ‘Agricultural origins: centers and non-centers: a Near Eastern reappraisal’, *Critical Reviews in Plant Sciences*, 29, pp. 317–328.

- Altaweel, Mark and Squitieri, Andrea (2018) 'Material culture hybridization', in Mark Altaweel and Andrea Squitieri, eds., *Revolutionizing a world: from small states to universalism in the pre-Islamic Near East*, pp. 179-198. Columbia SC, UCL Press.
- Anderson, Craig (2009) 'The law of persons', in *Roman law essentials*, pp. 23-34. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Anderson, E. N (2014) 'China's early agriculture', in *Food and environment in early and medieval China*, pp. 35-54. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Anonymous (2001) 'A circle of voices: rondeaux', in Eglal Doss-Quinby, Joan Tasker Grimbert, Wendy Pfeffer and Elizabeth Aubrey, eds., *Songs of the women trouvères*, pp. 179-187. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Antón, Susan C. (2012) 'Early Homo: who, when, and where', *Current Anthropology, Human Biology and the Origins of Homo*, 53(S6) (December): S278-S298.
- Antón, Susan C. (2003) 'Natural history of Homo erectus', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Issue Supplement*, 122(37), pp. 126-170.
- Antón, Susan C.; Potts, Richard; and Aiello, Leslie C. (2014) 'Evolution of early Homo; an integrated biological perspective', *Science*, 345(6192) (4 July), p. 45,
- Antón, Susan C. and Swisher, III, Carl C (2004) 'Early dispersals of Homo from Africa', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 33, pp. 271-296.
- Ashton, Nick; Lewis, Simon G.; De Groote, Isabelle; Duffy, Sarah M.; Bates, Martin; Bates, Richard; Hoare, Peter; Lewis, Mark; Parfitt, Simon A; Peglar, Sylvia; Williams, Craig; and Stringer, Chris (2014) 'Hominin footprints from Early Pleistocene deposits at Happisburgh, UK', *PlosOne*, 9(2) (7 February), pp. 1-10.
- Babylonian Talmud* (1959) 'Seder Nashīm. Tractates 'Erūbīn ערוּבין, Ghīṭṭīn גִּיטין, Ketūbbōth, כתובות, Nazīr, נזיר, Nidhdōh נדה, Qīdhūshīn קידושין, Ṣanhédīn, סנהדרין, Ṣoṭōh סוטה, Yebamōth יבמות', Brooklyn NY, The Rebecca Bennet Publishing Company.
- Bachofen, Johann Jakob (1861/2007) *Das mütterrecht. Mother right. A study of the religious and juridical aspects of gynococracy in the ancient world*, (trans. David Partenheimer). Lewiston NY, Edwin Mellen Press.
- Bar-Ilan, Meir (2020) 'The keening women', in 'Some Jewish women in antiquity'. *Brown Judaic Studies*: 52-77.
- Bar-Yosef, Ofer and Wang, Youping (2012) 'Paleolithic archaeology in China', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, pp. 319-335.
- Basu, Analabha; Sarkar-Roy, Neeta; and Partha P. Majumder (2016) 'Genomic reconstruction of the history of extant populations of India reveals five distinct ancestral components and a complex structure', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, USA*, 113(6) (9 February 9), pp. 1594-1599.
- Bednarik, Robert G (2003) 'Seafaring in the Pleistocene', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 13(1), pp. 41-66.
- Bennet, Harold V (2002) *Injustice made legal. Deuteronomic law and the plight of widows, strangers and orphans*. Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Bernal, Martin (1987) 'On the transmission of the alphabet to the Aegean before 1400 BC', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 267 (August), pp. 1-19.
- Boas, Franz (1937) 'The diffusion of cultural traits', *Social Research*, 4(3) (September), pp. 286-295.
- Bouchard, Mawy (2018) 'The power of reputation and skills according to Anne de Gravelle; the rondeaux and the denunciation of slander', in Susan Broomhall, ed., *Women and power at the French Court, 1483-1563*, pp. 241-262. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- Brisch, Nicole Maria, (2008) 'Introduction', in Nicole Maria Brisch, ed., *Religion and power: divine kingship in the ancient world and beyond, third annual University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminar*, 23-24 (February 2007), 1-11. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- Caramello, Sara (2018) 'Physicians on the move; the role of medicine in the Late Bronze Age international gift exchange', in Roderick B. Salisbury, Felix Höflmayer, Teresa Bürge, and F. Höflmayer, eds., *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, V.2*, pp. 275-286. Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Carbonell, Eudald; Mosquera, Marina; Rodríguez, Xosé Pedro; Bermúdez de Castro, José María; Burjachs, Francesc; Rosell, Jordi; Sala, Robert; and Vallverdú, Josep (2008) 'Eurasian gates. The earliest human dispersals', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 64(2) (Summer), pp. 195-228.
- Caspers, Elisabeth C. L. D (1992) 'Intercultural mercantile contacts between the Arabian Gulf and South Asia at the close of the third millennium BCE', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, 22, pp. 3-28.
- Caspers, Elisabeth C. L. D (1965) 'Further evidence for cultural relations between India, Baluchistan, and Iran and Mesopotamia in early dynastic times', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 24(1/2) (January - April), pp. 53-56.
- Charpin, Dominique (2013) 'I am the Sun of Babylon: solar aspects of royal power in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia', in Jane A. Hill, Philip Jones and Antonio J. Morales, eds., *Experiencing power, generating authority: cosmos, politics, and the ideology of kingship in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, pp. 65-96. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cohen, Judith R (2002) 'Ca no soe joglaresa: women and music in medieval Spain's three cultures', in Anne L. Klinck and Ann Marie Rasmussen, eds., *Medieval woman's song: cross-cultural approaches*, pp. 66-80. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Colledge, Sue; Conolly, James; and Shennan, Stephen (2004) 'Archaeobotanical evidence for the spread of farming in the Eastern Mediterranean', *Current Anthropology: Special Issue: Agricultural Origins and Dispersal into Europe*, 45(S4) (August/October), pp. S35-S58.
- Colless, Brian E (1992) 'The Byblos syllabary and the proto-alphabet', in Guy Bunnens, ed., *Cultural interaction in the ancient Near East. Papers read at a symposium held at the University of Melbourne Dept. of Classics and Archaeology, 29-30 Sept 1994*, pp. 67-76. Louvain, Peeters Press.
- Connell, Raewyn W (2002) 'On hegemonic masculinity and violence', Response to Jefferson and Hall'. *Theoretical Criminology*, 6 (1), pp. 89-99.
- Cooper, Jerrold S (2010) *Sumerian and Akkadian royal inscriptions, vol. I: preSargonic inscriptions*, New Haven CT, The American Oriental Society.
- Cox, Bruce and Leacock, Eleanor (1979) 'More on women's status in egalitarian societies', *Current Anthropology*, 20(2) (June), pp. 415-417.
- Crawford, Harriet (2005) 'Mesopotamia and the Gulf: the history of a relationship' *Iraq*, 67(2) (Autumn), pp. 41-46.
- Curtin, Philip D (1984) *Cross-cultural trade in world history*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Dahbany-Miraglia, Dina (2003) 'How to address your spouse in Judeo Yemeni: syllable as discourse', *Semiotica*, 146(1/4), pp. 309-351.
- Dahbany-Miraglia, Dina (1999) 'Getting away with murder: the application of marriage laws in Jewish Yemen', *Women in Judaism*, 2(1), pp.1-21.
- Dahbany-Miraglia Dina (1998) 'The tongue is sharper than a sword, the word sweeter than honey'. Paper read at the *Association for Social Anthropology. Canterbury, University of Kent*, M 3/30-4/3.
- Dahl, Jacob L (2009) 'Early writing in Iran: a reappraisal', *Iran*, 47, pp. 23-31.
- Darnell, John Coleman, Dobbs-Allsopp, F W; Lundberg, Marilyn J; McCarter, P Kyle; Zuckerman, Bruce; and Manass, Colleen (2005) 'Two early alphabetic inscriptions from the Wadi el-Ḥôl: new evidence for the origin of the alphabet from the Western Desert of Egypt', *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 59: 63-124 / 63+65+67-71+73-113+115-124.

- Dennell, Robin W (2004) 'Hominid dispersals and Asian biogeography during the Lower and Early Middle Pleistocene, c. 2.0—0.5 mya', *Asian Perspectives. Asia and the Middle Pleistocene in Global Perspectives*, 43(2) (Fall), pp. 205-226.
- Diakonoff, Igor Mikhailovich (1986) 'Women in Old Babylonia not under patriarchal authority'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 29 (3) (October), pp. 225-238.
- Diamond, Jared (1987) 'The worst mistake in the history of the human race: the adoption of agriculture, supposedly the decisive step to a better life, was in fact catastrophic'. *Discover Magazine*, (May): 64-66.
- Dossey, Leslie (2008) 'Wife beating and manliness in Late Antiquity', *Past & Present*, 199 (May), pp. 3-40.
- Earp, Lawrence (1991) 'Genre in the fourteenth-century French chanson: the virelai and the dance song', *Musica Disciplina*, 45, pp. 123-141.
- Edwards, J. Michele (2001) 'Women in music to ca. 1450', in Karin Pendle, ed., *Women and music: a history*, pp. 26-54. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Einbinder, Susan (1995) 'The muwashshah-like zajal. A new source for a Hebrew poem.' *Medieval Encounters*, 1 (2), pp. 252-270.
- Emery, Ed (2004) 'Temporal and geographic extensions of Andalusī strophic poetry: muwashshah, zajal, carol, sonnet', in *Muwashshah: proceedings of the conference on Arabic and Hebrew strophic poetry and its Romance parallels, School of Oriental and African Studies [SOAS], London, 8-10 October 2004*. pp. 115-132.
- Everist, Mark (1996) 'The polyphonic "rondeau" c. 1300: repertory and context', *Early Music History*, 15, pp. 59-96.
- Falk, Dean (2011) 'Once upon a Hobbit', *The fossil chronicles: how two controversial discoveries changed our view of human evolution*, pp. 76-108. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Faure, Bernard (2003) *The power of denial. Buddhism, purity, and gender*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Fleischer, Ezra (1991) 'Taḥanoth bikhithpaṭuṣh shīr-ha ezor ha'ivrī (mīsefarad wa 'ad tayman) [Stages in the development of the Hebrew girdle poem [(from to Spain to Yemen)]]', in Yehudit Dishon and Ephraim Hazan, eds., pp. 111-159. *Mehqarīm besifrūt 'am yisro el ubetarbūt Tayman, Festschrift for Prof. Yehūdāh Ratzhābi*. Tel-Aviv, Bar-Ilan University.
- Fox Jr. Kevin Anthony (2019) "'The Ring of the Dove.'" Race, sex, and slavery in al-Andalus and the poetry of Ibn Ḥazm', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 42 (3) (Spring), pp. 54-68.
- Friel, Ian (2017) 'Ships and shipping in medieval England', in *The sea in history: the medieval world*, pp. 605-618. Oxford, Boydell Press.
- Gaius (1880) *The Institutes of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian: the former from Studemund's Apograph of the Verona Codex*. Translated with comments by James Muirhead.
- Gao, Xing. 2013. 'Paleolithic cultures in China: uniqueness and divergence', *Current Anthropology, Evolutionary trajectories in the Middle Paleolithic and Middle Stone Age. alternative pathways to complexity*, 54(S8) (December), pp. S358-S370.
- Gardner, Jane F (1990) *Women in Roman law and society*. London, Routledge.
- Gerding, Henrik and Östborn, Per (2017) 'The diffusion of architectural innovations: modelling social networks in the ancient building trade', in Håkon Fiene Teigen and Eivind Heldaas Seland, eds., *Sinews of empire*, pp. 1-14. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Gilligan, Ian (2010) 'The prehistoric development of clothing: archaeological implications of a thermal model', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 17(1) (March), pp. 15-80.
- Glad, Betty (2002) 'Why tyrants go too far: malignant narcissism and absolute power', *Political Psychology*, 23(1) (March), pp. 1-37.

- Glaz, Sarah. 2020. 'Enheduanna. Princess, priestess, poet, and mathematician'. *The Mathematical Intelligencer*, 42 # 2, pp. 31-46.
- Goetzmann, William N (2016) 'Finance and writing', in *Money changes everything. how finance made civilization possible*, pp. 19-30. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press.
- Goitein, Shlomo Dov (1960) 'The language of al-Gades: the main characteristics of an Arabic dialect spoken in Lower Yemen: aim and nature of this study', *Le Muséon*, 73, pp. 351-394.
- Goitein, Shlomo Dov (1957/1988) 'Women as creators of biblical genres', (transl. Michael Carasik). *Prooftexts*, 8(1) (January), pp. 1-33.
- Grubbs, Judith Evans (2002) *Women and the law in the Roman Empire: a sourcebook on marriage, divorce and widowhood*. London, Routledge.
- Guerra-Doce, Elisa (2015) 'The origins of inebriation: archaeological evidence of the consumption of fermented beverages and drugs in prehistoric Eurasia', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 22(3) (September), pp. 751-782.
- Gurche, John (2013) 'The traveler. Homo erectus (1.8 to 0.1 million years ago)', *Shaping humanity: how science, art, and imagination help us understand our origins*, pp. 147-190. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Hare, Robert D (2003) *The Hare psychopathy checklist –revised*. 2nd ed. Toronto, Multi-Health Systems.
- Harmon, Katherine (2009) 'Humans feasting on grains for at least 100,000 years', *Scientific American*, 301(6) (17 December), pp. 1- 5.
- Held, Rabbi Shai (2017) 'Life-giving, death-dealing words', in *The heart of Torah, v. 2. Essays on the weekly Torah portion: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy*, pp. 47-51. University of Nebraska, Jewish Publication Society.
- Heskes, Irene (1992) 'Miriam's sisters: Jewish women and liturgical music', *Notes*, 48(4) (June), pp. 1193-1202.
- Hublin, Jean-Jacques (2014) 'How to build a Neandertal: fossils from Sima de los Huesos show a mixture of Neandertal and more ancient features', *Science*, 20, New Series, 344(6190) (20 June), pp. 1338- 1339.
- Imhausen, Annette (2016) 'Uses of numbers and their contexts in Predynastic and Early Dynastic times', in *Mathematics in ancient Egypt: a contextual history*, pp. 22-28. Princeton (NJ), Princeton University Press.
- Joffe, Alexander H (1998). 'Alcohol and social complexity in ancient Western Asia', *Current Anthropology*, 39(3) (June): 297-322.
- Johnson, Janet H (2002) *Women's legal rights in ancient Egypt*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Kilpatrick, Hilary (1991) 'Women as poets and chattels. Abu al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's al-Imā al-Shawā'ir', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 9, pp. 161-176.
- Kislev Mordechai E; Hartmann Anat; and Ofir Bar-Yosef (2006) 'Early domesticated fig in the Jordan Valley', *Science*. 312(5778) (2 June), pp. 1372-1374.
- Knipper, Corina; Mittnik, Alissa; Massy, Ken; Kociumaka, Catharina; Kucukkalipci, Isil; Maus, Michael; Wittenborn, Fabian; Metz, Stephanie E; Staskiewicz, Anja; Krause, Johannes; and Stockhammer, Philipp W (2017) 'Female exogamy and gene pool diversification at the transition from the Final Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age in central Europe'. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 114 (38) (19 September), pp. 10083-10088.
- Kong Fuzi/Confucius (1976) *The analects of Confucius: five books*, in Lionel Giles and Youhe Zeng, eds. Westport CT, Easton Press.
- Kristiansen, Kristian and Suchowska-Ducke, Paulina (2015) 'Connected histories: the dynamics of Bronze Age interaction and trade, 1500-1100 BC'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 81, pp. 361-392.

- Kuzmin, Yaroslav V (2013) 'Origin of Old World pottery as viewed from the early 2010s', *World Archaeology. Debates in World Archaeology*, 45 (4) (October), pp. 539-556.
- Lane, Edward William (1863) *An Arabic-English Lexicon. V.3, ج - ح*. London, Williams & Norgate, p. 1223.
- Larkin, Margaret (2006) 'Popular poetry in the Post-Classical period. 1150-1850', in Roger Allen & D S Richards, eds., *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period*, pp. 191-212. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Larsen, Mogens Trolle (1977) 'Partnerships in the Old Assyrian trade', *Iraq*, 39(1), pp. 119-145.
- Lehmann, Ruth P M (1981) 'Woman's songs in Irish, 800- 1500', in John F. Plummer, ed., *Vox feminae: studies in medieval woman's songs*, pp. 111-134. Kalamzoo (MI), Board of the Medieval Institute.
- Levy, Janet and Gilead, Isaac (2012) 'Spinning in the 5th millennium in the southern Levant: aspects of the textile economy', *Paléorient. Préhistoire des Textiles au Proche-Orient/ Prehistory of Textiles in the Near East*, 38(1/2), pp. 127-139.
- Lewis, Jason E and Harmand, Sonia (2016) 'An earlier origin for stone tool making: implications for cognitive evolution and the transition to Homo', *Major transitions in human evolution: philosophical transactions, biological sciences*, 371(1698) (5 July), pp. 1-8.
- Maḥbūb, Ḥayyīm ben Shalom, compiler (1954) *Sefer shirei Teiman. Miyusadīm shel adonei paz asher kōnen vehaver Ga oneynū sōreynū verabeynū harav Shalom alShabazi.... A book of Yemen poem-songs. A compilation of Shalom ash-Shabazi's compositions and those of the Gaonim as well as those of Yemen's famous and less well-known poets, our teachers and rabbis....*, Jerusalem, published by the compiler.
- Maimonides (2011) *Mishnah Tōrōh, Ishshūth 14*. Jerusalem, Mechon Mamre, pp. 8-9.
- Mann, Susan and Cheng, Yuyin (2001) *Under Confucian eyes. writings on gender in Chinese history*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Mansfield, Edward Deering (2005) *The legal rights, liabilities, and duties of women: with an introductory history of their legal condition in the Hebrew, Roman, and feudal civil systems. Including the laws of marriage and divorce, the social relations of husband and wife, parent and child, of guardian and ward, and of employer and employed*. Clark NJ, Lawbook Exchange.
- Marshall, Lorna (1976) *The !Kung of Nyae Nyae*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa (1987) 'The oldest issue: courtly love', in *The Arabic role in medieval literary history; a forgotten heritage*, 71-90. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Molleson, Theya I (1994) 'The eloquent bones of Abu Ḥureyra: the daily grind in an early Near Eastern agricultural community left revealing marks on the skeletons of the inhabitants', *Scientific American*, 271(2) (August), pp. 70-75.
- Monroe, James T (2007) 'Literary hybridization in the zajal: ibn Quzmān's Zajal 88 (The Visit of Sir Gold)', *Journal of Arabic Literature, in honor of Jaroslav Stetkevych, who first made the mute immortals speak*, 38(3), part I: 324-351.
- Monroe, James T (1996) 'The underside of Arabic panegyric. Ibn Quzman's (unfinished?) "zajal no.8"', *Al-Qantara*, 17, pp. 79-116.
- Monroe, James T (1979) 'The structure of an Arabic muwashshah with a bilingual kharja', *Hispanic Review*, 47: 9-24.
- Montagu, Ashley (1968) *The natural superiority of women*. NY, Macmillan.
- Mullally, Robert (1986) 'Cançon de carole', *Acta Musicologica*, 58(2) (July-December): pp. 224-231.
- Nielson, Lisa (2012) 'Gender and the politics of music in the early Islamic courts', *Early Music History*, 31, pp. 235-261.

- Parpola, Asko (1986) 'The Indus script: a challenging puzzle', *World Archaeology: Early Writing Systems*, 17(3) (February), pp. 399-419.
- Payne, Joan Crowfoot (1968) 'Lapis lazuli in early Egypt', *Iraq*, 30(1) (Spring), pp. 58-61.
- Petrie, Cameron A., ed (2013) *Ancient Iran and its neighbours: local developments and long-range interactions in the fourth millennium BCE*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Pound, Louise (1919) 'The ballad and the dance', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association (PMLA)*, 34(3), pp. 360-400.
- Posey, Sarah (1994). *Yemeni pottery. The Littlewood Collection*. London, British Museum Press.
- Reaney, Gilbert (1952) 'Concerning the origins of the rondeau, virelai and ballade forms', *Musica Disciplina*, 6(4), pp. 155-166.
- Reynolds, Dwight F (2018) 'From sawt to *muwashshah*. A musical revolution', in Michelle Hamilton and David Wacks, eds., *The study of al-Andalus: the scholarship and legacy of James T. Monroe*, pp. 35-52. Boston, Ilex Foundation.
- Reynolds, Dwight F (2017) 'The qiyān of al-Andalus', in Matthew S. Gordon and Kathryn A. Hain, eds., *Concubines and courtesans: women and slavery in Islamic history*, pp. 100-121. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Reynolds, Dwight F (2013) 'Arab musical influence on medieval Europe. A reassessment', in Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Karla Mallett, eds., *A sea of languages: rethinking the Arabic role in medieval literary history*, pp. 182-198. University of Toronto Press.
- Rimmer, Joan (1990) 'Carole, rondeau & branle in Ireland 1300-1800: part II social and theatrical residues, 1550-1800', *Dance Research. The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, 8(2) (Autumn), pp. 27-43.
- Rosen-Moked, Tovah. 1985. *Le ezor shir. Shir ha-ezor be'ivrit beyimay habaynanyim [To girdle in song. The Hebrew girdle poem in the Middle Ages]*. Israel, Haifa University.
- Saenz, Immaculada Vivas (2017) 'Egyptian artists in the New Kingdom: travelling artists and travelling ideas?', in Julia M. Chyla, Joanna Dębowska-Ludwin, Karolina Rosińska-Balik and Carl Walsh, eds., pp. 107-129. *Current research in Egyptology 2016: proceedings of the seventeenth annual symposium*. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Samhaber, Ernst (1964) *Merchants make history: how trade has influenced the course of history throughout the world*. (trans. by E. Osers). NY, The John Day Company
- Sanday, Peggy Reeves (1981) 'The socio-cultural context of rape. A cross-cultural study', *Journal of Social Issues*, 37(4) (Fall), pp. 5-27.
- Sasson, Jack M. 1968 'Instances of mobility among Mārī artisans', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 190 (April), pp. 46-54.
- Schmandt-Besserat, Denise (1986) 'Ancient token system: the precursor to numerals and writing', *Archaeology*, 39(6) (November/December), pp. 32-39.
- Steiglitz, Robert R (1984) 'Long-distance seafaring in the ancient Near East', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 47(3) (September), pp. 134-142.
- Stillman, Norman A. and Yedida K. Stillman (1978) 'The art of a Moroccan folk poetess', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 128, pp. 65-89.
- Stringer, Chris (2016) 'The origin and evolution of Homo sapiens', *Philosophical Transaction: Biological Sciences*, 371(1698) (5 July), pp. 1-12.
- Tetlow, Elisabeth Meier (2005) *Women, crime and punishment in ancient law and society: vol. 1, The Ancient Near East: vol. 2, Ancient Greece*. NY, Continuum.
- The New Testament.*
- The Old Testament.*
- The Qur an.*

The Twelve Tables 169 BC.

Tillier, Anne-Marie; Vandermeersch, Bernard; Arensburg, Baruch; and Chech, Mario (2003) 'New human remains from Kebara Cave (Mount Carmel): the place of the Kebara hominids in the Levantine Mousterian fossil record', *Paléorient*, 29(2), pp. 35-62.

Tillich, Paul (1937) 'Mind and migration', *Social Research*, 4(3) (September), pp. 295-305.

Ullricha, Simone; Farrington, David P.; and Coida, Jeremy W (2008) 'Psychopathic personality traits and life-success', *Personality and Individual Differences*, 44(5) (April), pp. 1162-1171.

Van der Toorn, Karel (2007) *Scribal culture and the making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

van Gelder, Geert Jan (2015) 'Sexual violence in verse: the case of Ji'thin, al Farzdaq's sister', in Robert Gleave and István Kristó-Nagy, eds., *Violence in Islamic thought from the Qur'an to the Mongols*, pp. 175-190. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Velichko, Andrej A (1999) 'Global dispersal of hominids: a feature of their co-evolution with the environment', *Anthropologie*, 37(1), pp. 5-18.

Venkateswaran, T V (2011) 'Did Ardi walk for sex? Gender, science and world views', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(3) (15-21 January), pp. 19-23.

VerSteege, Russ (2000) *Early Mesopotamian law*. Durham, Carolina Academic Press.

Wacks, David (2015) 'Poetry in diaspora: from al-Andalus to Provence and back to Castile.' *Double diaspora in Sephardic literature: Jewish cultural production before and after 1492*, pp. 64-96. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

Westbrook, Raymond, ed. (2003) *A history of ancient Near Eastern law*. 2 vols. Leiden, Brill.

Woods, Christopher (2010) 'Introduction: Visible language: the earliest writing systems', in Christopher Woods, Geoff Emerbling and Emily Teeter, eds., *Visible Language. Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, pp. 15-28. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Wright, David P (2014) *Inventing God's law: how the Covenant Code of the Bible used and revised the Laws of Hammurabi*. NY, Oxford University Press.

Wright, Rita P (1991) 'Women's labor and pottery production in prehistory', in Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, eds., *Engendering archaeology. women and prehistory*, pp. 194-223. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Wright, Robert E (2003) 'Born capitalist: free markets and hominid evolution: how did hominids diverge from their chimpanzee-like cousins?', *The Freeman*, 53(6) (1 June), pp. 1-3.

Zaccagnini, Carlo (1983) 'Patterns of mobility among ancient Near Eastern craftsmen', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 42(4) (October), pp. 245-264.

Zihlman, Adrienne L. and Lowenstein, Jerold M (1996) 'A Spanish Olduvai?', *Current Anthropology*, 37(4) (August – October), pp. 695-697.

NOTES

1. Tillich 1937: 296.

2. Tillier et al 2003.

3. Antón 2003: 126; Anton 2012; Antón and Swisher 2004: 290-1.

4. Antón, Potts and Aiello 2014: 46, 47; Velichko 1999: 5.

5. Lewis and Harmand 2016.

6. Antón, Potts and Aiello 2014; Boas 1937; Carbonell et al 2008; Gao 2013: S358; Stringer 2016: 1; Tillich 1937.

7. Antón 2003: 130-132; Antón, Potts and Aiello 2014: 54; Ashton et al 2014; Bar-Yosef and Wang 2012: 322-323; Basu, Sarkar-Roy and Majumder 2016; Bednarik 2003: 45, 47;

- Carbonell et al 2008: 197; Dennell 2004; Falk 2011: 79, 82; Gurche 2013; Hublin 2014: 1339; Zihlman and Lowenstein 1996: 696.
8. Lane 1863, v.1: 1223.
 9. Marshall 1976: 289-92, 320.
 10. Marshall 1976: 326.
 11. Marshall 1976: 331.
 12. Harmon 2009.
 13. Abbo, Lev-Yadun and Gopher 2010: 317, Colledge, Conolly and Shennan 2004; Diamond 1987: 64; Harmon 2009.
 14. Antón 2003: 130-132; Antón; Potts and Aiello 2014: 54; Bachofen 1861; Montagu 1968; Venkateswaran 2011.
 15. Abbo, Lev-Yadun and Gopher 2010: 317; Colledge, Conolly and Shennan 2004; Gilligan 2010; Guerra-Doce 2015; Joffe 1998; Kislev, Hartmann and Bar-Yosef 2006; Kuzman 2013; Levy and Gilead 2013; Posey 1994; Wright 1991.
 16. Schmandt-Besserat 1986.
 17. Altaweel and Squitieri 2018; Boas 1937; Caramello 2018; Knipper et al 2017; Kristiansen and Suchowska-Ducke 2015; Saenz 2017; Sasson 1968; Tillich 1937; Wacks 2015; Zaccagnini 1983. TRV
 18. Altaweel and Squitieri 2018; Caspers, 1965, 1992; Crawford 2005; Curtin 1984; Emery 2004; Friel 2017; Kristiansen and Suchowska-Ducke 2015; Larsen 1977; Payne 1968; Petrie 2013; Samhaber 1964; Steiglitz 1984.
 19. Emery 2004.
 20. Samhaber 1964: 15; Wright 2003.
 21. Bernal 1987; Colless 1992; Dahl 2009: 23; Darnell et al 2005; Geotzmann 2016: 24; Imhausen 2016; Parpola 1986; Schmandt-Besserat 1986; Van der Toorn 2007; Woods 2010.
 22. Glaz 2020.
 23. Hare 2003; Ullricha, Farrington and Coida 2008.
 24. Brisch 2008; Charpin 2013; Glad 2002.
 25. Anderson 2009; Babylonian Talmud Seder Nashīm; Connell 2002; Cooper 2010 77: 'Women of former times each married [?] two men, but women of today have been made to give up that crime!'; Diakonoff 1986; Dossey 2008; Faure 2003; Gaius 1880; Gardner 1990; Grubbs 2002; Johnson 2002; Kong Fuzi-Confucius 1976; Maimonides 2011; Mann and Cheng 2001; Mansfield 2005; *The New Testament; The Old Testament; The Qur'an; The Twelve Tables 169 BC*; VerSteeg 2000; Westbrook 2003; Wright 2014.
 26. Anderson 2009; Babylonian Talmud *Seder Nashīm*; Bennet 2002; Cooper 2010: 77; Cox and Leacock 1979: 415; Dahbany-Miraglia 1999; Dossey 2008; Gardner 1990; Grubbs 2002; Johnson 2002; Kilpatrick 1991; Sanday 1981; Tetlow 2005; van Gelder 2015; Wright 2014.
 27. Caramello 2018; Caspers 1965, 1992; Crawford 2005; Gerding and Östborn 2017; Kristiansen and Suchowska-Ducke 2015: 36; Larsen 1977; Payne 1968; Petrie, ed. 2013; Sainz 2017; Steiglitz 1984.
 28. Reynolds 2013: 187.
 29. Fox 2019; Kilpatrick 1991; Larkin 2006; Nielson 2012, Reynolds 2013: 184-185, 2017: 101, cf. al-Washsha's *Kitāb al-Muwashshaha*, etc.
 30. Cohen 2002; Einbinder 1995; Fleischer 1991; Menocal 1987; Monroe 1979; Reynolds 2018; Rosen-Moked 1985.
 31. Maḥbūb 1954, v.1; Monroe 1996; Reynolds 2018: 35.
 32. Maḥbūb 1954, v.1;

33. Molleson 1994.
34. Posey 1994; Wright 1991.
35. cf. Bar-Ilan 2020.
36. Cohen 2002: 68-69; Heskes 1992; Kilpatrick 1991; cf. Stillman and Stillman 1978.
37. Edwards 2001; Goitein 1957, 1960; Nielson 2012: 235, 241.
37. *qet pīṭṭūrīn* 'writ of manumission' Babylonian Talmud. *Gīṭṭīn*. See Dahbany-Miraglia 1998, 2003.
38. Bouchard 2018; Dahbany-Miraglia 1998, 2003; Held 2017.
39. Dahbany-Miraglia 2003.
40. Dahbany-Miraglia 1998.
41. Anonymous 2001; Bouchard 2018; Earp 1991; Everist 1996; Mullally 1986; Pound 1919; Reaney 1952; Rimmer 1990.
42. Bouchard 2018; Goitein 1957.
43. Dahbany-Miraglia 1998.
44. Bouchard 2018; Dahbany-Miraglia 1998, 2003; Held 2017.
45. cf. Reynolds 2017: 103.
46. Yibūm. Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nashīm. Hilkhōth Yibuūm veḤalitsah. 5, pp. 9-10; *Deuteronomy* 25: 5-10; *Ruth* 4.
47. Goitein 1957, 1960; Monroe 2007: 328; Nielson 2012: 235, 241.
49. Maḥbūb 1954.
50. *Old Testament Exodus* 15: 1-18.
51. *Old Testament Judges* 5: 1-31.
52. Maḥbūb v.1 1954: 239-240.
53. Personal communication, Shlomo Dov Goitein 1977.
54. Boas 1937: 287.
55. Boas 1937: 288.
56. Boas 1937: 288.
57. Monroe 2007: 332.
58. cf. Lehmann 1981: 111-112.
59. Murasaki 2002; Shonagon 2007.
60. Hublin 2014: 1339