

**BIBLICAL COVENANT-CURSES IN THE LIGHT OF
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CURSES**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the
requirements of the University of Liverpool
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

by

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ABSTRACT

This project examines the role of curses in East and West Semitic texts and explores the fulfillment of treaty-curses in two literary traditions: the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books from Joshua to Kings. The study of these two in the extra-Biblical material is intended to improve understanding and evaluation of the Biblical writings.

A historical review surveys the Biblical covenant-curses and their role in Israel's history in Joshua-Kings. A survey of scholarship shows four prevalent approaches to the Biblical covenant-curses in Dt 28: a literary-critical approach, a narrow comparative approach, a combined approach and an historical approach. Based on contents, the change of the plural to the singular pronouns, and metric pattern, the first approach claims to trace a gradual expansion of curses and the hands of different authors. The second approach is based on a narrow comparison between the Biblical covenant-curses with one Assyrian text, the Vassal-Treaties of Esarhad-don (VTE) and sees the dependence of the Biblical covenant-curses (Dt 28) on VTE. The third approach combines a literary-critical approach with examination of ancient Near Eastern curses and concludes that some of the covenant-curses share a common tradition of Akkadian treaty-curses, and some are drawn from oral tradition, and that others reflect experience from the two national disasters of Israel. The fourth approach views curses in Dt 28 and VTE in a broader context of the ancient Near East.

A review of modern studies of Israel's history reveals two theories: the dtr theory and the covenant theory. The former is based on styles, contents and structural and theological schemes. Some scholars conclude Joshua-Kings is a dtr literary product(s) of the Exile, and others see the dtr origin prior to the Exile followed by exilic dtr editions. The covenant theory has three different approaches. One is based on a purely theological covenant-concept which originated in a political crisis of Israel's history and bloomed in the Exile. The second adds to the first information taken from ancient Near Eastern treaties. The third follows the historical arrangement of the Biblical texts and recognizes a treaty concept of the late second millennium B.C. in Exodus-Joshua.

The role of curses in ancient Near Eastern literature is anticipatory, prohibitive-protective, coinciding with the punitive role of curses. A study of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses in the light of Sumero-Babylonian curses reveals a long-lived tradition. Even curses unique to Neo-Assyrian treaties can be traced back to common ancient Near Eastern literary, environmental and cultural sources. The same

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PREFACE

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	The Anchor Bible
ABA	Aššurbanipal's Treaty with Babylonian Allies
ABD	<u>Anchor Bible Dictionary</u>
Adn.	Adad-nārārī
AfO	<u>Archiv für Orientforschung</u>
AfOB	<u>Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft</u>
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas
AM	Treaty of Aššur-nerari V with Mati ² -ilu, King of Arpad
ANEP	<u>The Ancient Near East in Pictures</u>
ANET	<u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament (3rd ed.)</u>
AnSt	<u>Anatolian Studies</u>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASJ	<u>Acta Sumerologica</u>
Asarhaddons	R. Borger, <u>Die Inscripten Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien</u>
Assurbanipal	M. Streck, <u>Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's</u>
Assurbanipals	R. Borger, <u>Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals</u>
Asb.	Ashurbanipal
Asn.	Ashurnasirpal
BA	<u>The Biblical Archaeologist</u>
BaM Bh 3	Baghdader Mitteilungen Beiheft 3 Kazuko Watanabe, <u>Die Adê-Verteidigung Anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons</u>
BAR	<u>Biblical Archaeology Review</u>
BA Reader	<u>The Biblical Archaeologist Reader</u>
BASOR	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u>
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BDB	<u>The New Brown, Driver, and Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</u>
Bib	<u>Biblica</u>
BiOr	<u>Bibliotheca Orientalis</u>
BJRL	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>

Abbreviations

BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
CH	The Code of Hammurabi
CMHE	Frank M. Cross, <u>Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic</u>
EB	Esarhaddon's Treaty with Baal, King of Tyre
EI	Esarhaddon's Treaty Inscription
EncyB	<u>Encyclopaedia Britannica (15th ed.)</u>
Esarh.	Esarhaddon
HALAT	L. Köhler & W. Baumgartner, <u>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</u>
HDT	Beckman, <u>Hittite Diplomatic Texts</u>
HUCA	<u>Hebrew Union College Annual</u>
IBD	<u>The Illustrated Bible Dictionary</u>
IDB	<u>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u>
IEJ	<u>Israel Exploration Journal</u>
JANES	<u>The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</u>
JAOS	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
JBL	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
JCS	<u>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</u>
JRAS	<u>The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</u>
JSS	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies</u>
KB	Keilschriftliche Bibliothek IV Felix E. Peiser, <u>Texte Juristischen und Geschäftlichen Inhalts</u>
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
MDOG	Walter Mayer, "Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu - 714 V. Chr.," in <u>Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</u>
MDP	<u>Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse</u>
NBW I, II	Horst Steible, <u>Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften I, II</u>
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis
OIP II	The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications II

Abbreviations

	Daniel D. Luckenbill, <u>The Annals of Sennacherib</u>
Or	<u>Orientalia</u>
OTL	The Old Testament Library
RA	<u>Revue d'Assyriologie</u>
RB	<u>Revue Biblique</u>
RGTC 4	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 4
	K. Nashef, <u>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit</u>
RGTC 5	K. Nashef, <u>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit</u>
RIA	<u>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</u>
RIMA I	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Period I A Kirk Grayson, <u>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia B.C. (to 1115 BC)</u>
RIMA II	Grayson, <u>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C I (1114-859 BC)</u>
RIMA III	Grayson, <u>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745 BC)</u>
RIME II	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods II Douglas R. Frayne, <u>Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC)</u>
RIME IV	Frayne, <u>Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)</u>
SAA II	State Archives of Assyria II Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, <u>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths State Archives of Assyria II</u>
SAA X	Simo Parpola, <u>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</u>
Sargons II	Andreas Fuchs, <u>Die Inschriften Sargon II aus Khorsabad</u>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
TB	<u>Tyndale Bulletin</u>
S	Extract from a Treaty of Sin-Šarru-iškun
SB	Subsidia Biblica
SBA	Sin-šarru-iškun's Treaty with Babylonian Allies
Senn.	Sennacherib

Abbreviations

Shalm.	Shalmaneser
SSI I	Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions I John C. L. Gibson, <u>Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions</u>
SSI II	Gibson, <u>Aramaic Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zanjirli</u>
SSI III	Gibson, <u>Phoenician Inscriptions</u>
ŠM	Treaty of Šamši-adad V with Marduk-zakir-šumi, King of Babylon
Tigl.	Tiglath-pileser
Tn.	Tukulti-Ninurta
VT	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
VTE	Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty
VTS	<u>Vetus Testamentum Supplement</u>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WM	<u>Wörterbuch der Mythologie</u>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten and Neuen Testament
ZA	<u>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</u>
ZAW	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>

PART I

REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter 1

DEFINITION OF CURSES

The curse is sometimes conceived as something magical, having intrinsic power to harm people. This idea emerges in some scholars' definition of the curse. Taking up J. Hempel's view,¹ S. H. Blank claims that curses are "automatic or self-fulfilling" and have "a nature of a spell, the very words of which were thought to possess reality and the power to effect the desired results."² The same concept of curses, slightly modified, is presented by S. Gevartz,³ J. Scharbert,⁴ W. Schottroff⁵ and J. Pedersen.⁶ However, opposition to this view is expressed by A. C. Thiselton; according to him, a curse can be changed by a deity.⁷

¹ According to Hempel, curses in the Old Testament are derived from primitive-magical practices; and they are absolute (*unbedingte*), irrevocable (*unwiderrufliche Auswirkung*) effects, "Die Israelitische Anschauungen," *ZDMG* 4 (1925), 20-110; republished in *BZAW* 81 (1961), 30, 35.

² "The Curse," *HUCA* 23/1 (1950), 78.

³ Gevartz differentiates East from West Semitic curses: "Whereas East Semitic (Akkadian) maledictions were formulated in a religio-literary tradition which sought divine approval and execution, importuning a god or gods through imprecation, West Semitic curses were composed in a tradition which relied, primarily, not upon deity, but upon the power of the word. Hebrew shared the general West Semitic preference for constructions in which the agent of the curse remained undesignated, and for verbs in passive forms. Characteristically and specifically Hebraic is the use of the *Qal* passive participle אָרַר, "Cursed be ...!" The significance of this distinction between East and West Semitic curse formulations is that in the former, reliance is placed upon deity for the execution of the desired effect, whereas the latter, in the absence of any indications of curse agency, the reliance is upon the power inherent within the curse itself," "Curse," *IDB* I, 750; cf. "West-Semitic Curses," *VT* 11 (1961), 137-58.

⁴ Scharbert does not exclude completely a magical understanding of the אָרַר form: "Die 'arar-Formel ist also das wirksamste "Macht-wort", ausgesprochen von einer Autorität, das einen sich gegen die Gemeinschaft, gegen die rechtmäßige Autorität (Gott, Eltern) schwer verfehlenden Menschen oder Verband dem Unheil ausliefert. Dabei dachte man sich ursprünglich wohl das Wort in sich wirksam, sobald die Bedingungen für die Auslösung des Fluches gegeben waren. . . ., "אָרַר", *TWAT* I, 444.

⁵ *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch*, 231.

⁶ J. Pedersen presents a similar concept of curses, since he disregards the divine act in curses. He thinks that the effectiveness of the curse depends on the spiritual power of the speaker: "Ein Fluch hat größere oder kleinere Wirkungsfähigkeit, je nachdem die ihn aussprechende Persönlichkeit mehr oder weniger geistiger Kräfte besitzt." He presents as an example of Elisha's curse on some youths (2 Ki 2:24), *Der Eid* (1914), 93; also J. Scharbert presents the same idea, "<<Fluch>> und <<Segen>>," *Biblica* 39 (1958), 6. However, Pedersen's view is not persuasive. In 2 Ki 2:24 Elisha curses in the name of the Lord. In other words, the executor of the curse is the Lord, not Elisha. Furthermore, according to a proverbial curse, "an undeserved curse does not come to rest" (Prov 26:2). Therefore, Shimei's curse on David did not materialize (2 Sam 16:8). That is to say, the effectiveness of the curse depends on the cursed person deserving it. Neither does the effectiveness of the curse depend on the status of the speaker in the Bible. For example, Saul spoke a curse: . . . אָרַר הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר-יֹאכַל לֶחֶם עַד-הָעֶרֶב . . . (1 Sam 14:24); any man who violated Saul's command would be punished. But Saul could not punish the disobedient Jonathan, since the people took Jonathan's side because of his contribution in the campaign (1 Sam 14:45).

⁷ A. C. Thiselton "The Supposed Power of Words," *JTS*, 25 (1974), 298-99 and fn. 14 below.

However, study of ancient Near Eastern curses, including Hebrew curses, raises questions about the views of those scholars.

Firstly, in the ancient Near East, curses applied to every sphere of life. What we might perceive as natural calamities, drought or disease, for instance, the people of Mesopotamia attributed to the actions of the gods.⁸ As each deity was associated with defined spheres or activities of life, disasters were attributed to particular divinities, for example, destructive rain or lack of rain were the work of Adad, the weather god. When one of these disasters occurred, it was conceived as divine punishment, the fulfilment of curses on anyone who disobeyed the god in question, or failed to meet his requirements.⁹ In the ancient Near Eastern world-view, if someone's divine protector abandoned him, he became vulnerable to evil demons. The demons were generally conceived "as mere agents and executors of the will of gods; their rôle was to implement divinely ordained punishment for sin."¹⁰ For example, when someone became ill, incantations or spells (magic) were employed by the magician to counter the effects of the demons. In this case, the incantations as such do not have power. In some cases, while addressing the demons directly, the magician legitimated himself as the representative of the gods "in order to protect himself against the demons during the course of the ritual."¹¹ In another instance, Ea said that Marduk should continue giving appropriate ritual advice.¹² The effect of sorcery could also be broken by using magic (incantation). In other words, the magic was not effective by its intrinsic power but by the divine act it was expected to stimulate. Moreover, although all spheres of life were controlled by the gods, this order was not rigid.¹³ For example, a divinely ordained curse could be turned to a blessing: in the Epic of Gilgamesh (vii iii-iv) "Shamash persuades Enkidu to relent of his curse on the harlot, and Enkidu changes it into a blessing."¹⁴ Furthermore, when someone fell ill because of an offense against a deity, his sin

⁸ Cf. Leo Oppenheim, "Zur keilschriftlichen Omenliteratur," *Or* 5 (1936), 199-228. See further Bertil Albrektson, *History and the Gods*.

⁹ According to Pedersen, "der Fluch bezeichnet alles, was böse und schädlich ist, alles, was mit normalen Verhältnissen nicht übereinstimmt, die Negation des Lebens," *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 64.

¹⁰ Black and Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols*, 63.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Cf. A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 198-206.

¹⁴ A. C. Thiselton further says that the similar idea occurs in the Bible, e.g., Judg 17:2; 1 Ki 44:45; "when God himself turns a curse into a blessing, it is simply 'because Yahweh your God loved you' (Deut. xxiii. 5), "The Supposed Power of Words," *JTS* 25 (1974), 298-99.

could be "undone" by prayer.¹⁵ So he would recover. We also see the same concept of the divine act involving all spheres of life in ancient Syria.¹⁶ For example, in the epic of Keret, although the text does not tell the cause of Keret's illness, probably because of missing lines, he was cured by divine intervention (ii v 1-vi 24); according to El's request, Sha'taqat healed Keret.¹⁷ When his son Yassib asked Keret to descend from his throne so that he may ascend it in his place, Keret cursed Yassib in the name of the gods: "may Ḥoron break, O my son, may Ḥoron break your head, may 'Athtart, << name of Ba'al >>, your pate, may you fall down from the hill!" (Keret ii vi 55-58).¹⁸ In the light of this analysis, the concept of spoken words having an unchangeable effect when used in curses is inappropriate to the ancient Near Eastern world-view where the gods controlled all of life. Curses may bring punishments by the gods which materialize in misfortune and natural calamities. This is how the treaty-curses are to be understood.

Secondly, the ancient Near Eastern concept of curses as divine punishment is comparable with that in the Old Testament.¹⁹ When Yahweh intended to punish Israel because of her sin in making the golden calf, Moses appealed to Yahweh's promise to the patriarchs. Then Yahweh relented and did not bring disaster upon the people (Ex 31:9-14). Since our studies relate to the Biblical covenant concept, we shall confine the definition to the covenant-curses. In the covenant-curses (Lev 26; Dt 28) the curses are juxtaposed to the blessings. The former are the consequence of disobedience and the latter the reward of obedience. In other words, curses reflect an adverse judgment of Yahweh for both individuals and their land.

¹⁵ Black and Green, Gods, Demons and Symbols, 164.

¹⁶ Cf. Marvin H. Pope and Wolfgang Röllig, "Syrien," WM, 228-31.

¹⁷ G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, 45; A. Caquot, M. Sznycer & A. Herdner, Texts Ougaritiques I, 564-65.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 573-74. See further Part II 4.3.1.3.

¹⁹ Pedersen sees the Biblical covenant-curses in the light of curses in Arabic literature and says that curses in Lev 26 and Dt 28 are identical with those among the Arabs: the loss of wealth, freedom and power, excommunication from society and death, Der Eid, 69. He further says that Assyrian curses relate more to the cursed person than his relationship with society and, thus lack the Arabic and Hebrew idea of curses as excommunication from society (*ibid.*, 72). However, Pedersen's confinement of excommunication to the Arabic idea is wrong, since the traditional Akkadian Šin-curse from the first part of the second millennium onwards also relates to excommunication from society, K. Watanabe, "Anrufung des Mondgottes Šin," ASJ 6(1984), 114; see Part II 2.16.3. Furthermore, there are other curses relating to excommunication, e.g.: *dīštar mārat dšn qarittum ina maštak lalēšu lišēšišuma šēru kida u bamātīm lirtappud* "Ištar, the strong daughter of Šin, may expel him from his favourite dwelling place; may he run about in the field, meadow and plain," R. Borger, "Merodach-baladan I," AfO 23 (1970), 3 iii 6-10. Although Pedersen's attempt is interesting ethnographically, Arab tribes present a different society, existing long after ancient Israel which shared ancient Near Eastern culture. Therefore, Pedersen's attempt to explain the Biblical covenant-curses by means of Arabian curses is methodologically unsound, although his definition of the curse is acceptable.

Thirdly, the ancient Near Eastern common concept of curses "with flexibility" also occurs in Assyrian annals and Hebrew books. There, the Assyrian kings and Yahweh judged rebel vassals, respectively. Nevertheless, there was always the possibility of forgiveness for penitent vassals, as we see below (parts III 1.1.3 & IV 1.1.1.2; 2.1.1.3). In other words, the adverse judgment in Assyrian annals and Hebrew books result in common consequences in curses.

The אָרוּר-formula is often misinterpreted.²⁰ The אָרוּר-formula does not have intrinsic power, nor does its effectiveness depend on the status of the speaker.²¹ The אָרוּר-formula in Dt 28:16-19 is spoken on the authority of Yahweh, since Moses as Yahweh's representative to Israel renewed the covenant. The underlying idea of the אָרוּר-formula is that Yahweh is invoked to bring judgment upon the covenant-breaker.²² The same idea occurs in an extra-Biblical tomb inscription from the village of Silwan. There, אָרוּר הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתַּח אֶת זֹאת, "Cursed be the man who opens this [the tomb the royal steward]."²³ That is to say, Yahweh is the actual executor of the state of אָרוּר, and so "its effectiveness" is "completely guaranteed."²⁴

The distinction between the ancient Near Eastern and the Biblical covenant-curses lies in the divinity; in the former many deities are responsible for executing curses, whereas in the latter Yahweh alone. For our purpose, therefore, we define both the ancient Near Eastern and Biblical covenant-curses as adverse judgments.

²⁰ See fns. 3, 4, 6 above.

²¹ See fn. 6 above; Cf. Thiselton, "Power of Words," *JTS* 25 (1974), 294.

²² The same idea occurs in, e.g., Gen 4:11, Jer 17:5, and fn. 6 above. Cf. Robert P. Gordon, "אָרוּר," *NIDOTTE* I, 524-26. Although H. C. Brichto contests Hempel's view, his understanding of אָרוּר is misleading: "If a spell is imagined as something like a magic circle, which bars what is within from that which is without, it becomes clear what the denotation and connotation of אָרוּר is in all its occurrences. When applied to earth or rain it is spell which bars fertility to men. . . . (114). In this point Brichto agrees with Hempel, "Die Israelitischen Anschauungen," 32. For Brichto, however, the magical meaning of spell "underlying the term אָרוּר is not indication of anything automatic, self-fulfilling in the curse, for it is the Deity who wields the power of the spell," *The Problem of "Curses"*, 215.

²³ *SSI* I, 24.

²⁴ See further Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 78.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

The covenant-curses play a central role in Joshua-Kings. Since they are presented as Yahweh's response to Israel's disloyalty, they affected the narration of Israel's history. This, in turn, is connected with the understanding of Israel's history. Here we treat scholarly views about the covenant-curses, then we turn to theories about Israel's history.

2.1 Covenant-Curses

There are four major methods for understanding the covenant curses among Old Testament scholars: 1) literary-critical approaches; 2) a narrow comparative approach;¹ 3) a combined approach of these two methods; 4) an historical approach.²

2.1.1 Dt 28: Literary-Critical Approaches

C. Steuernagel divided the curses in Dt 28 into five sections.³ The first consists of vv. 15-46; here only the curses which parallel blessings are original (D^{2c}): vv. 15-20a, 24-25a, 43-44 and the conclusion vv. 45-46, the rest is expansion.⁴ Then four appendices follow: 1) vv. 47-57 from the beginning of exile; 2) vv. 58-61 from a different exilic origin because of changes in contents; the different authors are recognizable from the change of the plural "you" in 3) vv. 62-63 to the singular in 4) vv. 64-68.⁵

Steuernagel's view was taken up by J. G. Plöger. Employing literary criticism, form criticism and style criticism, Plöger determined the growth of curses. According to him, the curses in Dt 28 end in v. 45, which corresponds to the introduction in v. 15,⁶ and vv. 46-68 are excluded. Plöger divided this pericope into five categories and classified four origins: 1) old cultic formulae; 2) deuteronomic series of curses; 3) preaching; 4) exilic-postexilic texts. Firstly, ארר-formulae (vv. 16-19): whether these formulae are the deuteronomistic formulation or are taken

¹ This approach applies mainly to VTE along with some Akkadian curses.

² This term refers to the use of the concepts of ancient Near Eastern curses in broader contexts for the understanding of the Biblical covenant-curses.

³ Das Deuteronomium.

⁴ Steuernagel dated D^{2c} before 597 B.C., even perhaps before 607 B.C. (*ibid.*, 9, 28), but he did not mention when the expansion of curses occurred, apart from vv. 32, 36 ff, 41 which he deemed exilic, *ibid.*, 151.

⁵ *ibid.*, 153-54; Deuteronomium und Joshua, 99.

⁶ Josef G. Plöger, Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen, 138-40.

over from oral tradition, is not possible to prove,⁷ but they have the oldest material.⁸ Secondly, the series of *die Schlagen-Reihe* (22, 27, 28 f., 35) is original:⁹ that is, from pre-exilic preaching, because the content is about disease not exile.¹⁰ Thirdly, the first series of contrast curses is mixed with original (vv. 30-31) and additional curses (32-33): the former refer to results of war,¹¹ whereas the latter lack metre and relate to exile.¹² Then a summary of the first series of contrasts follows in v. 34. Vv. 36-37 are an exilic addition.¹³ Fourthly, the second series of contrast curses (vv. 38-41) is rhythmic, refers to the results of natural disaster and war (41) and originated from pre-exilic preaching.¹⁴ For Plöger, curses referring to disease and threat of war are pre-exilic. Yet Plöger considers phrases which do not fit the metre and context as later additions: *וְלֹא תֵאָנֵר* (v. 39b β) does not fit with v. 39a α ; *בְּכַל-גְּבוּלְךָ* in v. 40a disturbs the metre; v. 41 fits the metre but refers to the exile; v. 43, the summaries of vv. 38-41, have a singular *גַּר* in contrast to the plural form in v. 12 and thus are exilic.¹⁵ 5) The rest of the curses (vv. 20, 21, 23-26, 44) are also mixed: *אֶת-הַמְהוּמָה* in v. 20a β does not fit into the context, thus is a later addition; v. 20b is an explanatory addition because of the first singular (*עֲזַבְתָּנִי*) and contrast to v. 43 (*מֵהָרַךְ* instead of a slow destruction); v. 23 is an old metrically expressed curse; v. 24 is mixed with an old form and a later addition (*עַד הַשְּׂמֹדֶךְ*); vv. 25b-26 are an expansion to describe defeat.¹⁶ To sum up, for Plöger, the curses conveying patterns, diseases and war are pre-exilic. Curses with or without a pattern and an exilic content are exilic. Curses which disturb the pattern and do not fit into the context are later additions.¹⁷

⁷ *Ibid.*, 167. Yet he does not rule out *das älteste, vielleicht sogar vorjahwistische Material* in vv. 16-19, *ibid.*, 192.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹¹ According to Plöger, the classification of vv. 30-31 is uncertain, but "Die Reihenfolge der Aufzählung weist in dt Zet," *ibid.*, 192.

¹² *Ibid.*, 156.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 156.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 156, 192.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 157. Plöger classified vv. 43-45 as exilic-postexilic (192).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 158-59.

¹⁷ Plöger understood the curses in Dt 28 as the theological explanation of the deuteronomic *Bearbeitung* for the national disaster of Israel, *ibid.*, 214.

In 1971 G. Seitz made a literary analysis using the types of treaty-curses arranged by Hillers¹⁸ (only in vv. 15-46) and literary criticism, concentrating on stages of editorial activity in Dt 28.¹⁹ Firstly, he divided Dt 28:15-68 into three parts and built upon Steuernagel's and Plöger's views: 1) conditional curses (*der bedingte Fluch*) vv. 15-46; 2) justified curses (*der begründete Fluch*) vv. 47-57; 3) the conditional curses (*der bedingte Fluch*) vv. 58-68.²⁰ Secondly, he concluded that the first part reflects two stages of growth, where each series consists of six lines. Without going into details, we use examples to illustrate his method for discovering this gradual growth. Curses introduced with the subject "Yahweh" belong to the first stage. Threat-curses are introduced by the w-perfect consecutive and, at times, a successive extension or explanation through curses with Yahweh as subject.²¹ These curses are expansions, e. g., v. 29 illustrates the blindness in v. 28; and vv. 36b and 37 present the results of exile. In the curses of contrast (vv. 30-33a), vv. 32 and 33a do not agree with the preceding in terms of pattern and *Dik-tion*, Seitz understood them as a free reproduction.²² On the other hand, another set of curses of contrast (38-40), has the same pattern and, thus it belonged to the first stage. So Seitz is able to establish redactorial work as follows. The first stage contains the set of אָרוּר (vv. 15-19), the set of the plagues (v. 20a*, 21 f.*, 27 f., 35*) and the second set of contrasts (vv. 38-40, 43 f.; *futility curses* in Hillers' term). The second stage expanded the first by adding: 1) the first set of contrasts (vv. 29-34); 2) v. 41 ff. to the second set of contrasts;²³ 3) vv. 23-26; 4) v. 36 ff.²⁴ Seitz further saw similarity in the series of plagues in vv. 29-34 and vv. 47-57. This indicated for him that the two series of plagues were taken from existing curses; furthermore, the similarity of content about the misery caused by enemies to that in Jeremiah implies that vv. 47-57 are from the author of Jeremiah, who expanded the first conditional curses (see above).²⁵ In his third part (vv. 58-68), Seitz recognizes its connection to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah in terms of vocabulary and motifs. Especially, he relates phrases in vv. 60, 63, 64, 65, 66 to Jeremiah.

¹⁸ Hillers arranged the forms of treaty-curses in four categories: 1) the curse invoked in divine name(s); 2) the simile curse; 3) the simple curse; 4) futility curses, Treaty-curses, 12-29.

¹⁹ Gottfried Seitz, Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien.

²⁰ This division is followed by Horst Dietrich Preuss, Deuteronomium, 156-57; Ian Cairn, Deuteronomy: Word and Presence, 242-49; Ernest W. Nicholson, God and His People, 76.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 279.

²² *Ibid.*, 284.

²³ According to Seitz, v. 42 summarizes vv. 38-40 and thus is added later, *ibid.*, 286.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 289.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 298.

2.1.2 Dt 28 in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Curses

It was the discovery of the Esarhaddon treaty tablets at Nimrud (henceforth VTE)²⁶ that drew the Assyriologists' attention to the similarities between some of the curses in them and in Dt 28.²⁷

2.1.2.1. Narrow Comparative Approach

R. Frankena presented the contents of curses in Dt 28:20-57 corresponding to those in VTE in his article "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy."²⁸ While admitting that not all the parallels are equally persuasive, he claimed that "the compiler of Deut. xxviii 20-57 must have made use of a curse text²⁹ similar to the first curse section of the vassal-treaties."³⁰

Following Frankena, M. Weinfeld explored the curses of Dt 28 in the light of VTE.³¹ Weinfeld's study is omitted here, since we discuss it in detail in Part VI 1.

²⁶ Prior to and after the discovery, there were both biblical scholars and Assyriologists who saw the link of the biblical curses to the Babylonian curses, see a detailed bibliography, Kazuko Watanabe, *ASJ* 6 (1984), 116 fns. 5, 6.

²⁷ See further Part VI 1.

²⁸ *OTS* 14 (1965), 122-54. His comparison between VTE and Dt 28 is (145-46):

VTE	Dt. 28
414-16	v. 20
455f.	v. 21
526-33	v. 23f.
453f.	v. 25
425-27	v. 26
419-21	v. 27
422-24	v. 28f.
417f.	v. 29b
428-30	v. 30-34
461-63	v. 35
(EB iv 14	v. 36f.)
440-52	v. 38-57

²⁹ Frankena said that this parallel reveals "something about the working-method of the Judaeen compiler of Deut. 28, as the phrasing of the Assyrian curses served as a starting-point for the often very long elaborations of the text of Deut. 28," "Review of Treaty and Covenant by D. J. McCarthy," *BiOr* 24 (1967), 62 and see also fn. 1.

³⁰ *OTS* 14, 146.

³¹ *DDS* 121-22. Weinfeld's view is followed by Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung*, 169. Werner H. Schmidt also recognized the influence of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses in Dt 28, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube*, 113.

2.1.2.2 Combined Approach

In the light of ancient Near Eastern materials, D. R. Hillers challenged Steuernagel's view. Hillers argued that in Hittite treaty-curses, in some cases curses are balanced with blessings, but in others, the list of curses is longer than that of blessings. A lengthy list of curses also occurs in the Code of Hammurabi.³² Hillers claimed on the basis of Aramaic and Neo-Assyrian treaty curses that the change of plural to singular pronouns occurs in those treaty-curses without significance.³³ He continued that the curse-list in Dt 28 "lacking logical progression of ideas and very repetitious" resembles the curses in VTE.³⁴ Hillers compared some curses of Dt 28 with other treaty curses,³⁵ but did not refer to sources earlier than the Sefire stelae and Neo-Assyrian treaties, except one Hittite treaty (*BoSt* 8, Suppiluliumas-Shattiwaza). Hillers compared some curses of Dt 28 with other treaty-curses. According to him, Dt 28:30-31 and vv. 38-40 are related to Lev 26:26 and to "futility" curses in the Sefire Stelae.³⁶ He stated that poetic elements of some curses in Dt 28 "exhibit characteristics of oral transmission,"³⁷ vv. 23-25, 30-31, 38-41, 44, 53 convey metric pattern and parallelism. In the light of these poetic elements Hillers denied any redaction either from Dtr or other redactors. He continued:

Instead these fragments of verse indicate that the writer knew and used a living tradition of curses originally cast in poetic form so as to be remembered more easily. Or the poetic form may be due to the fact that these curses are derived from old literary compositions.³⁸

From his analysis, Hillers rejected the view of the dependence of Lev 26:19 and Dt 28:23 on VTE 528-32, since the Biblical passages were poetry, whereas VTE is not poetry.³⁹ For Hillers this similarity indicated that "there were living and primarily oral traditions of curses on which writers and speakers might draw for various purposes, either leaving the material as they found it or recasting it into their own

³² Treaty-curses, 33.

³³ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁵ Treaty-curses. H. U. Steymans' doctoral dissertation Deuteronomium 28 und die Adê zur Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons became known to the writer too late to include his work in this project. But our assessment of his thesis based on his article published in Bundesdokument und Gesetz (1995) is given in Appendix V.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 35.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 39. Hillers' result found support in Plöger and Seitz (see above).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

style."⁴⁰ This further means that Lev 26:19 and Dt 28:23 are taken from this oral tradition independently.⁴¹

D. J. McCarthy compared some curses in Dt 28 with the curses in VTE, the treaty of Aššur-nerari V with Mati-ilu of Arpad, the Aramaic Sefire stelae, and the Code of Hammurabi, concluding that the content of curses in "Dt 28 reflects the canon of ancient near eastern curses."⁴² The problem for him is the exact nature of the connection, which he solved by assuming the independent development of a common heritage within specifically Israelite tradition.⁴³ McCarthy claimed that the curses with the subject Yahweh are expanded by curses expressed impersonally. Thus, "v. 29 is a *topic sentence* for the *development expanding impersonally* (as regards Yahweh: He is not the agent of the punishment) but vividly the meaning of oppression and robbery (30-34)." V. 37 is another topic sentence for the second development expanding them impersonally in vv. 38-44.⁴⁴

McCarthy rejected the curses relating to "invasion, pillage, and especially exile (28, 30-34, 37b, 48-57, 64-68)" as "a *post factum* addition" in the light of parallels in VTE, Sf and Ashurbanipal's annals. However, vv. 47 ff. are expanded from the destruction of Jerusalem.⁴⁵

McCarthy added Dt 28:23, 27-29 in his second edition. He stated that "Dt 28:23 which is a curse about drought, is an insertion in a pre-existing series of formally identical curses" [from a treaty].⁴⁶ He further argued that the coupling of the curses in Dt 28:27-29, parallel to a sequence found in VTE, does not simply reflect the sharing in a common tradition of the ancient Near East, but shows influence from Mesopotamian treaty material since the whole book of Deuteronomy is shaped in the treaty pattern.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴² Treaty and Covenant, new and rev. ed. (1981), 174; also see 1st ed. (Biblical Institute Press: Rome, 1963), 123; the second edition will be used in our study.

⁴³ Treaty and Covenant (1981), 174.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴⁵ "The accumulation of variations from what goes before in 28, 47 ff. is surely significant, . . . The evils described are no longer threats, possibilities *if* certain conditions obtain. They have become facts *because* the conditions do obtain. This change from conditional curses to assured fact is characteristic of certain levels of the Dtr. . . . It accords well with the attractive hypothesis of Josiah, and the second accepting and explaining the terrible fact of the fall of Judas. The climax of Dt 28 could belong to this second edition, the work of rhetorician sung his traditions (the horrors-of-war commonplace) and his skill to develop the implications of the earlier material and apply them to new experience," *ibid.*, 181.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 175.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

2.1.2.3. Historical Approach

Indeed, the similarities and the parallel sequence of curses between Deut 28 and treaty-curses from the first millennium B.C. cannot be disregarded. However, these features should be put into a broader context than Assyrian-Hebrew contacts alone, since the Assyrians absorbed extensive Babylonian literary influence in their writings. In addition, the Assyrian world was cosmopolitan due to the policy of deportation. This fact indicates that Assyrian literature may have both East- and West-Semitic elements. The Arameans were also not exempt from sharing common cultural tradition. Moreover, the Promised Land functioned as a bridge between civilizations, providing connections between Babylon, Egypt, Syria and Anatolia. Archaeological finds demonstrate multi-cultural influences already from long before Israel's settlement down to her fall in the 6th century B.C. That is to say, Israel was under multi-cultural influences from the beginning of her existence in the Promised Land. Therefore, a broader comparison of the curses in Dt 28 with other ancient Near Eastern curses is necessary to clarify the nature of Dt 28.

2.1.3 Relationship between Lev 26 and Dt 28

M. Noth considered that the curses in Lev 26 and Dt 28 are "nearly related in function, structure and content," "several different traditional elements have, in fact, entered into both of them, no longer clearly separable from one another, yet still clearly recognizable."⁴⁸ Noth's view of the different traditions is taken up by many scholars.⁴⁹

Weinfeld claimed that the setting of the curses in Lev 26 differed from that in Dt 28: the former was "provincial," whereas in Dt 28 "the punitive imagery derived from the Assyrian suzerainty treaties."⁵⁰ In other words, Weinfeld regarded the two sets of covenant-curses as independent.

We re-assess the relation of Lev 26 to Dt 28 while comparing these two groups of covenant-curses (see Parts II 5; III 1.2.1).

⁴⁸ The criteria for the different traditional elements are: "some more formal differences in the use (Deut. 28) or absence (Lev. 26) of the ideas of 'blessing' or 'cursing', or in singular (basically Deut. 28) or plural (Lev. 26) address," *Leviticus* trans. J. E. Anderson, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1965), 195-96 from the German *Das dritte Buch Mose, Leviticus*, *Das Alte Testament Deutsch* 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962).

⁴⁹ H. G. Reventlow considered the curses in Lev 26 and Dt 28 as two different traditions, apart from some parallels (Lev 26:14 with Dt 28:15; Lev 26:16 with Dt 28:22, 33, 65; Lev 26:17 with Dt 28:25; Lev 26:29 with Dt 28:53; Lev 26:36 with Dt 28:65, 67), which are derived from "derselben gottesdienstlichen Tradition and Begehung," Henning Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz*, 145. A. Cholewinski also recognized parallels in both texts but concluded that the *Vorlage* in Lev 26 is "bestimmt unabhängig von Dt 28 und vice versa," *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium*, 318.

⁵⁰ *DDS*, 124.

2.1.4 Evaluation

Our review shows that a comparison of the Biblical covenant-curses based on the internal evidence, employing literary-critical approaches, atomizes them while presenting a gradual expansion. Some scholars attempted to relate the covenant-curses to ancient Near Eastern curses but the results were inconclusive, although they indicated that the extra-biblical texts might not sustain all the results of literary-critical analyses.

Comparing a wide range of ancient Near Eastern curses makes the flaws of literary-critical approaches apparent (Plöger & Seitz). All the lists of Akkadian curses have short ("poetry") and lengthy curses ("prose"). For example, in a boundary-stone⁵¹ of the time of Meli-shipak (c. 1188-74 B.C.), the first three curses have similar contents with identical structure and pattern (BBS^t 4 iii 9-13, Appendix II §17.nos.1-5). The structure is: divine name, epithet/object, verb (iii 9-11). The pattern is 3:2 in iii 9-11. This consistency is broken by a pattern 4:2, where the epithet of Šamaš has one more word (iii 12), followed by a curse with 6 words (iii 13). In the same list, iii 16 does not have an epithet for a deity and has 5 words. IV 5-8 and 9-14 are prose.⁵² If we compare two boundary-stones of the same period, e.g. Marduk-nādin-ahhē (BBS^t 7), one list of curses, composed in prose, has one short form (iii 29-30), whereas the other has mixed style (see Part V 1.7.2). In the latter list, v 16-17 and 18 occur in a pattern 2 + 2 and v 25-26 and 27-28 in 3 + 3 in midst of prose. The same stylistic mixture occurs in the curses of CH: xxvi 50-51 and 52 parallel in 2 + 2 and xxvii 23⁵³ and 24-25 in 2 + 3 (Appendix II §13). These examples show that "poetry" and "prose" are in parallel in the lists of ancient Near Eastern curses. Interestingly, from this stylistic difference within the same list of curses no single Assyriologist concludes that there were later *Babylonian or Assyrian redactors* editing the lists of curses.⁵⁴ In short, in the light of this analysis, the different style does not provide any clue for a process of expansion of the curses in Dt 28.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Boundary stones were documentary monuments attested after 1400 B.C. in Babylon. They principally relate to land ownership or associated tax exemptions, J. A. Brinkman, "Kudurru," *RIA* VI, 267.

⁵² Lines iii 17-vi 4 are partly broken.

⁵³ *uruhšu liši* "May he (Šamaš) confuse his path!"

⁵⁴ The parallel occurrence of poetical devices and prose is common in ancient Near Eastern literature. Richard S. Hess pointed out the combination of these two literary devices in the Amarna letters sent by Labaya to the Pharaoh, "Smitten Ant Bites Back," in *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose*, 95-111.

⁵⁵ See also the evaluation of Weippert's view in Part I 2.2.1.8.

The covenant-curse about exile was not necessarily written after the downfall of the Northern Kingdom (*contra* Steuernagel, Plöger, Seitz, McCarthy), since deportation was a common practice in the ancient Near East (see e.g., CH (Appendix II §13.no.35).⁵⁶ Thus, a life in exile may be well-known since it was a common practice in war (see further Part II 2.4.10). Thus, the curse could have been written prior to that national disaster as a warning, as in other cases of ancient Near Eastern treaty-curses.

Other criteria of form and literary criticism are the vocabulary and motif. Some terms and motifs of the curses occur in Jeremiah, where Seitz recognizes the hand of the author of Jeremiah in Dt 28. This method should not carry weight in the light of ancient Near Eastern literature. Some curse motifs continue from the Sumerian period onwards. Almost all the Neo-Assyrian treaty-curse motifs are attested from the early second millennium (see Part II 2 & 3). Furthermore, the expressions of curses have a long tradition, although almost no single curse is simply repeated. For example, the traditional theme of the Gula-curse is attested in approximately identical expressions from the 14th down to the 7th century B.C.⁵⁷ This fact has not led any scholar in Ancient Oriental studies to conclude that the Gula-curse in the lists of curses of the second millennium was edited by the scribes of the first millennium B.C.

Steuernagel, Plöger and Seitz considered the אָרִיךְ-formulae (vv. 15-19) to be original, because they parallel blessings, or because they do not occur in ancient Near Eastern curses (Seitz, 277). On the other hand, they are able to recognize the later added curses by the disturbance of the pattern. In fact v. 18 disturbs the consistent pattern 3 by having 8 words, so should be a later addition according to their method. In other words, Steuernagel, Plöger and Seitz are not consistent in their application of literary criticism.

⁵⁶ K. A. Kitchen pointed out that "the concept and practice of exile was *always* a potential threat to the Hebrews and other political 'small' groups for most of the second and first millennia B.C. . . .," "Ancient Orient, "Deuteronomism,"" in *New Perspectives*, 5. Therefore, the concept of war and exile in Dt 28 does not necessarily refer to Israel's experience in the 6th century.

⁵⁷ See K. Watanabe, *BaM Bh* 3, 35-40. J. J. Niehaus has undertaken comparative studies of the deuteronomistic phraseology in the light of Assyrian kings' annals and of related literature. In his analysis, he demonstrated that stock phrases appear over many centuries in Assyrian kings' annals. He stated: "In Assyria one can now see a literary tradition which used the same stock phrasing from the time of Shamshi-Adad I to that of Ashurbanipal, a span of some 1200 years which included some 1100 years during which Akkadian had not been supplanted as a living language. Some of the stock phrasing was employed even several centuries earlier than Shamshi-Adad I, . . . , *The Deuteronomic Style* (Unpublished dissertation: Liverpool, 1985), 413. Applying Niehaus' result to the expressions of the Biblical covenant-curses which resemble those in Jeremiah, it is clear the former do not necessarily depend upon the latter's author. The same expressions may be used by different authors.

Seitz's attempt at the division of curses is not satisfactory. He took the conditional clauses in vv. 15 and 58 as indicators for the division of curses. The second indicator is taken from *אשר תחת* in v. 47. However, although the conditional clauses divide curses into sections, the designation of the two sections as "the conditional curses" is not correct. All the curses are announced on the condition of Israel's disloyalty. Furthermore, *אשר תחת* (v. 47) does not start a new clause, but substantiates the occurrence of curses (v. 46; see further part II 5 fn. 31). Seitz's arguments for the gradual growth of curses is not acceptable. "The expansion of curses" also occurs in extra Biblical curses. Akkadian curses are expanded by the conjunction *u* or *ma* followed by a vetitive or precative or a wish-form. A curse is "expanded" without a conjunction. For example, in a boundary-stone of the time of Kurigalzu, the first curse of the destruction of (family) foundation is "expanded/explained" by two curses following asyndetically: the destruction of progeny and the life of the cursed one (Appendix II §14.no.1). In CH xxvii 76-78 Adad is invoked to thunder over a city. This curse is expanded by *ma* with a following curse of destruction caused by flood (79-80, Appendix II §13.nos.23-24). The Sîn-curse in a boundary-stone of Marduk-nādin-ahhē (Appendix II §27.no.1) has three related curses, where the first and second are connected with *ma* and the second and the third with *u*. If we take an example from VTE, the imperative "walk about in darkness!" as a result of the preceding precative "loss of eyesight" is connected by *ma* (423b-24). "The expansion" of curses also occurs in Aramaic. In the Sefire Stelae, the vetitive in I A 28b is expanded by *w* with two consecutive prohibitions (*l* + *imperfect*) in lines 28c-29a: *ואל יפק חצר וליתחזה ירק ולי[תחזה] אחוה* "May the grass not come forth; and may no green be seen; and may its vegetation not be [seen]!"⁵⁸ These examples show that "the expansion of the curse" is not confined to the Biblical covenant-curses. Furthermore, a repetition does not necessarily indicate a later addition. In ancient Near Eastern literature the same idea often recurs, e.g., famine (Appendix II §1.nos.8-9), annihilation of dynasty (§2. nos.2-3), deprivation of kingship (§13.nos.1-2), cannibalism (§51.nos.13-14), etc. Therefore, Seitz's literary-critical approach is not justifiable.

In our study, we use a wider range of ancient Near Eastern texts than Hillers, Frankena and McCarthy whose works are flawed by their limited comparisons.

Turning to Hillers, firstly, his attempt to see the covenant-curses in Lev 26 and Dt 28 in the light of treaty-curses only from the first millennium is too narrow, since treaty-curses belong to the genre of curses running throughout ancient Near

⁵⁸ André Lemaire and Jean-Marie Durand, *Les Inscriptions Araméennes*, 114.

Eastern literature.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the role of treaty-curses shares a long existing tradition (see Part II 1). Secondly, Hillers' form critical approach to some curses is not appropriate to ancient Near Eastern literature, in which a short pattern ("oral tradition"?) is embedded in prose (see Part V 1.7.2).

Turning to Frankena, indeed there are corresponding ideas between Dt 28 and VTE. Yet in his analysis the sequence of the curses in Deut 28 does not correspond to the sequence in VTE, except in two cases, namely, curses of disease and disability in Dt 28:27-28 with curses by Sin and Šamaš in VTE lines 419-24, and curses of famine and cannibalism in Dt 38-57 and in VTE lines 440-52. However, the corresponding ideas between these two texts do not necessarily indicate that Dt 28 might have used *an Assyrian Vorlage* (see further Part VI 1.1).

McCarthy contributed through his comparison of Dt 28 with other ancient Near Eastern curses to understanding the sequence of curses in Dt 28. However, a question arises whether the similarity between Dt 28 and VTE is to be explained in the light of "influence from Mesopotamian treaty material." (see further Part VI 1.1.1). McCarthy's view about the expansion of the curses with the subject Yahweh by the curses without is grammatically unjustifiable (see further Part II 5 fns. 27, 30). Vv. 47-48 continues a chain of *w-perfect consecutive* (45-46). Thus, תחת אשר followed by a *future perfect* refers to an future event. That is to say, vv. 45-47 assure the definite occurrence of the curses in vv. 48-57 (see further Part II 5.4.3). So McCarthy's understanding Dt 28 in the light of a double of edition of Israel's history is not persuasive.

⁵⁹ Cf. H. H. Rowley, "Review of Treaty-curses and the Old Testament Prophets, by D. R. Hillers," JTS 16 (1965), 157.

2.2 Theories about Israel's History

2.2.1. Deuteronomistic Theories

There is a scholarly consensus about the origin of the Books of Joshua-Kings. That is, Joshua-Kings present the dtr¹ interpretation of pre-existing texts. However, scholarly views about the date of the dtr literary activity vary.

2.2.1.1. Single Exilic Author

(1) Martin Noth

M. Noth's brilliant work The Deuteronomistic History has continuously inspired scholars ever since he published it in 1943.² According to Noth, Dtr combined mutually unrelated pre-deuteronomistic material into a unity as Joshua-Kings during the exile, around 550 B.C. In this literary composition, the hand of "the deuteronomistic author" is recognizable through his style: the frequent repetition of identical phrases, the vocabulary, diction and sentence structure.³ A further characteristic of the dtr composition is the occurrence of "the leading personages with a speech" at all important transitions in Israel's history, where it "looks forward and backward in an attempt to interpret the course of events, and draws the relevant practical conclusions about what people should do."⁴ When the author found it inappropriate for historical figures to make the speeches, he presented "summarizing reflections upon history."⁵ Another characteristic is "an anticipatory survey of the cyclical nature of the course of history," e.g., Judg 2:11 ff. and "a retrospective reflection upon the grim outcome of the monarchic period in Israel and Judah" (2 Ki 17:7 ff).⁶ For Noth, Israel's history is a history of apostasy. The intention of the deuteronomistic author was to interpret the history of his people in the light of the national disaster. This could "contribute to an understanding of the situation in his own time," namely a just divine retribution.⁷

Noth's contribution is to see Joshua-Kings as a unified dtr historical work. However, his negative view about the end of Israel's history does not entirely cor-

¹ Dtr = the Deuteronomist; dtr = deuteronomistic; DtrH = the Deuteronomistic History.

² English translation of Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1957), 1-110, ed David J. A. Clines & Philip R. Davies (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); 1st German edition appeared in the series *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse*, 18 (1943), 43-266.

³ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

respond to the contents of Joshua-Kings. There are other topics which parallel that divine judgment, e.g., the Davidic promise, the schism of the monarchy, etc. Therefore, scholars have presented other theories about DtrH and the intentions of the author(s) (see below). Noth's view is partly taken up, e.g., by M. Weinfeld (see Part VI 4) echoed in Hoffmann's more recent work.

(2) Hans-Detlef Hoffmann

H-D. Hoffmann argued for the unity of DtrH and supported Noth's thesis by examining all the texts of "positive [return to Yahweh] and negative [apostasy]" cult-reforms in DtrH.⁸ The deuteronomist intended to interpret the history of Israel as cultic history on the basis of meagerly transmitted traditions⁹ and to emphasize cultic reform (*Kultreform*) as the true motive of history.¹⁰ For Hoffmann, the criterion for the deuteronomistic literary composition is typical expressions. Common elements in the deuteronomistic cult-historiography are a stereotyped *Motivik* of the cult reforms: "die *Objekte* des kultreformerischen Wirkens der Könige, jene Kultgegenstände, Gottheiten, Kultorte und Kultpersonen,"¹¹ These repeated expressions and cultic *Motivik* are underlined by a system (signified with relative clauses) of retrospective and cross references.¹² For example, the motif of male shrine-prostitutes occurring in the time of Rehoboam (1 Ki 14:23, Eng. 24) recurs under successive kings,¹³ who expelled them (i.e., Asa, 1 Ki 15:12, Jehosaphat, 1 Ki 22:47 (Eng. 46) and Josiah, 2 Ki 23:7. In another case, Josiah's reform by destroying sacred places of pagan deities (2 Ki 23:13) refers back to Solomon's apostasy (1 Ki 11:5-7).¹⁴ Added to that, a cross-reference bridges the boundary

⁸ The term cult-reform refers to all the actions of the leaders of people, the judges and kings or people, who aim at a change of cultic circumstance, *Reform und Reformen*, 25.

⁹ Hoffmann claimed: "Es ist schließlich damit zu rechnen, daß u.U. nur wenige *Fixpunkte* der Kultgeschichte Israels durch zugrundeliegende Überlieferung abgedeckt sind, und daß dagegen viele der in den Kultnotizen vorliegenden Angaben weder Quellen noch mündlichen Überlieferungen entstammen, sondern Weiter- und Neubildungen der dtr Kultsystematik sind," *ibid.*, 37. For Hoffmann the further formation (*Weiterbildung*) of tradition means the deuteronomistic additions which should strengthen the general, positive or negative picture of individual kings defined in the evaluation formulae (p. 37). On the other hand, the free new-formation (*Neubildung*), which is embedded in a transmitted report, exists in the evaluation of the cult-policy of a related king. That should be understood as transference of a measure or a typical cultic measure of his predecessor, *ibid.*, 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹² *Ibid.*, 39, 315.

¹³ Hoffmann mistakenly relates the אשר clause in 1 Ki 15:12 to הקרשים, when it actually refers to את-כל-הגללים, *ibid.*, 39.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

between the Northern and Southern kingdoms (i.g., Manasseh, 2 Ki 21:3 - Ahab, 1 Ki 16:33).¹⁵ Another common deuteronomic literary criterion for Hoffmann is schematic presentation in the cultic texts (*Königsrahmen* and *Richterrahmen*). Furthermore, correct Yahweh-worship is, according to Hoffmann, a theological central theme of the DtrH and a criterion for the theological evaluation of DtrH from the time of conquest to the exile.¹⁶ He employs the analysis of language and style to find the literary creativity of Dtr.¹⁷ For Hoffmann, the history of Israel is retrospective, a series of artificial cult-reforms which Dtr wrote in Exile.

2.1.1.2. Significance of DtrH

Noth's pessimistic interpretation of Israel's history has led scholars to propose other solutions:

(1) Gerhard v. Rad

G. Von Rad wrote about DtrH in Kings:

The great events in the shadow of which the Deuteronomist wrote were the catastrophes of 721 and 586, happenings which in his eyes had undoubted theological significance; . . . This is the clue to the understanding of the Deuteronomist: he is writing at a time when there was distress and perplexity because no saving history was taking place.¹⁸

He continued about the Deuteronomist's concept: "Jahweh revealed his commandments to Israel; in case of disobedience he threatened her with severe punishment, with the judgment of total destruction, in fact. They had now actually taken place."¹⁹ That is, Yahweh's judgment is just. Therefore, in his writing the Deuteronomist employed "a theological schema" of prophecy-fulfilment.²⁰ This indicates for von Rad that the dtr history in Kings is a history of the creative word of Yahweh:

The decisive factor for Israel does not lie in the things which ordinarily cause a stir in history, nor in the vast problems inherent in history, but it lies in applying a few very simple theological and prophetic fundamental axioms about the nature of the divine word. . . . Thus the Deuteronomist shows with exemplary validity what saving history is in the Old Testament: that is, a process of his-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23 (*literarische Gestaltungsanteil*).

¹⁸ Gerhard Von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* translated by David Stalker. First published in 1953 and reprinted in 1956, 76-77.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.

tory which is formed by the word of Yahweh continually intervening in judgment and salvation and directed towards a fulfilment.²¹

(2) Hans W. Wolff

Wolff recognized the decisive role of Israel's return to Yahweh for the continuation of the "Heilsgeschichte" in DtrH. The theme of repentance (שוב) occurs in "fast allen bedeutsamen Stellen, die uns den eigenen Aussagewillen des DtrG erkennen lassen, neben der Warnrede vor den Abfall und der Androhung des Gerichts."²² Wolff found no encouragement for hope in DtrH: "Die Umkehr kann nicht zum Mittel restaurativer oder progressistischer Gelüste werden,"²³ yet Israel's repentance would restore her original status as Yahweh's property.²⁴

2.1.1.3 Double Deuteronomistic Redaction

(1) Frank M. Cross

F. M. Cross claimed a double redaction in DtrH:²⁵ one from Josiah's time and

²¹ *Ibid.*, 91. Following von Rad, H. Weippert claimed that the *schema Verheißung and Erfüllung* are the literary device of the dt composition in Dt 1-2 Ki 25. According to her, *Verheißungen* are not *gattungsgelunden*: "Ein Gotteswort, ein Prophetenspruch, ein Fluch, ein Segen, ein Urteilspruch oder auch ein Gelübde have gleichermaßen Verheißungscharakter," "Geschichten und Geschichte: Verheißung und Erfüllung," *VTS* 43 (1991), 116.

²² *Ibid.*, 178.

²³ *Ibid.*, 185.

²⁴ "Dieses offenbare wort [Dt 29:28] is jetzt das (im Text des Dt unmittelbar folgende) Wort von der Umkehr, daß Israel mit ganzem Herzen auf die Stimme seines Gottes allein höre und von ihm allein alles Gute erwarte, damit es ganz Gottes Eigentum inmitten der Völkerwelt werde," *ibid.*, 186. Following Noth, McCarthy considered the theme of Yahweh's wrath as constituting the structure of DtrH. Yet in terms of the significance of DtrH, he is in line with Wolff; according to McCarthy, the cyclic pattern "anger, penalty, repentance, salvation" in Judges shows, "an iron law which must take its course." That is to say, "that salvation on condition of repentance is still an open possibility after 587 B.C." (106). For McCarthy, "so all the deuteronomistic history becomes a call to hope and repentance" (107), "The Wrath of Yahweh and the Structural Unity of the Deuteronomistic History," in *Essays in Old Testament Ethics*, 97-107.

²⁵ Following Cross, Iain W. Provan saw a pre-exilic redaction and an exilic redaction of Kings (*Hezekiah and the Books of Kings*). He perceived 'two different' redactors, a pre-exilic one using *במזות* to refer to Yahwistic shrines (e.g., 1 Ki 3:2-15, 15:11-15), an exilic one using *במזות* to refer to idolatrous shrines which Hezekiah removed (2 Ki 11:1-18; 2 Ki 17:7-23). On this basis, Provan supported his thesis by the "comparative" and "promissory" analogy of David. The unconditional promise of the Davidic dynasty was from the pre-exilic editor, whereas "the promise of continuing kingship is conditional upon the obedience of Solomon and successive kings" was from the exilic editor (*ibid.*, 91-113). He continued: "the climax of the primary David material is found in the account of Hezekiah's reign in 2 Ki 18-19" (*ibid.*, 114). For Provan, the Yahweh-centred cultic theme and the unconditionality of the Davidic dynasty are pre-exilic and those referring to sin and the conditionality is exilic. However, his view about *במזות* is flawed. First of all, 1 Ki 3:2 indicates an exceptional act of the people, because the temple was not yet built. Although Yahweh appeared to Solomon at Gibeon, worship of Yahweh in the Canaanite sacred place was forbidden (Dt 7:5; 12:2-3). Thus, Yahweh's appearance does not necessarily support the legitimacy of Yahweh-worship at *במזות*. In addition, the clause in 1 Ki 15:14 follows Asa's religious reform (11-13). In vv. 11-15, Asa's removal of the queen mother is emphasised by prefacing *אמו* *וגם את-מעכה* *אמו* (13), and so the succession of the w-imperfect consecutive is broken. Then, the w-imperfect consecutive continues in v. 13b, is

the other from the Exile.²⁶ Two great pre-exilic themes from Dtr¹ in the Book of Kings are: 1) the judgement for "a strongly Deuteronomistic description of Jeroboam's archcrime, namely the establishment of a countercultus in Bethel and Dan;"²⁷ 2) David's fidelity to Yahweh which began in 2 Sam 7, runs through Kings²⁸ and reaches its climax in Josiah's reform.²⁹ He continued: "in fact, the juxtaposition of the two themes, of threat and promise, provide the platform of the Josianic reform."³⁰ According to Cross, the Exilic editor (Dtr²) updated DtrH in the Exile, "to record the fall of Jerusalem."³¹ Since there is no hint in DtrH prior to the pericope concerning Manasseh "that hope in the Davidic house and in ultimate national salvation is futile,"³² Cross attributed the pericope on Manasseh (2 Ki 21:2-15) to the Exilic editor (Dtr²) who up-dated DtrH in the Exile, summarizing the downfall of Jerusalem and giving hope to the exiles.³³ Cross further found the signs for Dtr² in the omission of the prophet's name and Manasseh's personal punishment for his sin, whereby Manasseh's sin is made responsible for Jerusalem's destruction.³⁴ Cross' idea was understood by R. D. Nelson as a structural difference in the evaluation formulae about the last four kings of Judah (see below).

(2) Richard D. Nelson

Following Cross, Nelson tried to solve the tension between the Davidic hope and judgment present in DtrH by supposing a double redaction of two theologians

again broken in v. 14a and resumed in v. 15. According to this structure, the removal of the queen mother and no removal of *במזות* are salient. In v. 13a ו attached to *במזות* is to be understood as a disjunctive *waw*: "but he did not remove the high places." V. 13b is introduced with *רק* which emphasizes Asa's loyalty to Yahweh: "without any doubt Asa's heart was fully committed to the Lord all his life." That is to say, although Asa failed to destroy *במזות*, he was loyal to Yahweh. So Provan's attempt to see two different editors in the passages about *במזות* is not conclusive.

²⁶ CMHE, 287-89. According to Helga Weippert, Cross pleads for a return to the thesis of the 19th century, "Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk," Theologische Rundschau 50 (1985), 237-38.

²⁷ Cross, CMHE, 279.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 281-82.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 278-83..

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 284.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 285.

³² Nelson extended this idea in terms of conditional and unconditional promises dealing with the future of the Davidic dynasty and concludes that these juxtaposed promises are pre-exilic, The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History, 99-118.

³³ Cross stated: ". . . the hopes of the reader have been steadily titillated by the promises. All have pointed to a future salvation in virtue of the fidelity of Yahweh to the Davidic house and to Josiah, who called for a wholehearted return to the god of Israel's covenant. *ibid.*, 286.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 286.

working in Josiah's time and the exile, respectively. The Josianic deuteronomistic history is royal propaganda and optimistic, whereas the exilic deuteronomistic edition is "a doxology of judgment to accept the justice of Yahweh's punishment and to repent (1 Ki 8:46-51).³⁵ To maintain the Davidic hope, Nelson confined the condition of obedience in the Dynastic promise (1 Ki 2:4; 8:25; 9:4-5) to Solomon alone, but not to David's other descendants. He claimed: "the three conditional promises to Solomon cannot be used as a correction to or conditionalization of this eternal promise, for they are clearly limited to Solomon alone and refer explicitly to the loss of the throne of Israel by his descendants."³⁶ According to him, these three passages are pre-exilic. On the other hand, he assigned the subject of obedience of Solomon's descendants (1 Ki 9:6-9) to the exilic editor.³⁷ To justify his view, Nelson explained the term "sons" occurring in 2:4 and 8:25: the pre-exilic Deuteronomist offered his theological meaning of the dynastic struggle among David's sons. That is, "the reverses suffered by David's sons were due to their refusal to behave according to Yahweh's will, and at the same time directed the thrust of this conditional promise fully upon Solomon by the admonitions of 1 Kings 2:2-3."³⁸

Based on Cross' idea, Nelson found a different, rigid, expression in the regnal formulae for the last four kings of Judah, compared with the pre-exilic phrases, which indicates the style of the Dtr². The evaluation formulae "he did evil in the eyes of the Lord" is the same for the last four kings of Judah (Jehoahaz "just as his fathers had done", 2 Ki 23:32; Jehoiakim "just as his fathers had done", 2 Ki 23:37; Jehoiachin "just as his father had done", 2 Ki 24:9; Zedekiah, "just as Jehoiakim had done", 2 Ki 24:19), which do not give any detail of their activities, e.g., destroying pagan gods and worship places (2 Ki 18:3-6), or "further generalizing statements" (1 Ki 14:21-24), are from the Dtr².³⁹

2.1.1.4 Two Pre-Exilic and One Exilic Redaction

H. Weippert challenged the unity of DtrH and individual books presented by Noth. She argued that the various schematic expressions of the evaluations of kings

³⁵ Double Redaction, 121-23.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 103. He continued: "1 Kings 8:25 referred to the wording of the first communication of the promise to David in the unspecified past and thus was bound by the same strictures [*sic*] as 1 Kings 2:4. It was not until 1 Kings 9:4-5, where Yahweh communicates the promise as a second time, not to David, but to Solomon himself, that the historian was able to apply the conditional promise exclusively to the last of David's sons," *ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

convey two pre-exilic and one exilic redaction.⁴⁰ She attributed to a redactor I (pre-Josianic): the positive evaluations for the Southern kings, *ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה רק*,⁴¹ followed sometimes by a comparison with David ("unlike David") or with his father ("in the eyes of his father")⁴² and the negative evaluation *ויעש הרע ... ויעש הרע* *כאשר עשו בית אחאב* ...⁴³ and the negative evaluation for the Northern kings *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* followed a comparative evaluation with Jeroboam ("he clung to the sins of Jeroboam . . .").⁴⁴ The phrases of a redactor II (Josianic) are: the negative evaluation compared with David *כדוד אביו* . . . *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* . . .⁴⁵ and *ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה* . . . *ככל אשר עשה דוד אביו*⁴⁶ for the Southern kings; the evaluations for kings of both kingdoms *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* followed by the phrases "walking in the way of his forefathers, causing people to sin and provoking the Lord to anger."⁴⁷ Weippert's third redactor is identical to that of Nelson's exilic redaction (see above).

2.1.1.5. Three Exilic Redactions

(1) Rudolf Smend

R. Smend claimed that the *dtr* editorial work (*DtrH*) did not take place at one time, but its original concepts underwent expansions and corrections.⁴⁸ Smend designated as *DtrN* the deuteronomist who added his interest in law, composed early in the exilic era.⁴⁹ This nomistic addition was developed through more than one stage (*DtrN*¹),⁵⁰ e.g., the two divine speeches to Joshua in Josh 1:7-9 are expanded by *DtrN*. He saw a break between vv. 6 and 7, because the clause introduced with *רק* and strengthened with *מאד* in v. 7 repeats and determines in detail v. 6 instead of

⁴⁰ Helga Weippert, "Die "deuteronomistischen" Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion," *Bib* 53 (1972), 301-339.

⁴¹ 1 Ki 3:2 ff.; 22:43 ff.; 2 Ki:12:3 ff.; 14:3 ff.; 15:3 ff.: 15:34 ff.; 16:2b, 4; in some cases from these passages, the phrase is slightly modified and see the table, *ibid*, 308.

⁴² 1 Ki 3:3; 22:43; 2 Ki 12:3 (Eng. v. 2); 14:3; 15:3; 15:34; 16:2b, *ibid*, 308.

⁴³ 2 Ki 8:18, 27 (*ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* omitted), *ibid.*, 309.

⁴⁴ 2 Ki 3:2a,3; 10:29; 10:31; 13:2, 6, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:22, *ibid*, 309.

⁴⁵ 1 Ki 11:33, 38; 14:8 and... *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה ולא סר מכל אשר צוהו* (1 Ki 15:5, 11), *ibid.*, 324.

⁴⁶ 2 Ki 18:3; 22:2, *ibid*.

⁴⁷ These three phrases do not occur together, 1 Ki 14:16, 22; 15:3, 26, 30, 34; 16:2, 13, 19, 25 ff., 30 ff.; 21:22, 53 ff.; 2 Ki 21:2, 15, 16 ff., 20 ff, *ibid*, 325-27.

⁴⁸ Rudolf Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, 114.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 115.

substantiating it. V. 8 varies from the instruction in v. 7 and extends it. Finally v. 9 retraces v. 6.⁵¹ Smend stated that v. 6 commands Joshua to have courage before taking the Promised Land; the reason is a promise that this plan will succeed. On the other hand, v. 7 gives a general instruction to act according to the commands given to Moses and not to depart from them; this will result in Joshua's success in all his ways.⁵² So he considered 1:7-9 as a late interpreting addition. Another example Smend attributed to the nomistic dtr redaction is Josh 23 because the future dispossession of the remaining nations (23:4 ff. (cf. 13:6) depended on obedience to the law (23:6 (cf. 1:7 ff.)). He continued: "das Ziel is natürlich auch hier nicht nur die Deutung und Ableitung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes, sondern ebenso und noch mehr der Aufruf zu einem Verhalten, das die Vollendung der Katastrophe vielleicht noch abwenden kann."⁵³

(2) Walter Dietrich

Following Smend, W. Dietrich recognized an exilic prophetic composition in DtrH, which he designated as DtrP.⁵⁴ Dietrich found in DtrP a basic schema of accusation and announcement (*Ankündigung-Begründung*) or reverse order.⁵⁵ The themes of DtrP are: the announcements of judgment against the dynasties of the Northern kingdom (1 Ki 14:7-11; 16:1-4; 21:19b, 20bβ-24; 2 Ki 9:7-10a) and the Southern kingdom (2 Ki 22:16 ff.; 2 Ki 21:10-15), the designation of Jeroboam I (1 Ki 11:29 ff.), the promise to the penitent kings (1 Ki 21:27-29; 2 Ki 22:18-20), the

⁵¹ Rudolf Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker," in *Problem biblischer Theologie*, 494.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 495.

⁵³ "Das Gesetz und die Völker," 503.

⁵⁴ Dietrich's view is, in turn, taken up by Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, 134, 122. Following Smend and Dietrich, Timo Veijola saw three redactors in the David-pericope. In his monograph *Die ewige Dynastie*, Veijola claimed that Dtr portrayed David as a perfect, righteous and pious king and attributed the unconditional promise of the lasting Davidic dynasty to DtrG (the main redaction) (130). Yet DtrP profaned David: his sin, his confession (2 Sam 10a, 12-13a; 24:10b, 17), the announcement of punishment (2 Sam 24:11b-13) and a partial forgiveness (2 Sam 12:13b, 14; 24:18 ff.). He continued: "Dabei wird auch deutlich, dass DtrP den Lauf der Geschichte stärker als DtrG schematiert hat: Menschliche Sünde und göttliche Strafe korrespondieren einander aufs genaueste, und zwischen beiden mediatisiert der Prophet" (*ibid.*, 140). Veijola ascribed the conditionality of the Davidic promise to DtrN: "Was noch bei DtrG ohne Vorbedingung verheissen was, das wird jetzt von de Gesetzestreue abhängig gemacht (1 Sam 13:13-14; 1 Kön 2:3.4aβ; vgl. 1 Kön 8:25; 9:4-5)" (*ibid.*, 142). He continued that "Neu ist auch die Einbeziehung des Volkes Israel in den Wirkungsbereich der Davidverheissung: Wie die Dynastie, so soll auch Israel "für immer" das Volk Jahwes sein, für dessen Heil Jahwe letzten Endes in David gehandelt hatte (2 Sam 5:12b) (*ibid.*). Veijola's attribution of the positive portrait of David and the conditionality of the Davidic dynasty to two different redactors is problematic. See our assessment regarding Weinfeld's view about the Davidic dynasty and the Northern Kingdom (Part VI 4.6.2).

⁵⁵ Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 39.

notice of the fulfilment (of the announced judgement) and the reflection about the downfall of the Northern kingdom (2 Ki 17:21-23).⁵⁶ However, Dietrich's view cannot remain unchallenged. Although his view is slightly different from that of Weinfeld, the basic idea of the theme of accusation-announcement in their views is identical, as we shall see in Part VI 4.1 and 4.6.

2.1.1.6 The Prophetic Record and DtrH

(1) Antony F. Campbell

Contrary to Dietrich, Campbell⁵⁷ postulated the hypothesis of a late ninth-century Prophetic Document, which was written by northern prophetic redactors who were "inspired by Jehu's revolution and the violent attempt to eradicate the worship of Baal from Israel"⁵⁸ and gave theological interpretations to tradition. The first set of the Prophetic Document contains the anointing of Saul, David and Jehu (1 Sam 9:1-10:16; 16:1-13; 2 Ki 9:1-13). The second set presents "the prophet primarily in the role of kingmaker" and rejection: 1) the designation of Jeroboam and Jehu (1 Ki 11:31-39; 2 Ki 9:6-10) and the rejection of Jeroboam and Ahab (1 Ki 14; 1 Ki 21:17-24).⁵⁹ The third set points "to interrelationships between the two first two sets and to their links with the wider context of the intervening narrative."⁶⁰ It is "the interpretative hand of the prophetic redactors."

This hypothesis then assumes secondary developments. Campbell divided these documents into two groups of texts: the evaluations of the Northern kings down to the downfall of the Northern kingdom (722 B.C., texts i) and the evaluations of the Southern kings from the schism of the monarchy to Hezekiah's reform

⁵⁶ Dietrich attributes vv. 7-11 to DtrH and vv. 13-15 to DtrN; the characteristics of the latter are nomistic language, admonition of the law (*Gesetzesparänese*) and concentration on Juda, Jerusalem, Davidic descendants and temple, *ibid.*, 44.

⁵⁷ According to Campbell, there are some flaws in Dietrich's procedure of literary criticism: 1) A failure to pay attention to "the observation of an older level in a text, or the recovery of a *Vorlage*" - so he disregarded "the possibility of an older core (or *Vorlage*) in these other prophetic speeches;" 2) The schema of the prophetic speeches "is far too broad a criterion to be used for unity of authorship;" 3) A lack of arguments for the question of unity [of the prophetic speeches]; thus Campbell reassesses the language of DtrP in Dietrich's study (1 Ki 11:19ff.; 14:7-11; 21:19b-24; 2 Ki 9:7-10a) and dates it as pre-exilic, Antony F. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings*, 7-10 and see further Campbell's criticism about the lack of summary of the language of DtrN and DtrP in Dietrich's study, *ibid.*, 11-12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 25-39.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

and Jerusalem's deliverance (701 B.C., texts ii).⁶¹ To sum up, the Prophetic Record of the late ninth century B.C. together with its two successively developed documents (till 701 B.C.) provided the basis for Dtr(s) to write Israel's history. DtrH started at some point after 701 B.C. and continued into the exile.

(2) Mark A. O'Brien

Following Campbell,⁶² M. A. O'Brien elaborated the redactional history of the DtrH. O'Brien presented three redactions and a last stage of collection in DtrH. The work of DtrH is done by a Josianic dtr whose purpose was "to promote the deuteronomic reform."⁶³ Then two exilic redactions followed successively: the second stage redaction is adopted from DtrH⁶⁴ and the third stage is the nomistic redaction.⁶⁵ There were also further developments for the collection of seven prayers in 1 Ki 8:31-51 with the purpose of meeting "the situation of the early post-exilic period."⁶⁶ Following Campbell, Cross, Nelson, Smend, Dietrich, O'Brien presents a collection of dtr theories along with his own view (the fourth stage of collection), and consequently Israel's history, in his view, is much more fragmentary than in those of other dtr theories.

2.2.1.7 Form-Historical Approach

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 139-202, 207; Campbell stated: "The northern expansion of the Prophetic Record focused on one specific factor: the transgression of Jeroboam, which affected the worshipping life of the nation, and led to its downfall (722 B.C.) . . . The southern document takes up this idea and applies it to the issue of worship at the high places: such a practice is asserted to have had an increasingly deleterious effect on Judah's national life. On the other hand, on the positive side, the elimination of the practice is likened to the marvelous deliverance from the menace of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. Through these three documents, the climate was created within which the Deuteronomist could make a momentous step. DTR turned from moments or periods in the national life to the whole history of Israel in Canaan" (*ibid.*, 204).

⁶² O'Brien stated: "The validity of the Prophetic Record hypothesis is further enhanced by the way it enables one to account for the subsequent growth of the text. . . . On a more general level however one can readily see that it provides a very plausible explanation for DTR's interest in the relationship between prophets and kings, and why the third period of the history was organized in a way that would demonstrate the importance of this relationship. It also helps to explain why DTR composed the history as a story of Israel's leader in which the prophets function in a manner analogous to that of Moses. DTR was able to use the Record's portrayal of prophetic authority to validate the interpretation of the monarchy according to the deuteronomic program laid by Moses," *A Reassessment*, 104.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁴ The prophecy-fulfilment schema adopted from DtrH is to be attributed to the second stage of the deuteronomic exilic redaction: e.g., the length of Jehu's dynasty (2 Ki 10:30 and 15:12); the destruction of Jerusalem because of Manasseh's sin (2 Ki 21:12-14 and 24:2); Ahab's bloody death (1 Ki 21:19b and 22:38b), *Ibid.*, 275-76.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 280 ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 283-84.

C. Westermann vigorously contested Noth's deuteronomistic theory. His criteria are twofold: 1) Noth and his disciples disregarded the oral traditions in Joshua-Kings; 2) they did not distinguish the events (*Geschehende*) and their interpretations.⁶⁷ For him, only historical reports (*Geschichtsberichte*) are facts which constitute historical books (*Geschichtsbücher*).⁶⁸ Westermann rejected the interpretation (*Deutung*) as a part of history.⁶⁹ He claimed that the layer of interpretation (*Deuteschicht*) was created by the dtr school in the Exile and after: the first stage related to the knowledge (*Erkenntnis*) that Israel was responsible for the downfall, the second to the interpretation of the past history (*zurückliegende Geschichte*).⁷⁰

Almost the entire book of Joshua is, according to Westermann, determined by the interpretation. He considered the speech of Jahweh to Joshua (1:1-9) and Joshua to the people (10-18) as "deutende Umschreibung eines Intinerarsatzes des Aufbruchs."⁷¹ The speeches in Joshua including (22), 23, and 24 are theological interpretations.⁷² Westermann concluded Joshua must have originated independently, but not as a part of a historical work.⁷³ Then, according to Westermann's view, Joshua is post-exilic, and unhistorical because of the presence of divine intervention which has no place in history. Westermann's first theory is mostly seen in Judges. The Judges-pericope in 3:7-12:7 is woven together with the story of individual judges, and was preserved in oral traditions, and interpretation (e.g, 3:12-15, 4:1-3, etc).⁷⁴ Because of the different characteristics of Joshua and Judges these books originated independently.⁷⁵ 1 & 2 Samuel consist of stories which originated from

⁶⁷ "Man kann the Texte der Geschichtsbücher nur erklären, wenn man von vornherein die einfache Darstellung von Geschehendem von der Deutung unterscheidet, und zwar der theologischen Deutung von Geschehendem," *Die Geschichtsbücher*, 17-18.

⁶⁸ See further *ibid.*, 90.

⁶⁹ "Sie [Deutung] entstammte einer nach dem Ende des Staates entstandenen theologischen Reflexion, die fremde Maßstäbe an die Texte heranbrachte, einer nicht mehr geschichtlich denkenden Reflexion. Das so entstandene Ganze kann man dann nicht als Geschichtswerk bezeichnen," *ibid*, 98.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 99-101.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 46, 56.

⁷⁵ The differences between Joshua and Judges are: "Im Buch der Richter kommen lebendige Menschen vor, im Josuabuch ist der Mann Joshua nur Instrument des Handelns Jahwehs, keines selbstständige Persönlichkeit;" the other aspect is, "Das Richterbuch ist reich an ursprünglichen Formen, das Josuabuch sehr arm, dagegen Geschichtsdeutung," and the interpretation texts (*Deutungstexte*) of both books differ. So he concludes that these two books originated independently, *ibid*, 55.

the oral stage of tradition.⁷⁶ Already the transition to the kingdom in 1 Sam 8 does not start with the historical report (*Geschichtsbericht*), but with an interpretation in speech (*Deutung in Reden*).⁷⁷ Westermann did not consider the two great stories (conflict of Saul-David, 1 Sam 18-31; David's rise, 2 Sam 1 and the quarrel within David's household, 2 Sam 13-19), which constitute a considerable part of the two books, to be historical reports,⁷⁸ but "schöne Literatur."⁷⁹ So for him, 1 & 2 Samuel are not historical works. On the other hand, Westermann considers only 1 Ki 12-2 Ki 25 a historical work, since the dominant form is the historical report.⁸⁰ To sum up, because of the different origins of individual books and the lack of historical facts, apart from those in Kings, Joshua-Samuel are not a historical work. Therefore, Westermann rejects the view of a coherent historical work in Joshua-2 Kings.

2.2.1.8 Evaluation

We firstly assess scholarly views within the limits of the Biblical texts.

Von Rad's suggestion is one-sided, since the schema of prophecy-fulfilment cannot be detached from the kings' disloyal acts: that schema refers to the effect, the disloyalty of kings to the cause. Thus, these two aspects run throughout Kings (see further Part VI 4.1).

Wolff saw hope in Israel's history to a certain extent, but he failed to recognize that repentance always relates to Yahweh's mercy (e.g., Ahab) and forgiveness (e.g., Judges, David) in Israel's history. Therefore, Joshua-Kings could have awakened a hope for restoration among exiles (cf. Cross below).

Cross' attempt to see Kings only in the light of fidelity, sin and cultic themes is one-sided. There are other themes related to sin and "cultic" activities of kings, e.g, Yahweh's approval of Jehu's kingship because of Ahab's apostasy, etc. Furthermore, the report of Manasseh's idolatry, which is the climax of the Judean kings' apostasy and eventually resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem, is not necessarily from an exilic editor.⁸¹ Recalling Yahweh's promise (7b-8) of his protection for Israel in the Promised land is primarily an appeal to Manasseh and his people to

⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 83.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 57, 65.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁸¹ See further J. G. McConville's critique of Cross' view regarding the Manasseh-pericope, "Narrative and Meaning in the Books of Kings," *Bib* 70 (1989), 45-46.

repent (cf. v.9). Thereupon, Yahweh's judgment follows (10-15). Jerusalem's destruction includes the destruction of Manasseh's dynasty, the punishment for his sin. This punishment, in turn, would affect the people. Furthermore, not all evil kings received a personal punishment for their sin, for example, Ahaz (2 Ki 16), and other prophets in the Book of Kings are anonymous (as 1 Ki 13:1-3). In the Manasseh-pericope, Yahweh sent more than one prophet (2 Ki 21:10) to proclaim judgment. Since this pericope is not a chronicle, but summarizes the events in Manasseh's reign, the omission of the prophet's name does not support the idea of an exilic deuteronomistic edition.

Turning to Nelson, his view about the Davidic promise is not persuasive. The common theme in the three passages in 1 Kings (2:4; 8:25; 9:4-5) is Yahweh's promise of a lasting dynasty, attached to the condition of loyalty, to all David's descendants. Consequently, it is also valid for Solomon. The differences are: in 1 Ki 2-4 David emphasizes the importance of Solomon's loyalty to maintain Yahweh's promise; in 1 Ki 8:25 Solomon requests Yahweh to keep his promise; in 1 Ki 9:4-5 Yahweh replies to Solomon with a condition, namely that he will establish a firm dynasty if Solomon remains loyal. This is followed by another condition that if Solomon and his sons become disloyal, they will suffer the consequences (6-9). Therefore, the promise of a lasting dynasty and its conditional basis are inseparable.

Nelson's argument for the evaluation formulae is unsatisfactory. A common evaluation formula "... did evil in the eyes of the Lord" applied to the last four kings occurs in the "earlier verdicts" on both Northern and Southern kings (see further Part IV 2.1.10.2).⁸² The short form of the formula "just as his father had done" also occurs in the earlier evaluation formulae.⁸³ That is to say, the short evaluation formulae for the last kings of Judah in comparison to earlier, longer formulae do not necessarily indicate the style of Dtr². If we suppose that those kings only followed their predecessors, or because of their short reigns - Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin only reigned for three months each - there would have been nothing more to add to the stereotyped formulae of evaluation. In addition, a stock-phrase is not unique to the Bible (see further our assessment of Weippert's view below).

Turning to Smend, his view about Josh 1:6-7 is not conclusive. As a matter of fact, 1:6 presents Joshua's task, whereas 1:7 explains how he should carry out his task, since the successful conquest of the Promised Land depends on Joshua's

⁸² Nelson only saw part of the phrase, namely "in the eyes of Yahweh" as typical in the earlier verdicts, *ibid*, 38.

⁸³ *Ibid*.

loyalty to Yahweh. Contrary to Smend, v. 7. is a specific command which enables Joshua to perform his task. In addition, Moses was Yahweh's representative; thus, keeping Moses' commandments means keeping those of Yahweh.⁸⁴ Therefore, v. 6 and v. 7 belong together.

Smend's interpretation of Josh 23 for the exilic situation is far-fetched. Josh 23 deals with the dispossession of nations from the Promised Land on condition of Israel's obedience to the law; here, Israel was promised that it would take over the land. Now, the exiled Israelites were in the land of their enemy. If Josh 23 is concerned with Israel in exile, then the condition for Israel to possess the enemy's land would be obedience and there is no promise to this effect. Added to that, the Bible nowhere says, Israel would permanently live in its land of exile. If a concern of "DtrN" was Israel's obedience to the law to turn away the disaster, as Smend said, it would have been much more sensible for "DtrN" to address the deportees directly asking for repentance. In the light of this analysis, Smend's interpretation about the nomistic dtr edition does not appear persuasive at all.

As Campbell recognized, 1 & 2 Kings give weight to the activity of prophets in the Northern kingdom. This fact led Campbell to take it as the centre of Israel's historiography. Campbell's hypothesis will stand or fall by the validity of Jehu's revolution as the basis of the prophetic record. Campbell cannot remain unchallenged. Jehu was anointed to punish Ahab's dynasty. This further resulted in reform of the religion in the Northern kingdom. Saul and David were, on the other hand, enthroned to rule the whole nation but not with the judgmental purpose for which Jehu was anointed. His view about "secondary development" is also unconvincing. There is no clue that the evaluations of the Northern kingdom influenced those of the Southern kingdom. In addition, no dynasty in the Northern kingdom lasted long in contrast to the Davidic dynasty. It is hard to accept that the author(s) could have taken examples from collapsing dynasties for his work (their works) about a lasting dynasty. Hezekiah in particular carried out his reform through loyalty to Yahweh, not by following the negative examples of the Northern kings. Campbell's understanding of Israel's history is punishment-centred.

As we have seen the orientation of scholarship on DtrH is twofold: one is centred on Yahweh's judgment, the other on Israel's obligations. By failing to bring these two aspects together, scholars have atomized the texts in Joshua-Kings, fragmenting Israel's history. An extreme view arises from the form-historical approach, namely individual books in Joshua-Kings are distinctive and have no linking thread.

⁸⁴ See further Part VI 4.6.1.

In this scholarly situation a new approach may bring in to harmony Yahweh's judgment and Israel's obligations and so unify Israel's history.

Comparing ancient Near Eastern texts makes the weaknesses of the standard approaches clear. In presenting Hoffmann's position, his view of Israel's relationship to Yahweh expressed in either obedience (reform) or disobedience (apostasy) is certainly visible throughout Joshua-Kings. However, in Hoffmann's view, Israel's relationship with Yahweh is fictitious, it was the *dtr* composition. However, a human relationship with a deity⁸⁵ and the concept of divine punishment are not unique in the Bible (cf. Part I 1), since they existed in the ancient Near East long before Israel entered the Promised Land. A question arises whether the concept behind the adverse judgments of Yahweh occurs in other Ancient Oriental curses. If so, it may help us to see the relationship between Israel and Yahweh in historical contexts as depicted in Joshua-Kings. Added to that, the cultic theme should not be treated in detachment from other themes running through Joshua-Kings, e.g., penitence (Wolff), the Davidic hope (Cross), etc. Attributing the schematic presentation of kings' activities to the exilic author is not necessary, as will be shown (see **Deuteronomic Summaries** in Part VI 4.3). Furthermore, retrospective and cross references are not unique to the *dtr* work. For example, in the Assyrian Annals, kings often mentioned that they had repaired the temples which their predecessor had built (e.g. RIMA II Tigl.I A.0.87.10 54-55 63-88; A.0.87.12 59 24-31). The principle of retrospective reference to a much earlier king occurs in Nabu-apla-iddina's tablet. There Nabu-apla-iddina (*ca.* 841-813 B.C.) claimed that he established the regular offerings to Šamaš which were discontinued in Kaššu-nādin-ahhi's time (1006-04 B.C.).⁸⁶ In the same tablet, Nabu-apla-iddina mentioned the destruction of Akkad by the Sutû, Aramean tribes, which happened in the 11th century B.C.⁸⁷ In another case, the reference goes back *ca.* 1250 years: Nabonidus stated in his inscription that he installed his daughter as priestess for Sîn and established an Egipar for his daughter, as Rîm-Sîn had built it for his sister Bêl-šame-šuklul the priestess of Ur.⁸⁸ Furthermore, a cross-reference between two kingdoms of Israel shared common the tradition. Sennacherib mentioned that he brought back a seal of Tukulti-Ninurta (*c.* 1260 B.C.) from Babylon, which had been taken away to

⁸⁵ Cf. Jeffrey J. Niehaus, "The Warrior and his God: The Covenant Foundation of History and Historiography," Faith Tradition & History, 299-312.

⁸⁶ King, BBS, 36, 121-22 i 20-28.

⁸⁷ W.G. Lambert, Review of Das Era-Epos. XII by F. Gössmann, AfO 18 (1957-58), 398

⁸⁸ F. M. Th. Böhl, "Die Tochter des Königs Nabonid," in Symbolae ad Iura Orientis Antiqui, 166 ii 1-15.

Babylon 600 years before.⁸⁹ Consequently, the retrospective and cross references in DtrH cannot be used to distinguish the dtr style, since those elements are common in ancient Near Eastern literature.

Weippert's view is problematic. The different styles do not necessarily indicate redactional layers. The phrases of the "redactor I" for the Southern kings give a general evaluation for their loyalty followed by their failures to eradicate the high places, or their failure is simply mentioned e.g., they were not like David or their fathers. For the Northern kings, the same principle is applied: a general evaluation for their disloyalty is followed by the general statements of failure. The principle of evaluation for the disloyal and loyal Southern kings in "redactor II" is identical to that of evaluation for the disloyal Northern kings in "redactor I." The phrases for kings of both kingdoms are elaborated by mentioning their deeds; that also corresponds to evaluation formulae of the loyal Southern kings with their neglected deeds in the "redactor I." In other words, some phrases are short and others more elaborate but without systematic distinction.

Weippert's criterion of varied phraseology can also be falsified by applying it to Assyrian texts. The same features occur in Assyrian annals. There, descriptions of loyal vassals rarely occur, since the annals concentrate on reporting the consequences of disloyalty from the suzerain's point of view. Nevertheless, the style of description about disloyal vassals is comparable to those in Weippert's examples. Beside the stock-phrases running throughout Assyrian annals (see Part III 1.10.1-2), individual annals contain different expressions for disloyal vassals. For example, in Tiglath-Pileser I's annals, we find: disloyal vassals are simply described as *lā māgiri* "unsubmissive" (i 89; ii 102),⁹⁰ which in parallel with *šapšute* "rebellious" in ii 68-9 and 89 expresses the status of the peoples who had broken treaties. A land which had broken a treaty is phrased as *ša bilta u madatta ana dāššur bēltya iklū* "which had withheld tribute and impost from the god Aššur, my lord" (i 90-91a);⁹¹ here, payment of tribute by vassals to their suzerain meant payment to Aššur. The behaviour of the rebellious lands (ii 89) is described as *ša bilassunu u madattašunu ušamsikūni* "which had abandoned tribute and tax" (ii 91-92).⁹² Since treaties were made before the gods, treaty breaking is described as being disobedient to the chief god of Assyria: *ša ana dāššur bēltya lā kanšu* "who [Sēni, king of the land Daiēni]

⁸⁹ D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958), 21.

⁹⁰ *RIMA* II A.O.87.1 14, 17.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 17.

had not been submissive to the god Aššur" (v 23).⁹³ In Weippert's terms, *the styles of four Assyrian redactors* are recognized.⁹⁴ But no Assyriologist would accept it. The point is: different phrases for the same matter do not indicate different redactors.⁹⁵

Turning to Westermann, his *a priori* assertion of oral transmission is hardly sustainable in the light of evidence from the ancient Near East. The preserved documents from the third millennium onwards indicate that anything from all spheres of life considered important for transmission to posterity was preserved in writing. In addition, before Israel entered the Promised Land, writing was common in the Levant. According to A. Millard, the alphabet was spread "throughout Canaan during the period between the eleventh and the fourteenth century B.C."⁹⁶ The Gezer Calendar of the 10th century is a further indication of the use of writing after Israel's settlement. Also internal Biblical references convey that "Deuteronomy expects a degree of literacy to permeate society," "the Israelites were to learn and teach the commands, always talk about them, and 'write them upon the doorposts of

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁹⁴ In Sargon's eighth campaign, against Urartu (Mayer, *MDOG* 115 (1983), 65-132), Weippert's method would conclude *numerous Assyrian redactors* were at work. A rebellious vassal is described with three phrases occurring in the same context: *la našer zikir dāššur d̄marduk*, "who did not keep the command of Ashur (and) Marduk" (line 92); *la pālihu māmit bēl bēlē*, "who did not fear the oath of the lord of the lords" (line 92); *d̄šamaš dikkugallu rabū ilāni zikiršu kabtu la našruma*, "who did not keep the solemn command of Shamash, the great judge of the gods" (line 94a). And each of those expressions *zikir dāššur d̄marduk*, *māmit bēl bēlē* and *d̄šamaš dikkugallu rabū ilāni zikiršu kabtu* stands *pars pro toto* for the treaty. Furthermore, the former and present deeds of that vassal are described *šattišam ana lā egē eteti <qu> usurtašu arki hiṭatešu mahrāte gullultu rabitu hepē māssu u šumqu[st] nišēšu ēpušma*, "each year, without interruption, he transgressed against his direction; after his previous sins he committed a serious crime, destroying his land (=Ullusunu) and overthrowing his people" (94b-5); here *usurtašu* "his instruction" as *pars pro toto* refers to the treaty.

In another instance, an expression of treaty breaking occurs in describing the main issue of the treaty from the suzerain's point of view: *aššu itē mursa māturartāiye . . . lā etiqa* "Because I did not step over the border of Ursa, the Urartean . . ." (line 123).

The plan to fight against the overlord implies treaty breaking: *itta ana mithuṣ tušāri libbašu ihšuhma suhhurti ummān d̄enlil aššur^{ki} ikappid lā tayār* "his heart desired to fight with me (in) the field and planned to repel the army of Enlil of Assyria mercilessly" (line 110).

Finally, a rebellious vassal is described in five different ways: *ēpiš anni u gillati* "he sinned" (line 309), *etiqa māmit ilāni* "he transgressed the oath (made before) the gods" (line 309), *lā kānišu bēlūt* "he did not submit to my lordship" (lines 309-310), *ša ina adē dāššur d̄šamaš d̄nabū d̄marduk ihṭūma* "who violated a pact (made in front of) Ashur, Shamash, Nabū (and) Marduk" (line 310), and *ibbalkitu itta* "he rebelled against me" (line 310). These examples convey that the diversity of phrases in kings' evaluations is not unique to the Bible.

⁹⁵ This comparison shows that all literary-critical analyses which use lexical criteria are unsuitable for the Old Testament materials which share the nature of Ancient Oriental literature.

⁹⁶ "The Canaanite Linear Alphabet," *Kadmos* 15 (1976), 135.

your house and upon your gates' (Deuteronomy 11:20, cf. 6:9).⁹⁷ Furthermore, there is no reason to dismiss the conflicts of Saul-David and David's household as stories, discarding their historicity. As a matter of fact, these two conflicts are about succession. The historical possibility of these narratives can be maintained in the light of ancient Near Eastern history. There, conflict over succession among members of the royal family is not unusual. For example, in the Assyrian King List, Enlil-nasir II (1430-25) ousted his brother from the throne and took over the kingship. The same conflict occurred in the 12th century, when Mutakkil-Nusku fought his brother and seized the throne.⁹⁸ In a Hittite treaty with Mittanni, Suppiluliuma I mentioned that a son of Tushratta, king of Mittanni, conspired with his subjects and killed his father.⁹⁹ An Aramaic inscription of the 8th century set up by king Barrakkab to honour his father Panammu, mentioned that a rebel killed the royal family but Panammu gained the throne with Assyrian aid.¹⁰⁰ So eradicating rivals among royal families was a common occurrence. This situation is also reflected in treaties, where vassals were obliged to protect the suzerain and crown prince, e.g., Sf III 9b-12¹⁰¹ and VTE 62-91.¹⁰² In addition, some references differ in the presentation of the conflicts about succession; here, they only demonstrate results. The Biblical narratives describe the procedure in detail, as Barrakkab gives details concerning the quarrel about succession. But the problem depicted in both groups of texts is identical. Although these ancient Near Eastern counterparts do not prove the historicity of the conflicts of Saul-David and David's sons, they show the situations they describe could arise, so there is no reason to dismiss them as stories. Another flaw in Westermann's view is the separation of interpretation from the event. History is not the narration of events in sequence. The historiographer presents selected events with their interpretation from a certain point of view.¹⁰³ For our purpose, we take an example from Assyrian history. In his annals, Tiglath-pileser I acknowledged the god Aššur together with the other gods as authors of his efficient campaigns and his superior power. This is a theological interpretation of

⁹⁷ A. Millard, "An Assessment of the Evidence for Writing," in Biblical Archaeology Today (1985), 308.

⁹⁸ Alan R. Millard, "Historiography," The Context of Scripture, 465.

⁹⁹ HDT, 40.

¹⁰⁰ SSI II, 78-79 1-3. See further A. Millard, "Israelite and Aramean History," in TB 41 (1990), 261-75.

¹⁰¹ Fitzmyer, Sefire, 136-39.

¹⁰² SAA II, 31-32.

¹⁰³ See further A. Millard, "Story, History, and Theology," in Faith Tradition & History, 37-64.

the success of military expeditions.¹⁰⁴ The same feature occurs in the Bible. E. Yamauchi stated: "only a part of the Bible is ostensibly historical. That which is historical is selective and is based on a sacred perspective. For example, the royal achievements of Solomon's reign do not obscure disappointment in his backsliding."¹⁰⁵ In addition, the phenomenon of theological interpretations of events relates to ancient Near Eastern and Hebrew world-views. The common concept in both world-views is of divine control behind the events,¹⁰⁶ whereas one of the differences between two views is that one is polytheistic (ancient Near East) and the other monotheistic (Hebrew).¹⁰⁷ In the light of ancient Near Eastern historiography, theological interpretations are not necessarily to be viewed as later additions to the events; they may be recorded simultaneously. There is therefore no reason to deny the same feature in Israel's history.

¹⁰⁴ In Hittite historiography, e.g., "Muršili invariably mentions the help of the gods whenever he reports a victory - it is almost a cliché," Hans G. Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," in History, Historiography and Interpretation, 34-35.

¹⁰⁵ Edwin Yamauchi, "The Current State of Old Testament Historiography," in Faith, Tradition & History, 4.

¹⁰⁶ See further Bertil Albrektson, History and The Gods.

¹⁰⁷ See further the differences of divine acts in history between the ancient Near East and Israel, W. G. Lambert, "History and the Gods: A Review Article," Or 39 (1970), 170-77.

2.2.2 Theories of Covenant

2.2.2.1 Covenant as a Theological Concept

J. Wellhausen considered that the concept of covenant originated as a theological response at the time when other nations became a threat to Israel in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. In this political crisis, the prophets, such as Elijah and Amos, made Israel's relation to Yahweh dependent "on condition, conditions of a moral character."¹ The nature of these conditions required by Yahweh "came to the very front in considering His relations with them."² That is to say, Yahweh's attitude towards Israel "entirely depended" on Israel's fulfilment of those conditions. "In this way arose, from ideas which easily suggested it, but yet as an entirely new thing, the substance of the notion of covenant or treaty." However, "the name, Berith", "does not occur in the old prophets, not even in Hosea,"³ To maintain this view, Wellhausen regarded the occurrence of Yahweh's *Berith* with Israel in Hos 8:1 as an interpolation.⁴ The theological idea of the covenant "as the contracting parties [between Yahweh and Israel] of the covenant by which the various representatives of the people had originally pledged each other to keep" "the Deuteronomic law" was the interpretation of *Berith* by the prophets.⁵ As a result of Josiah's reform, "the notion of covenant-making between Jehovah and Israel" became central "in religious thought."⁶ A nation-wide understanding of the covenant came after two national disasters. Wellhausen continued: "The Babylonian exile no doubt helped, as the Assyrian exile had previously done, to familiarize the Jewish mind with the idea that the covenant depended on conditions, and might pos-

¹ "Only when the existence of Israel had come to be threatened by the Syrians and Assyrians," Julius Wellhausen, Prolegomena to the History of Israel translated by J. S. Black and A. Menzies (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885), 417.

² *Ibid.*, 418.

³ *Ibid.*, 418.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* According to Wellhausen, "the ancient Hebrews had no other conception of law nor any other designation for it than that of a treaty. A law only obtained force by the fact of those to whom it was given binding themselves to keep it. So it is in Exod. xxiv. 3-8, and in 2 Kings xxiii. 1-3; so also in Jer. xxxiv. 8 seq." "This use of the Berit (*i.e.*, treaty) for law, fitted very well with the great idea of the prophets, and received from it in turn an interpretation, according to which the relation of Jehovah to Israel was conditioned by the demands of His righteousness, as set forth in His word and instruction. In this view of the matter Jehovah and Israel came to be regarded as the contracting parties of the covenant by which the various representatives of the people had originally pledged each other to keep, say, the Deuteronomic law," *ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 419.

sibly be dissolved."⁷ For Wellhausen, the covenant-concept is developed gradually and its full fledged theological development occurs in the Exile.

Wellhausen's view was taken up by L. Perlitt,⁸ whose view E. W. Nicholson developed.⁹ Perlitt also denied the occurrence of ברית in the prophets of the 8th century B.C. He considered the concept of covenant as the dtr theological interpretation about the pre-existing texts:

Das DtrG ist das Produkt der Sammlung, Gliederung und Deutung vorgegebener Quellen und Stoff. Die dtr Bundestheologie haftet nicht diesen Quellen, sondern deren Deutung an; sie ist also die theologische Leistung der dtr Verfasser in einem Jahrhundert, in dem Israel genötigt war, Geschichte mehr zu erleiden als zu gestalten. . . . Zu den Mitteln, mit deren Hilfe Geschichte *und* Gegenwart durchsichtig werden sollten, gehört also die bundestheologische Terminologie und Topik [Bund und Land; Bund und Fremdgötter; Bund und Gesetz (Bundesurkunde); Bund und Davidverheißung]; . . .¹⁰

For Perlitt, this covenant concept is a theological idea developed in the period of crisis under Manasseh.¹¹

Nicholson, on the other hand, considered the origin of the covenant to lie in the time of Hosea, the eighth century B.C. (*contra* Wellhausen and Perlitt).¹² So he avoided emending Hosea. He continued that "its [covenant] most intensive and expansive usage came with the Deuteronomic movement" from the late pre-exilic period on into the sixth century. So Wellhausen's thesis "that the covenant as a full-blown theological concept was a late arrival in Israel is substantially vindicated."¹³

2.2.2.2 Covenant in Form of Treaties

(1) Combined Approach

Some scholars combined ancient Near Eastern treaties with literary criticism in understanding of the Biblical covenant.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 419.

⁸ Lothar Perlitt, Bundestheologie im Alten Testament.

⁹ Ernest W. Nicholson, God and His People.

¹⁰ Perlitt, Bundestheologie, 30.

¹¹ "Die dt Bundestheologie ist ein Zentralmotiv der dt Bewegung und Literatur. Nicht in Zeiten der Blüte (etwa unter Jeroboam II., der das 8. Jh. prägte), sondern in Zeiten der Krise (etwa unter Manasse, der das 7. Jh. prägte) wuchs sie heran," *ibid.*, 279.

¹² Hillers also saw a gradual development of the covenant idea in Israel. By means of Israel's belief in the covenant relationship with Yahweh, said Hillers, "treaty-curses could have entered Israelite literature and survived there," Treaty-curses, 82. According to him, "at least by the beginning of literary prophecy, then, the Israelites believed themselves to be bound to Yahweh by covenant" (*ibid.*, 84). And "all will agree that the idea of a covenant between Israel and Yahweh is present in fully developed form by 621 B.C., the date of Josiah's reform," *ibid.*, 82.

¹³ Nicholson, God and His People, 188-91.

G. E. Mendenhall challenged scholars' views about the covenant arising from prophetic preaching in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. He asserted that the Mosaic covenant resembled the Hittite vassal treaties from the second half of the second millennium B.C.¹⁴ However, the Mosaic covenant broke down with the establishment of monarchy. He stated: "The stipulations of the covenant were not really relevant, for political organization and the monarchy were now the foundation of social obligation . . ." ¹⁵ He continued:

. . . in the time of David, the tradition of the covenant with Abraham became the pattern of a covenant between Yahweh and David, whereby Yahweh promised to maintain the Davidic line on the throne (II Sam 23:5). Yahweh bound himself, . . ., and therefore Israel could not escape responsibility to the king.¹⁶

For Mendenhall, the Davidic covenant replaced the Sinai covenant in the Southern kingdom,¹⁷ whereas "the original center [the Northern kingdom] of the old federation, . . ., evidently preserved far more the old Mosaic covenant tradition."¹⁸ "The old amphictyonic covenant"¹⁹ was rediscovered in Josiah's time bringing reform "when it was seen that the covenant provided for curses as well as blessings (II Kings 22:13)."²⁰ Then, "gradually in the years and centuries which followed," in the deuteronomic "theology history" "the traditions [the Sinai and Abrahamic covenants] of an original direct command of God were harmonized and merged with the fact that the monarchy had developed a customary law with an ultimately religious foundation giving it divine authority."²¹ He continued:

The necessity for a religious motivation for obedience to the laws of society was merged with the tradition of direct and immediate responsibility to divine command under covenant, and place was

¹⁴ In his recent entry "Covenant," in *ABD I* (written with G. Herion), following Weinfeld's view about VTE's influence on Deuteronomy, Mendenhall stated that "the Sinaitic tradition was reformulated more along the lines of the prevalent oath-taking procedure of the later period (reflected particularly in the increasing emphasis on curses)" (1187).

¹⁵ George E. Mendenhall, "Ancient Orient and Biblical Law" *BA Reader* vol. 3 (1970), 46-47, reprinted from *BA* 17 (1954), 50-76.

¹⁶ *BA Reader*, 47-48.

¹⁷ "The Davidic covenant became normative in Judah . . . The Mosaic legal tradition could hardly have been any more attractive to Solomon than it was to Paul," *ibid.*, 48.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ According to Mendenhall, the covenant of Josh 24 was a new covenant "which became the basis of the federation of tribes. There is no indication in Joshua 24 that it was a continuation of the Mosaic covenant, except in the historical prologue," *ibid.*, 43-44.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50. "It is here suggested that what was rediscovered was not old legislation, but the basic nature of the old amphictyonic covenant. It brought home to Josiah and the religious leadership that they had been living in a fool's paradise to assume that Yahweh had irrevocably committed himself to preserve the nation in the Davidic-Abrahamic covenant," *ibid.*, 50.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

made for the authority of political leadership while at the same time making the leadership responsible to religious tradition.²²

This creative adjustment furnished "the religious community with the "direct religious responsibility" which sustained it despite complete destruction.²³

D. J. McCarthy acknowledged the existence of pre-deuteronomic covenant texts (Ex 19:3b-8; Josh 24:1-28; 1 Sam 12). But he denied these covenant texts in terms of treaty form and considered them as "the products of theological reflection."²⁴ However, the covenant concept developed partially in these texts, claimed McCarthy, is developed completely by the influence of the treaty analogy.²⁵ Then, when was the treaty known to Israel? McCarthy knew clearly about a long tradition of treaties from the late third down to the first millennium in the Ancient Near East and its influence in Palestine long before Israel came into the Promised Land.²⁶ McCarthy also recognized that "there is at least some evidence that some of the covenants used to create or regulate relations with populations living with the Hebrews in Palestine were in proper treaty form," e.g., the case of the Gibeonites.²⁷ But he accepted the extant treaty-making only "from the time of David on."²⁸ McCarthy continued:

but perhaps even more important and certainly more immediate for the connection between Israel and the Mesopotamian legal tradition with its treaties was the influence of Assyria. . . . She had treaties with neighbors as near as Ashdod, Israel under the Omrids and after was an Assyrian vassal, and the kings of Judah served Assyria from Ahaz on. Without doubt Israel and Judah knew the Assyrian treaties because they were parties to them!²⁹

Yet the covenant in the treaty form is developed late in Israel's history when "political experience and theological reflection call upon the treaty to express some profound ideas about the people's relation to God."³⁰ So McCarthy claimed that Israel's relationship with Yahweh "according to the treaty genre is first articulated sometime after 700 B.C."³¹

²² *Ibid.*, 51.

²³ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁴ Treaty and Covenant rev. ed., 15, 206-76.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 286.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 287.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 289.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 287.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 290.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

Although McCarthy considered the treaty-genre as the form of covenant into account, his view about the gradual development is in line with W. Eichrodt.³²

M. Weinfeld claimed that "the author of Deuteronomy formulated the Covenant of the Plains of Moab on the pattern of political treaties [VTE] current in his own time which propagated the tradition of the Hittite treaty."³³ Weinfeld also saw a strong influence of treaty curses of the first millennium B.C on Dt 28.³⁴ For him, the form of Deuteronomy corresponds to "an oath of loyalty imposed by the suzerain on his vassals."³⁵ Based on his previous article "the Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East,"³⁶ Weinfeld argued that "such loyalty oaths were prevalent from the days of the Hittite Empire from the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries" onward.³⁷ In his article "the Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East,"³⁸ Weinfeld used four Hittite treaties (treaties between Tudhaliya II and Sunashshura, Suppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza, Mursili II and Niqmeqa and Tudhaliya IV and Shaushga-muwa) and the instructions for Hittite high officials.

(2) Historical Approach

However, scholars failed to see the Ancient Oriental context of Old Testament covenant from the geographical, historical and cultural point of view in its full extent. This scholarly failure was attacked by Kenneth A. Kitchen.

Kitchen emphasized the importance of setting Old Testament material "in the *full* context (in both in space and time) of *all* the related Ancient Oriental material that is available."³⁹ He pointed out that the features Biblical scholars use to distin-

³² ". . . the covenant-union between Yahweh and Israel is an original element in all sources, despite their being in part in very fragmentary form." He continued that Israel's loyalty to Yahweh, "a living interpretation of the covenant-relationship," was also in Deuteronomy of the seventh century B.C., Theology of the Old Testament I, 36, 50, 72.

³³ DDS, 60. He continued: "The Hittite model pervaded the old biblical tradition, which Deuteronomy used and reworked in accordance with the prevalent covenantal pattern reflected in the VTE," Deuteronomy 1-11, 9. So for him, both old Biblical materials and VTE preserved the pattern of Hittite treaties. Yet, for Weinfeld, the influence of VTE on Deuteronomy was decisive. Mendenhall and Herion arrived at the same conclusion (see above), "Covenant," 1187. Perlitt asserted the covenant theology of Israel appeared in *zeitlicher Koinzidenz* with the Assyrian treaty [VTE], Bundes Theologie, 283.

³⁴ "Although all the elements of the deuteronomic covenant are found in the Hittite treaty, one element at least points to the later neo-Assyrian and Aramean treaty pattern. The Hittite treaty has very short and generalized curses formulae, while Deuteronomy like the Assyrian treaties and the Sefire steles contains a series of elaborate curses," DDS, 67.

³⁵ Deuteronomy 1-11, 7.

³⁶ UF 8 (1976), 379-414.

³⁷ Deuteronomy 1-11, 7.

³⁸ UF 8 (1976), 379-414.

³⁹ Ancient Orient and Old Testament, 24.

guish sources are, in fact, characteristic of Ancient Oriental literature. For example, many of the criteria on which the documentary hypothesis rests, relating to lexical and stylistic elements along with doublets are in fact the common property of the ancient Near Eastern world.⁴⁰ Having compared the results from the analysis of more than forty treaties with the covenants reflected in Exodus-Leviticus, Deuteronomy and Josh 24,⁴¹ he concluded that the covenant form corresponds to those of the Hittite treaties of the late second millennium B.C. The covenants in Deuteronomy⁴² and Josh 24 are the renewal of the Sinai covenant. Furthermore, the covenant texts convey two distinctive elements which are lacking in treaties. First of all,⁴³

The Sinai Covenant has the closest expectable links with both third/early second millennium Laws and the late second millennium Treaties, the links varying directly with function. Of distinctive features, Prologue, Laws, Epilogue, and few Blessings/many Curses all go with Law; the historical component of Prologue, Deposit/Reading, Witnesses and a Curses/Blessings topos are all held in common with Treaty type III [late second millennium B.C.]. Thus, the form and content of the Sinai Covenant is beyond serious doubt a clear confluence of the much older Law tradition with the late-second-millennium treaty format . . .

Kitchen continued:

The Sovereign concerned is not simply a human 'great king', but Deity. Hence, in turn, the covenant possesses both moral and religious aspects not to be found in purely political state treaties. No service or tribute is requested here for the palace of a 'great king'. Instead, we have the Tabernacle instituted (Deity's audience room on earth with the people's representatives), and the rituals of the cult as service due to the divine Sovereign. Hence, the arrangements planned and executed in the latter part of the book of Exodus, and the rituals of Leviticus.⁴⁴

This distinctive element exists due to God's suzerainty of Israel. "The basic Sinai covenant and its two renewals" are to be dated in the 13th century B.C. (at the very

⁴⁰ See further *ibid.*, 112-29..

⁴¹ See the table in The Bible in its World, 82.

⁴² See "Ancient Orient, "Deuteronomism,"" in New Perspectives On The Old Testament, 1-24.

⁴³ Kitchen tabulated the elements, in "The Fall and Rise of Covenant, Law and Treaty," TB 40 (1989), 127:

Law	Sinai Covenant	Treaties (late second millennium B.C.)
1. Title/preamble	1. Title/preamble	1. Title/preamble
2. Prologue	2. Historical prologue	2. Historical prologue
3. Laws	3. Laws, regulations	3. Stipulations
4. Epilogue	4a/b. Deposit; Reading	4a/b. Deposit; Reading
	5. Witnesses	5. Witnesses
5a. Blessings (few)	6a. Blessings (few)	6b. Curses
5b. Curses (many)	6b. Curses (many)	6a. Blessings
		7. Epilogue

⁴⁴ The Bible, 84.

latest c. 1200 B.C.).⁴⁵ In addition, having explored the occurrence of the term *bērit* in Ancient Oriental literature, Kitchen stated that "by c. 1200 B.C., the covenant-concept" was "already over a millennium old", which "the use of *brt* itself" was "attested even in foreign languages up to 200 years earlier." "Moreover, Hebrew *brt/lt* ('bond/oath') for 'covenant' (Deut. 29:11, 13) is precisely paralleled semantically by the ubiquitous *riksu* (etc.) *māmītu* of the late-second millennium treaties."⁴⁶ Kitchen concluded: 1) "the concept of 'covenant' is not peculiar to Israel;" 2) *Bērit* is "neither specifically Hebrew nor specially 'Deuteronomic' - it is not even solely West-Semitic but basically part of Common Semitic."⁴⁷ In the light of Kitchen's analysis, views about the covenant-concept and the use of *Bērit* as the theological construct originated in the 9th-7th century are hard to maintain.⁴⁸

Secondly, the different nature of the covenant texts depends on the procedure of covenant-making. According to Kitchen, the nature of Exodus-Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Joshua 24 is "a record of the acts of giving and of renewing the covenant, but . . . *not* the actual, formal covenant-documents (and indeed, occasionally mentioning the writing-down of such documents, cf. Ex. 24:4, 7; Deut. 31:24; Josh 24:25, 26)."⁴⁹ Unfortunately, these distinctive elements of the covenant are usually overlooked, so the covenant in Ex-Lev and Josh 24 is not recognized.

The strength of this approach is that the covenant is treated primarily in its Ancient Oriental cultural and historical context without the imposition of modern literary expectations.

2.2.2.3 Evaluation

Wellhausen's view of the occurrence of *Bērit* in Hosea is flawed because of his emendation of the text in Hos 8:1. Furthermore, Wellhausen's and his followers' (including Hillers and McCarthy) "minimal" views about the covenant-concept originating due to political crisis brought about by Syria and Assyria in the first part of the first millennium B.C. cannot be maintained. As a matter of fact, the covenant-concept and its term (*Bērit*) share common ancient Near Eastern tradition extant from the third (the former) and the second part of the second (the latter) millennia B.C. onwards, according to Kitchen's view.

⁴⁵ The Bible, 83.

⁴⁶ K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt, Ugarit, Qatna and Covenant," UF 11 (1979), 463.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ See the view about the covenant as theological idea, Nicholson, God and his People, 83-117.

⁴⁹ The Bible, 83.

As to Mendenhall, although his contribution is the historical setting of the covenant in early Israel, two significant questions arise: 1) whether the Sinai covenant broke down with the establishment of monarchy; 2) whether it was replaced by the Davidic covenant in the Southern kingdom. Furthermore, Josh 24 need not be "a new covenant." In this chapter Joshua emphasizes Yahweh's benevolence and the significance of Israel's loyalty, which are basic to the Mosaic covenant. In fact, Josh 24 presents a record of covenant-renewal (see Kitchen above).

Turning to Weinfeld, his study about the ancient Near Eastern documents is unsatisfactory. In the first treaty he cited, Tudhaliya II assured his vassal of his support, e.g., "if some land begins war against Sunashshura, that land is covered by His Majesty's oath. Sunashshura will request military assistance from His Majesty, and His Majesty must provide it to him."⁵⁰ In the second treaty, Suppiluliuma I said: "as someone is the enemy of the land of Mittanni, [he shall be] the enemy [of Hatti]."⁵¹ In other words, if an enemy invaded Mittani, Suppiluliuma would come to his aid.⁵² In the third treaty, Mursili II obliged himself to support Niqmepa.⁵³ The latter part of the fourth treaty is fragmentary. So we cannot tell whether it contained the self-obligation of the Hittite king or not.⁵⁴ At any rate, these three Hittite treaties are not merely loyalty oaths (see Part III 1.0). The suzerain and the vassal were mutually obliged to support each other in political crises. The lack of the suzerain's promise to his vassals in VTE does not necessarily indicate that VTE is loyalty oaths. This lack may be an important element of vassal treaties in the first millennium B.C. The fact that in some cases the phrase the gods are invoked to destroy the one who transgressed the instructions in the *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen* shows similarity to vassal treaties,⁵⁵ in which the treaty-gods are invoked to punish treaty-breakers. This similarity originated from the similar situation, namely Hittite high officials and vassals should remain loyal to the Hittite kings (see Part III 1.0 fn. 8). But these documents are two different genres, since *Hethitische*

⁵⁰ *HDT*, no. 2, 17 §31.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, no. 6a, 41 §8.

⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, no. 2, 17 §25.

⁵³ "And if someone oppresses(?) you, . . . , and [you send] to the King [of Hatti : "Come to my aid]," then the King [will come] to [your aid]. He will send [either a prince or a high-ranking nobleman, together with infantry and chariotry, and they will defeat that] enemy [for you]," *HDT*, no. 9, 61 §4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 17, 101.

⁵⁵ In another Hittite instruction high officials invoked curses upon themselves for the transgression of the instruction, E. von Schuler, "Die Würenträgereide des Arnuwanda," *Or* 25 (1956), 229-31.

Dienstanweisungen do not have elements of vassal treaties, such as the Hittite kings' promises to support vassals if necessary. In addition, the gods are not witnesses to the establishment of the instructions, as in the case of vassal treaties.⁵⁶ In the light of this analysis, Weinfeld's arguments about "loyalty oaths" are not persuasive at all (see further Part III 1.0 fn. 10).

To sum up, although scholars have attempted to understand Israel's covenant history in the ancient Near Eastern context, they did not, in fact, get beyond Wellhausen's view. Scholars disregarded the historical, cultural context of the Old Testament material (Wellhausen's followers), or theological bias became an obstacle to seeing the material in its original context (Mendenhall and McCarthy), or they used the ancient Near Eastern material inadequately (Weinfeld). To treat the Bible like other ancient Near Eastern literature is vital because of its historical context in the ancient Near East, as Kitchen demonstrated.

⁵⁶ Cf. Einar von Schuler, Hethitische Dienstanweisungen, 3. See divine witness in Hittite vassal treaties, HDT and in Neo-Assyrian treaties, AM vi 6-26 and VTE 13-40.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In our project we employ a "contextual approach." This approach treats the Old Testament materials in their ancient contexts. The contextual approach deals equally with the common aspects and contrasts between the Biblical materials and the ancient Near Eastern materials.¹ W. W. Hallo defined the goal of the contextual approach:

It is not to find the key to every biblical phenomenon in some ancient Near Eastern precedent, but rather to silhouette the biblical text against its wider literary and cultural environment and thus to arrive at a proper assessment of the extent to which the biblical evidence reflects that environment or, on the contrary, is distinctive and innovative over against it.²

The procedure we use to reach this goal, is to explore ancient Near Eastern curse materials to provide a basis for comparison with the Biblical texts.³

3.1 The Covenant-Curses in Ancient Near Eastern Contexts

As we have seen, it is a widespread view in Old Testament studies that the covenant concept originated as part of a theological idea in the 7th century B.C.. Accordingly, the covenant-curses are considered as a theological reflection to explain two national disasters of Israel, gradually expanded (esp. Dt 28). In addition to this idea the assumption that VTE influenced Dt 28 is commonly accepted (see Part VI 1). To comprehend the covenant-curses in ancient contexts, we first explore the antecedents of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses in Sumero-Babylonian soil, for Assyrian culture is a continuum of Sumero-Babylonian culture. That will, in turn, provide us with analogies for a better understanding of the Biblical covenant-curses. To reach our goal, we take four steps.

Firstly, we explore the role of curses in ancient Near Eastern inscriptions. That will help us to see whether there are cases of the retrospective use of curses or not. The result will be employed to assess views about the retrospective use of covenant-curses as a theological product to describe two national disasters of Israel.

Secondly, we seek the roots of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses as far back as possible through available materials. Then we explore curses which are unique to Neo-Assyrian literature. This study will help us to see common and unique traditions in

¹ William W. Hallo, "Compare and Contrast: The Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature," in The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature, 4.

² *ibid.*, 3.

³ See further on the validity and benefits of the comparative approach, Longman, Fictional Akkadian Autobiography, 30-36.

Neo-Assyrian curses. Thereafter we compare West-Semitic curses, apart from the Biblical covenant-curses, with Sumero-Akkadian curses. This study will explore West-Semitic curses: 1) in the light of Sumero-Akkadian literature; 2) in the light of common environment. It will, in turn, reveal curses unique to West-Semitic inscriptions. To reach our goal, we follow the pattern of ancient Near Eastern literature. There no single curses are literally repeated, with a few exceptions, indicating that the ancient scribes freely composed curses utilizing transmitted traditions. Thus, it is the concepts of the curses which we compare. The results of this study will provide a basis for the further comparison of Babylonian curses, VTE and Biblical covenant-curses which we shall undertake in Part V.

Thirdly, we employ the same conceptual approach applied to Sumero-Akkadian and West-Semitic curses for the comparison of two sets of Biblical covenant-curses (Lev 26 and Dt 28) to assess whether or not there were different traditions behind them.

Fourthly, we compare the sequences of Biblical covenant-curses (Dt 28) with Akkadian curses in Part V. Here, we select the lengthy lists of curses in one of the boundary stones and VTE. This study will enable us to comprehend the structure of curses in Dt 28 and also evaluate whether the widespread views about the influence of VTE on Dt 28 and the growth of the covenant-curses (Dt 28) are justifiable. Furthermore, to understand the sequential differences in our comparison, we explore couplings of curses in the light of other ancient Near Eastern curses to clarify whether there were common traditions behind curses common to two or three texts and curses only occurring in individual texts, respectively. The results will contribute to our understanding of the Biblical covenant-curses in terms of structure and contents.

Since covenant-curses are an integral part of the covenant, in our analysis, we explore the role and the function of covenant-curses in the concept of covenant, which occurs in Israel's history from the Joshua to 2 Kings.

3.2 The Concept of Vassalship in Ancient Near Eastern Contexts

As our review shows, the origin of Israel's account of her history (Joshua-Kings) is commonly attributed to the 7th century B.C. onwards. In this study we compare Joshua-Kings with the Assyrian annals from Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.) onwards. These two groups of texts are not formal treaty and covenant documents, but present the history of relationships between suzerains and vassals. In our

analysis, we adopt the elements of relationship between Hittite kings and their subjects presented by V. Korošec:⁴

1) The benevolence of the suzerain in the Assyrian annals corresponds to the historical prologue of a treaty in our analysis; the suzerain's benevolence includes not only past benefactions, but also his forgiveness for penitent vassals in the course of military campaigns, which was a basis for renewal of the treaty, to promote their future loyalty, whereas the historical prologue refers to the past benefactions by the suzerain as "a basis for the vassal's gratitude and future obedience."⁵

2) The suzerain's reinforcement of the vassals' loyalty.

3) The suzerain's obligations - he obliged himself to protect vassals. According to Korošec, "das Wesen der hethitischen Vasallität macht das gegenseitige Schutzverhältnis aus. Daher ist auch der Großkönig verpflichtet, dem Vasallen nach außen und nach innen hin seinen Schutz zu gewähren."⁶ The protection given by the suzerain sometimes included food supplies when vassals were in need.

4) The obligations of vassals.

5) The validity of a vassal treaty with the people; this element refers to curses in a treaty and is indicated in the suzerain's military expeditions against disloyal vassals, when not only vassal kings but also their people were punished.

6) The purpose of the suzerain's disciplinary measures; these are lawful acts, when a breach of treaty occurred.

7) The theocentric features of disciplinary measures; this element related to the sanctions of a vassal treaty, which was established in the names of deities, and thus, the suzerain's military campaign against disloyal vassals was theocentric.

8) The sanction of the vassal treaty.

9) The duration of the vassal treaty.

10) The language of the vassal treaty.

11) The deposit of the treaty: this aspect does not occur in the Assyrian annals because of their nature.

12) Divine witnesses implicitly occur in phrases of treaty-making, which are sometimes omitted.

We, firstly, employ these aspects of the concept of vassalship to analyse the Assyrian kings' annals, examining the concept of vassalship and the execution of treaty-curses. Although a few vassal treaties from the ninth century B.C. onwards

⁴ Hethitische Staatsverträge, 65-107.

⁵ Kitchen, Ancient Orient, 92-93.

⁶ Korošec, Hethitische Verträge, 89.

have been recovered, with only one complete (VTE), Assyriologists believe that Assyrian kings established vassal treaties with weaker kings from the second millennium B.C. onwards. A. Kirk Grayson stated:

The idea of gaining influence over a state through a treaty goes back to the very beginnings of the Assyrian Empire in the second millennium. In the early days treaties were oral statements sworn to by a series of oaths of which no written record was kept, other than in royal inscriptions and chronicles. Gradually the idea arose to write down the terms of these agreements, and thus formal treaties evolved.⁷

Moreover, traces of the same practice can be seen in Sumerian texts. To settle the border quarrel, Eannatum, king of Lagash, made a treaty with the leader of Umma (r.v):

. . . , when he opposes or contests the agreement, whenever he violates this agreement, may Ninki, by whom he has sworn, have snakes from the ground bite Umma's feet! . . .⁸

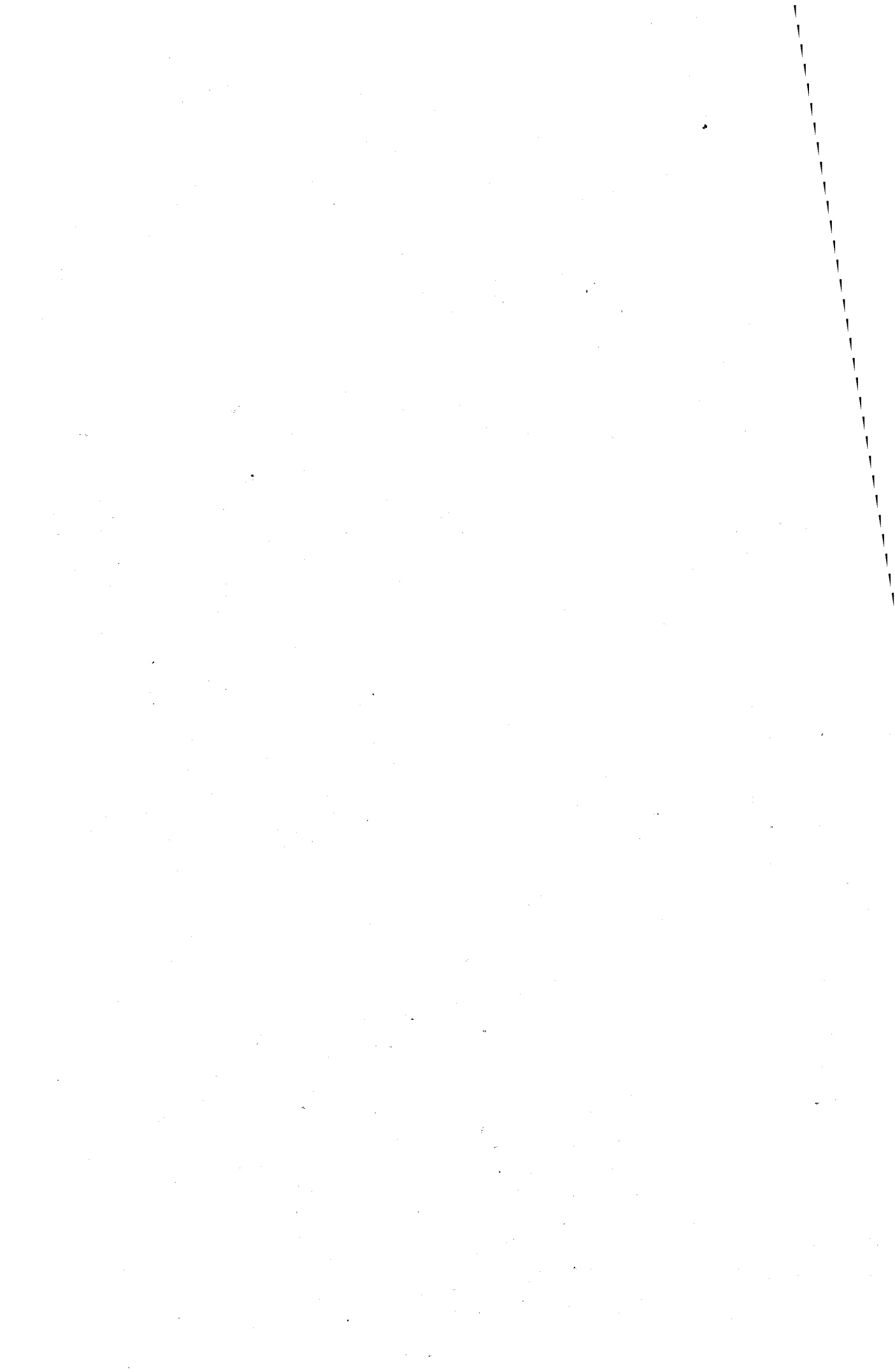
The Assyrian annals from Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurbanipal reflect the execution of treaty-curses. These are analysed and then compared with Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses. This study will re-assess the existence of the concept of vassalship in Assyrian history prior to the 9th century B.C.

Secondly, we apply the same method utilized in Assyrian annals to Biblical historical books (Joshua-Kings). This method is justifiable, because: (1) they both record events which occurred in a relationship between suzerain and vassals; (2) they both have a strong religious element, that is, the Assyrian kings acted in the names of their gods, and leaders, kings in the Hebrew books in the name of Yahweh; (3) the span of time the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books cover is almost the same.

The Assyrian kings treated their rebellious vassals according to pre-existing treaties. Accordingly, we explore the execution of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses in the relationship between the Assyrian kings and their vassals. We apply the same principle in Joshua-Kings to distinguish Yahweh's relationship with Israel in the case of her disloyalty in the light of the supposedly pre-existing Deuteronomy. Thereupon, we compare the results from the analyses of the Assyrian annals with those from Joshua-Kings to see the common and the unique aspects. The results will help us to re-assess our premise about the covenant concept in Joshua-Kings. Moreover, with our analyses of Joshua-Kings we hope to present an alternative to dtv theories.

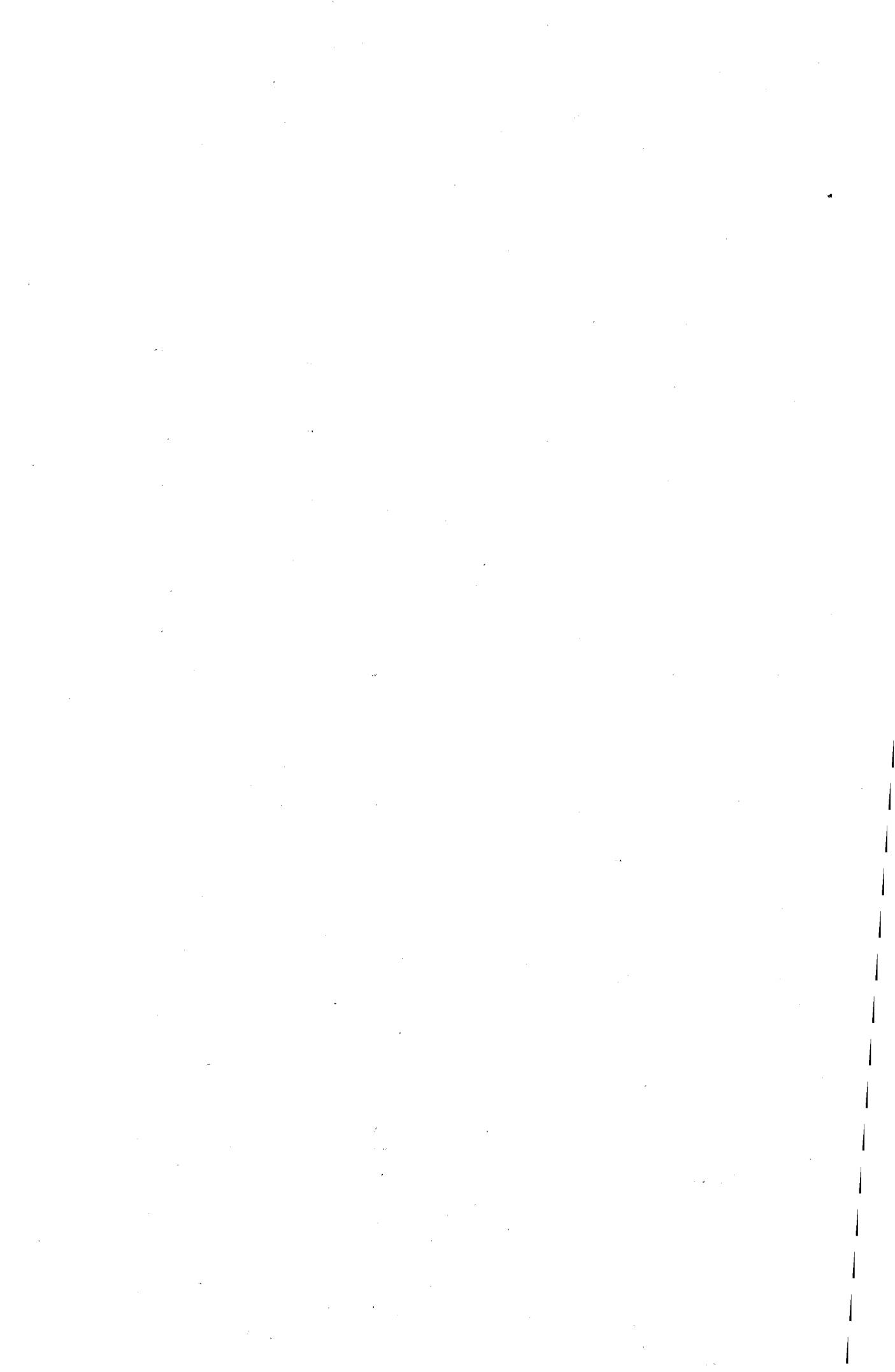
⁷ "Assyrian Rule of Conquered Territory in Ancient Western Asia," in Civilizations of the Ancient Near East II, 964-65.

⁸ Jerrold S. Cooper, Reconstructing History, 47.



PART II

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CURSES



Chapter 1

THE ROLE OF CURSES IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN LITERATURE

1.0 Introduction

Curses applied to every sphere of life in the ancient Near East. As each deity was associated with defined spheres or activities of life, particular disasters were attributed to particular divinities, for example, destructive rain or lack of rain were the work of Adad, the weather god. Consequently, invoking a curse was done in the name of the appropriate god. The majority of the curses are invoked in the name of a deity.

In the royal, private monumental, legal inscriptions, and treaties of the ancient Near East, curses were usually invoked at the end. In all these cases, curses were invoked against anyone who might alter or destroy the inscribed objects. Grammatically, those acts appear in the protasis, whereas curses stand in the apodosis. That is to say, the acts in protasis determine the role of those curses. In the following study, we explore the pre-condition of curses from Sumerian down to Phoenician inscriptions. The dates of inscriptions are not given, save for West-Semitic inscriptions.

1.1 Inscriptions

1.1.1 Sumerian Inscriptions¹

According to Neo-Sumerian inscriptions, having built a temple, kings set up inscriptions about their achievements. Curses are invoked on anyone who would remove the statues from their original places,² deface the inscriptions³ or cause someone else to do so,⁴ add his own name,⁵ and deprive the king of being recog-

¹ All numbers in brackets in this chapter refer to Appendix I.

² Also NBW II Amarsuen 3 222 1 13-2 1-4. Also three other Sumerian inscription from OB, RIME IV Šū-ilišu E4.1.2.1 16 19-25; *ibid.*, Abī-sarē E4.2.6.1 123 v 28-33; *ibid.*, Sīn-iqīšam E4.2.11.1 193 v 19-40.

³ Also *ibid.*, Urnammu 40 145 12-13 and Šulgi 46 199 12-13. In a Sumerian inscription from OB Enlil-bāni brought two copper statues from Isin to Nippur and dedicated them to Ninlil, whose inscription is followed by curses, RIME IV E4.1.10.11 86 12-23.

⁴ Other Sumerian inscriptions from OB, RIME IV Iddin-Dagān E4.1.3.2 24 25-31; Išme-Dagān E4.1.4.8 37 31-34a; Ur-Ninurta E4.1.6.2 67 vi 15-18; Rīm-Sīn I E4.2.14.23 303 40-47; Hamu-rāpi E4.3.6.11 346 46-52.

⁵ NBW II Utuhegal 7 330 6-10: šu i₃-bi₂-*in- Γ*uru₁₂ Γ mu-ni bi₂-i[b₂]-sar-a [aš₂]-ba-la₂-a- Γke₄-eš₂ Γ lu-kur₂-ra Γx Γ (?) [š]u i₃-in-dab₅ ib₂-zi-ra-a "If he defaced it (the inscription) and writes his name (or) who because of curses, if he let some one else ... (?) stretch his hand, tears out it (the statue(?))"; also *ibid.*, Šulgi 65 208 7-9; Ur 21 309 5-7. UET I no.294 90 24-35, no. 299 93 rev. 9-11.

nized as the collector of songs in Gudea Statue B (§2.no.1).⁶ The same concerns gave rise to curses in other eras.

1.1.2 Old Akkadian Inscriptions

Royal inscriptions in Old Akkadian are mostly about military campaigns and devoted to the deities and were erected in temples.⁷ One inscription ends with warnings against defacing it (§4.no.1),⁸ others with the removal of the statues from their original places (§4.no.2),⁹ and the removal of the originator's name from the inscription and the insertion of one's own name.¹⁰ Furthermore, curses are invoked on anyone who hires men in order to erase the name of the person depicted by the statue (§4.no.3).¹¹

1.1.3 Old Babylonian Inscriptions

Kings continued to dedicate statues furnished with curses against destroying the statue, or employing someone to do that because of the fear of curses.¹² Curses are also invoked on anyone who removes the statue (§5.no.1). On Hammurabi's law stele violating the laws, erasing them, and altering the name of the person who compiled the laws were cursed (§6).

A successor was expected to preserve the predecessor's foundation deposits, otherwise he was cursed.¹³ In addition, curses are invoked on anyone who erases the predecessor's name and writes his own name in a foundation inscription (§5.no.7).

The Sumero-Babylonian tradition about the protection of inscriptions continues in the Kassite and post-Kassite periods.

⁶ The removal of Gudea's statue from the E'anna temple and defacing its inscription are protected by curses, NBW I Gudea Statue C 4 182 5-8; also NBW II Amarsuen 12 240 40-44.

⁷ A king of Simurum, who reigned during the same period of Ur-III, devoted a stele to the gods who enabled him to defeat Kulunnum. This stele is protected by curses, Abdul-Hadi, "Inscriptions and Relief from Bitwāta¹," Sumer 34 (1978), 125 26-33. Also RIME II Man-ištūšu E.2.1.3.1 76 42-46; *ibid.*, Narām-Sîn E2.1.4.13 117 ii 1-19; *ibid.*, Rīmuš E2.1.2.18 68 9-16.

⁸ Other examples, RIME II Sargon E2.1.1.1 12 102-04; *ibid.*, Rīmuš E2.1.2.5 51 21-23; *ibid.*, Narām-Sîn E2.1.4.10 114 57-59; *ibid.*; *ibid.*, Šar-kali-šarri E2.1.5.2 189 13-15; *ibid.*, Erridu-pizir E2.2.1.1 222 12-13.

⁹ Also *ibid.*, Sargon E2.1.1.6 20 41-44; the prohibition of the removal of the statue occurs along with the prohibitions about defacing a predecessor's name and inscribing a successor's name, *ibid.*, Šar-kali-šarri E2.1.5.5 194-95 ii 6-iii 7.

¹⁰ Also *ibid.*, Rīmuš E2.1.2.4 49 i 98-109; *ibid.*, Lā-'arāb E2.2.14.1 229 4-8.

¹¹ Also *ibid.*, Narām-Sîn E2.1.4.3 98 v 16-vi 5.

¹² RIME IV Iasmah-Addu E4.6.11.1 616 17-20; Takil-ilissu E4.11.2.1 672 22-27.

¹³ The foundation document of a city, *ibid.*, Iahdun-Līm E4.6.8.1 603 55-58; the foundation document of a temple, Ipiq-Eštar E4.11.1.1 670 39.

1.1.4 Private Monumental Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

To reward the military achievements of his commander, a king liberated towns from the jurisdiction of a neighbouring city.¹⁴ Curses were invoked to protect the decree from being nullified and the monumental document from being invalidated by alteration of the names of the king or the deity by hired men (§7).

When a king bestowed land, the transfer of the property was documented in a kudurru. Curses were invoked to protect the deed and to ensure its enduring validity (§8).¹⁵ Since this monumental inscription was exhibited publicly, there were curses against its being buried, or being presented to a god or to the province (§9). Added to that, the deed was to be protected from destruction in the presence of the gods (§10).¹⁶

Furthermore, the ownership of purchased land was upheld by the protection of the deed (§11).¹⁷ At times, kings interfered in regulating the purchase of property. Marduk-nādin-ahhē intervened in regulations about the returning of estates sold to the previous owner, allowing the purchase price to be returned to the buyer. In order to prevent the property from being reclaimed, presented to a deity or any nobleman or from being damaged, that regulation and the deed were protected by curses (§12). Under Shamash-shum-ukîn, Ashurbanipal besieged Babylon causing famine. A woman sold herself for food; yet, she could only be released by a person who was equal to her. This agreement is protected by curses (§13).¹⁸

Sometimes, legal transactions between two families were recorded on a kudurru and protected by curses (§14).

1.1.5 Assyrian Inscriptions

¹⁴ Nebuchadnezzar I freed the towns of Bit-Karziabku, where Ritti-Marduk, commander of the chariots, was chief, from the jurisdiction of the neighbouring city of Namar, when he led a successful attack in the course of a campaign against the Elamites, BBS 6 29-36.

¹⁵ Also BBS 4 21-22 ii 12-iii 1-8. The validity of a king's grant was lasting. Thus if the person who was granted a property died without an heir, his relatives could make a legitimate claim for that property under another king's reign, see BBS 3 9-18. A dispossessed family estate could be reclaimed after the change of the regime. To prevent any possible deprivation that estate and its deed are protected by curses, BBS 10 74 rev. 32-37. Almost identical protases, Friedrich Delitzsch, "Der Berliner Merodachbaladan-Stein," Beiträge zur Assyriologie 2 (1891), 270 v 36-47; W. M. J. Hinke, A New Boundary Stone, 190-92 ii 1-13.

¹⁶ The rest of the protasis is similar to BBS 11 78 ii 1-22.

¹⁷ Also in a kudurru of Nabû-aplu-iddin's and Marduk-šum-iddin's times, KB IV, 98 iv 9-15.

¹⁸ From the same period, also an agreement for selling a house is protected by curses, AfO 16 (1952-53), 44 24b.

Assyrian scribes protected inscriptions in the same way. The Assyrian kings left inscriptions, when they erected temples, restored a city wall¹⁹ and gates,²⁰ a temple wall,²¹ a temple,²² the storehouses,²³ palaces,²⁴ the towers of the temple,²⁵ or erected a building for a king's statue,²⁶ or a city.²⁷ They deposited monumental inscriptions in the foundations. If the temple became dilapidated, the contemporary king was expected to restore it and return the foundation inscriptions of the predecessors to their original places along with his inscriptions.²⁸ This practice continued from the Old Assyrian down to the Neo-Assyrian periods.

Having restored the temple of Enlil built by Erišum, Šamši-Adad inscribed on clay tablets instructions for posterity. If his successors restored the temple because it had become dilapidated, they were expected to anoint his foundation inscriptions with oil, to bring an offering, and then to return them to their original place.²⁹ If a temple was restored repeatedly by different kings throughout the years, each one was expected to return the monumental inscriptions of former kings to their original places.³⁰ If a successor returned his predecessor's inscriptions to their places, as he had done to his forefathers's foundation inscriptions, the gods would listen to his prayers. For instance, Tulkultī-ninurta I built a new palace and deposited his

¹⁹ RIMA I Adad-nārārī I A.0.76.13 147 29-43.

²⁰ RIMA II Aššur-dān II A.0.98.3 138 14b-17.

²¹ RIMA I I Adad-nārārī I A.0.76.16 152 33-41.

²² *Ibid.*, Adad-nārārī I A.0.76.15 150-51 5-32.

²³ *Ibid.*, Adad-nārārī I A.0.76.17 153 4-12.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Tulkultī-ninurta I A.0.78.6 247 27-38a; RIMA II Aššur-dān II A.0.98.1 135 73-81a; Tulkultī-Ninurta II A.0.100.3 168 rev. 7-13a.

²⁵ RIMA I Aššur-rēša-iši I A.0.86.1 311 8-10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Aššur-nādin-apli A.0.79.1 301 15-32.

²⁷ RIMA II Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.17 252 v 1-24a.

²⁸ If any king failed to follow that instruction, he sinned against gods and kings: *šarru ša ša eli ilāni u šarrāni maršu itēpeš* "That king shall have done what is offensive to gods and kings, RIMA I Šamši-Adad I A.0.39.2 54 iv 11b-14. OIP II 139 63-64. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Ashurbanipal," Iraq 30 (1968), 104 86b-92.

²⁹ RIMA I Šamši-Adad I A.0.39.2 54 iii 11-iv 1; Arik-dīn-ili A.0.75 121-22 49-61; Shalmaneser I A.0.77.1 186 158-162.

³⁰ See *ibid.*, Shalm.I A.0.77.1 186 158-62. Šamši-Adad claimed that Ištar constantly renewed his rule, because he kept the instructions in returning the monumental inscriptions accompanied with a ceremony (see above), *ibid.*, A.0.39.2 53-54 ii 21-iii 10). Sometimes, having restored a temple, a king prayed that the gods would listen to his supplications and endow him with prosperity and well-being for both him and his progeny (Shalm.I A.0.77.1 185-86 149-55). This idea continues down to the Neo-Assyrian period. For instance, Asb. expected for his restoration of shrines to receive divine blessings of well-being, abundant offspring, a long life, joy of heart, and a solid dynasty, Streck, Assurbanipal, Stele S² 242 37-45; Cyl L² 230 18c-21a.

monumental inscriptions. In the future, if his successor restored it, he had to perform the ceremony (see above) and return them to their places. Then Tukulti-ninurta I called a blessing upon that successor, without curses.³¹ In one example, having restored the walls of a cellar for beer vats, a king added stones, silver, and gold to the foundation inscriptions and returned them to their places after the performance of the ceremony.³²

Curses were invoked on anyone who failed to perform the ceremonial instruction (above) and erased the predecessor's name, by inserting his name, destroying inscriptions, and not placing them next to his inscriptions.³³

1.1.5.1 Kings' Names

Having restored the northern quay wall along a branch of the Tigris which functioned as a moat to Aššur, and having installed three drains to carry off the water, Adad-nārārī I invoked curses³⁴ on anyone who would remove his name (§20.no.3) or those of his forefathers³⁵ from the inscriptions (§20.no.4).³⁶

Similarly, in the Tell Fekheryeh statue, curses were invoked on anyone who would remove the earlier king's name and substitute his own name (§24.no.1).

1.1.5.2 The Original Place of the Inscriptions

At times, curses were invoked on any who would remove inscriptions (§20.no.5).³⁷

³¹ RIMA I A.0.78.2, 240-41 46-53; Tukulti-ninurta I A.0.78.14 260 28-37, 22 270 58b.

³² RIMA I Shalm.I A.0.77.4, 192 39-42.

³³ RIMA II Tukulti-Ninurta II A.0.100.5 179 145b-46a; Assurbanipal, Cyl. L² 232 23b-25c; Cyl. L⁶ (P²) 238 23-26.

³⁴ Although some inscriptions do not mention curses, they are certainly implied, RIMA I Adn.I A.0.76.10 144 35-54a, 13 147-48 29-49, 16 152 45b; Shalm.I.A.0.77.5 194 34b-35; Tn.I A.0.78.17 265 30-35; in these inscriptions, only a blessing that Aššur would hear his prayers is mentioned. In most cases, a blessing that Aššur would hear his prayer is followed by a number of curses, Tn.I A.0.78.6 247 38b-39a, 13 258 54-55. Furthermore, the Assyrian kings restored a temple for the purpose of the continuation of a dynasty and well-being for them and Assyria: *ana balātiya šulum zērta u šalmi māṭ d^aaššur ana d^aaššur bēliya aqiš* "I have dedicated (this door socket) to Aššur, my lord, for my life, the safe-keeping of my seed, and the well-being of Assyria," (*ibid.*, Shalm.I A.0.77.20 210 9-11). In the case of the temple restoration, the god of the temple is called to listen to the prayers (Tn.I A.0.78.16 263 65-67, 18 266 38b-39; Adn.I A.0.76.9 143 21-33, 143, 15 15 37-48; Shalm.I A.0.77.1 186 163-67, 3 191 39-46, 6 195-96 21d-31, 8 197 4-7; Tn.I A.0.78.6 247 39b-42, 13 258 59-65, 16 263 71-79, 266 41b-43.

³⁵ RIMA II Adn. II A.0.99.2 154-55 132b-133a; Asn.II A.0.101.49 rev. 319 7.

³⁶ Also Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts", Iraq 30 (1968), 104 95-97.

³⁷ Also RIMA I Adn.I A.0.76.17 153 19-20. For the same purpose, Aššur-rēša-iši I restored the dilapidated towers of the temple and applied curses in his inscription, *ibid.*, A.0.86.1 311 13a.

1.1.5.3 Protection of Inscriptions from Destruction

In a standard conclusion to most of Adad-nārārī I's building inscriptions the protases explain how one could damage or destroy monumental inscriptions:³⁸ by erasing the king's name,³⁹ discarding the inscriptions, covering with earth, burning and throwing them into water, hiding them,⁴⁰ inciting a foreigner and an enemy to damage them.⁴¹ If the inscriptions are inscribed on a stele, the protection is expressed in more detail (§21.no.1).

Furthermore, in a grant of property from Ashurbanipal to his official Nabû-šarru-ušur curses are invoked on anyone who removes the corpse of the official from the grave located in his property.⁴² In a mortuary inscription of Ashur-etil-ilāni's time (625-618 B.C.), curses are invoked on anyone who damages the grave and removes bones.⁴³

1.1.6 Aramaic Inscriptions

The Aramaic inscription on the statue from Tell Fekherye contains the same protasis of curses about defacing the king's name (§28.no.1). In Sefire it is forbidden to efface the inscription (§30.no.2).

1.1.7 Phoenician Inscriptions

An inscription dated early in the 8th century displays curses on anyone who damages it (§31.no.2).

In the Phoenician and Hieroglyphic Hittite bilingual inscription from Karatepe (c. 710 B.C.), curses are invoked on anyone who erases the king's name and writes his own name instead (§31.no.3).⁴⁴

The stele of Yehawmilk dated in the second half of the 5th century concerns the dedication of an altar, a gateway and a portico at a small shrine. There curses are invoked on anyone who does further work on those objects made by Yehawmilk

³⁸ *Ibid.*, A.O.76.2 134 36-47.

³⁹ Also an inscription of an Assyrian vassal from Tell Fekherye, Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil & Millard, *La Statue de Tell Fekherye*, 15 16b-17.

⁴⁰ Also *RIMA* I Tn.I A.O.78.5 245 94-98; *RIMA* II Tigl.I A.O.87.1 30 viii 63-73. Taking an inscription into a prison is forbidden, *RIMA* II Asn.II A.O.101.38 305 39-43.

⁴¹ *RIMA* I Adn.I A.O.76.2 134 36-47. In another instance, the protasis refers only to erasing the king's name and the following curses relate to the rejection of kingship, defeat in war, and famine, *ibid.*, Adn.I A.O.77.4 137-38 46-47; A.O.76.9 143 23-33; similar curses in A.O.76.14 149 26-38.

⁴² J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechturkunden*, no.15, 16 lines 57.

⁴³ Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 61-62 10-15.

⁴⁴ Also *SSI* III C 54-55 iv 13-16a.

but does not write Yehaumilk's name beside his own name, or on anyone who removes the stele from its place and hides it (§31.4).

1.1.8 A Hebrew Text

Within the Hebrew Bible the only curse on anyone who alters a king's decree occurs in the quotation of Cyrus' decree about the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem (§26.no.4).

1.2 Cultic Subjects

1.2.1 Sumerian Inscriptions

Having built a temple, a king organized regular offerings to the temple. This regulation was protected under curses from being withdrawn or altered (§2.no.2) and its reduction (§2.no.3) in Gudea Statues.

Curses were invoked to prevent damage and the removal a cultic object from the temple (§3.no.2).

In three Sumerian inscriptions from OB curses are employed to prevent re-dedication or destruction of a gift to a deity (§5.no.2). In one example, curses are invoked to prevent someone giving the throne of one deity as a gift to another deity or a king, erasing its inscription, or hiring someone to write his inscription on it (§5.no.3). In another case anyone who fails to use cultic objects presented to the temple in religious ceremonies or destroys them, is cursed (§5.no.4).

1.2.2 An Inscription from the Post-Kassite Period

Curses were employed to protect the king's endowment to a temple from any kind of damage (§19).⁴⁵

1.2.3 An Assyrian Inscription

On the statue from Tell Fekherye, curses are invoked on anyone who erases the king's name from the cultic objects in Adad's temple (§24.no.2).

1.2.4 An Aramaic Inscription

The Aramaic inscription on the stele from Tell Fekherye is identical in respect of curses about cultic objects (§28.no.2).

1.2.5 A Phoenician Inscription

Although we have no Phoenician cultic objects on which curses were written, there is no compelling reason why the Phoenicians would have not written curses on

⁴⁵ Nabû-aplu-iddina furnished the Sun-temple at Sippar with endowments.

such objects. There is a dedication by Kilamuwa on a tiny sheath with a brief prayer.⁴⁶

1.2.6 A Hebrew Text

In Darius' decree, a curse is invoked on anyone who lifts his hand to destroy the temple (§26.no.5). This is the only example of a curse to protect a building in the Bible.

1.3 Other Subjects

1.3.1 A Sumerian Inscription

If a king dug a canal in the name of a deity, he employed curses to prevent any damage to the canal (§3.no.1).

1.3.2 Old Babylonian Inscriptions

If a king built a temple to a deity, he expected that his successor would preserve it, by restoration if necessary, bringing sacrifices to the deity, and preserving the name of the king who built it. If a successor did not follow these instructions, he would be cursed (§5.no.6).⁴⁷

In another example, a baked brick house, providing shelter for a stele, to which daily offerings would be brought, should be preserved through restoration and protected from destruction (§5.no.5).

1.3.3 Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

Land which had been given to someone by a king could not be given to anyone else (§15).⁴⁸

A kudurru from the time of Merodach-Baladan I displays curses to prevent the destruction of grain (§16) following other general curses to protect the property ownership and the kudurru.⁴⁹

Sometimes, curses were employed against destruction of the fields (§17).

1.3.4 Assyrian Inscriptions

⁴⁶ "Ring (*smr*) which Kilamuwa son of Hayya fashioned for Rakkabel. May Rakkabel grant him long life!," *SSI* III 40 no. 14. H. S. Sader, *Les États Araméens de Syrie*, 160 fn. 25.

⁴⁷ Also *RIME* IV Takil-ilissu E4.11.2.2 674 65-66 in 1.2.1.3 above.

⁴⁸ In another instance, a king granted a property to his commander as reward for his achievements during a campaign against Assyria, *BBSt* 8 45-46 iii 1-22.

⁴⁹ Rykle Borger, "Vier Grenzsteinurkunden Merodachbaladans I von Babylonien," *AfO* 23 (1970), 2 ii 1-17.

In Erišum I's time, legal cases were held in the Step Gate, one of the gates of the Aššur temple. Curses were called on anyone who would give false witness (§20.no.1).⁵⁰

A curse could be invoked to protect the brewing of beer (§20.no.2).

Tukultī-Ninurta I built a new capital on the opposite bank of the Tigris, north of the city Aššur, and a temple in it. He named the new capital Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. The protasis of curses displays the roles of curses: to preserve the city wall,⁵¹ the foundation inscription⁵² along with his name on it, and the new capital (§20.no.6).

In another inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta I, curses have a protective role for the temple⁵³ and the ziqqurrat. The protasis precludes the acts of not restoring and damaging the buildings, neglecting and abandoning of the ziqqurrat (§20.no.8).⁵⁴

If a king built a palace, curses would ensure the preservation of certain religious ceremonies related to that palace, such as the gods entering the palace built by the king during the festivals, and requiring that the palace be maintained (§20.no.7).

In one example, the lion-sculptures with the king's name inscribed set in the doorways of a temple are protected from destruction and erasure of the king's name on it (§21.no.2).

During his eighth campaign, Sennacherib diverted the course of the river and destroyed Babylon. The restoration of the city, through changing the water course, was prohibited and curses were invoked (§22).

Ashurbanipal promoted the copying and revising of Sumerian inscriptions. Then he exhibited them as in his palace. These show-pieces were documented with additional information by Ashurbanipal who accomplished these works.⁵⁵ They

⁵⁰ Also RIMA I A.0.33.1 21 44b-45a. This is a unique case in the building inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. Two clay tablets from Kaniš (modern Kültepe) display Erišum I's building enterprises which mainly relate to the expansion of the area of the Aššur temple. Among his building projects, two beer vats and the Step Gate are mentioned, *ibid.*, Erišum I A.O.33.1 20 4-18.

⁵¹ The city walls would protect inhabitants from all sorts of danger. Sometimes, the cities near to Tigris were endangered from the flood of the Tigris in spring. Thus, the restoration of a city wall was very significant for the Assyrian kings. Asb. renovated the walls of Niniveh (Assurbanipal, Pr. C 112 ix 50-56) and Babylon (Assurbanipal, Cyl. L⁶ 236-38 16b-22).

⁵² RIMA I Tukultī-ninurta I A.0.78.22 270 55-58.

⁵³ Asb. renovated the shrines in Babylon (Assurbanipal, Cyl. L² 5b ff) and Cyl. L² 23-25c. He further restored the temple of Ištar in Babylon (*ibid.*, Cyl. 228 L 13-16).

⁵⁴ Similar intention for a future temple restoration and the preservation of the stele OIP II 139 66-67 and 147 35c-36c.

⁵⁵ The inscriptions from Asb.'s library, Assurbanipal, 354 b 1-8. The medical inscriptions were copied and set up in the palace for reading, *ibid.*, 370 q 1-7.

were concluded with curses,⁵⁶ which were invoked upon any one who would remove Ashurbanipal's name (§23.no.1), take away the tablet or write his own name next to Ashurbanipal's (§23.no.2).

1.3.5 Aramaic Inscriptions

The surviving lines in the stele of Zakkur, dated about 780-775 B.C., display conditions for curses in respect of the removal of the stele from the temple (§29.no.1).

In the two sepulchral inscriptions dated early in the 7th century, curses are invoked on anyone who removes the coffin from its place (§29.no.2).⁵⁷

1.3.6 Phoenician Inscriptions

There are curses on sepulchral inscriptions from the end of the 11th down to the 5th century B.C. Ahiram's coffin displays prohibitions against opening it (§31.no.1).⁵⁸ These almost identical prohibitions are transmitted down to the 5th century.⁵⁹

1.3.7 Hebrew Texts

The inscription from the tomb of a royal steward from Silwan dated early in 7th century B.C., curses anyone who opens the tomb (§27).⁶⁰

In a unique example in the Bible, Joshua invoked curses on anyone who would rebuild Jericho (§26.no.3).⁶¹

1.4 Treaties

1.4.1 A Sumerian Treaty

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 356 c 11-13, 359 e 6-8 and f 2b-4.

⁵⁷ Also *SSI* II no. 19 97 ii 8b-9a.

⁵⁸ According to Gibson, this coffin is dated by its archaeological context in the 13th century, the Phoenician writing fits to the 11th century, *SSI* III 13.

⁵⁹ *SSI* III Tabnit 103 6c-7b: וְאִם פִּתַּח תִּפְתַּח עֲלַי וְרִגְוֹן "But if you in fact open up (what is) over me and in fact disturb me." And *ibid.*, Eshmunazar 106 6c-8: כָּל מַמְלַכַת וְכָל אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתַּח עָלַי מִשְׁכְּבִי ז' כָּל מַמְלַכַת וְכָל אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתַּח עָלַי מִשְׁכְּבִי ז' "For should any ruler or any commoner open up (what is) over this resting-place, or lift up the box in which I lie or carry me away from this resting-place."

⁶⁰ See also Mitchell, *The Bible in the British Museum*, 58.

⁶¹ This curse rarely occurs in other inscriptions of the ancient Near East. In the Sumerian texts, the annihilation of Agade by the Gutians was perceived as divine punishment, J. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*. However, the curse of rebuilding a destroyed city is first attested in the Hittite texts, S. Gevirtz, *Curse Motifs*, 68-69. See also §22.

In an old Sumerian inscription, known as the Stele of Vultures, conditions for curses to be fulfilled follow stipulations⁶² and appear also in the epilogue. In the former examples, the condition for curses is the violation of preceding stipulations: not to violate the boundary, not to divert the irrigation dykes and canals, and not to remove the stelae from their original places⁶³ (§1.nos.1-2).⁶⁴

The conditions for curses seen in Sumerian also appear in the Neo-Assyrian treaties: failure of the weaker party to keep the agreement and the destruction of the treaty-document.

1.4.2 The Neo-Assyrian Treaties

Curses are invoked if the weaker party fails to keep the agreement with the stronger party, the weaker would violate the treaty (§25, AM no.3, VTE no.6).⁶⁵ The preserved lines in treaties display the following conditions for curses to be fulfilled: failure to remain loyal to the suzerain through concealing fugitives (AM, §25.no.1), to support the suzerain's military campaign (AM, §25.no.2), and to protect the lives of the suzerain, his sons and his nobles (AM, §25.no.4).⁶⁶

Furthermore, curses are invoked against anyone who destroys the treaty-inscription by burning it, putting it in water, burying it or smashing and defacing it (VTE, §25.no.5).

Curses in a domestic treaty⁶⁷ are employed on anyone who rebels against the crown prince (Zakutu, §25.no.8).

The weaker parties invoked curses upon themselves to affirm their loyalty to the suzerain (AB, §25.no.9).

1.4.3 An Aramaic Treaty

The Sefire stelae curses a vassal and his offspring who fail to keep the agreement (§30.nos.1-2) and anyone who destroys the inscription (§30.no.3).⁶⁸

1.4.4 The Biblical Covenant

⁶² In this stele, stipulations and curses appear alternately.

⁶³ [(na)... *mu-sar-ra-bi ab-ta-ul4-a*, etc.] "[... if anyone damages this stele/inscription, etc.,], xxxiii xii ?)

⁶⁴ Also xxiii 7-xxiii 1-3

⁶⁵ Also SAA II AM i 15, 24, 31b-32a, 8-9; v 8-9a, 12; VTE 555A-55B; ŠB line 15, 4; EI 78 ii 8-8, 78; S 73 1-5.

⁶⁶ VTE 632-34 concern the suzerain, his successor, and other sons.

⁶⁷ A treaty was made by the queen mother with the nobles and people of Assyria.

⁶⁸ See also Veenhof, "An Aramaic Curse with a Sumero-Akkadian Prototype," BiOr 20 (1963), 142-44.

Two parallel phrases "listening to Yahweh" and "obeying Yahweh's commandments" display Israel's relationship to Yahweh. The challenge to maintain that relationship is a consequence of Israel's negligence to carry out Yahweh's instruction (§26.no.1).⁶⁹

Curses should remind Israel to return to Yahweh and to keep on good terms with Yahweh (§26.no.2).

1.5 Synopsis

The anticipatory, prohibitive-protective coincides with the punitive role of curses.⁷⁰ All these three aspects of the role of curses are first attested in Sumerian inscriptions and are further attested down to the Phoenician inscriptions of the 5th century B.C. Curses should fall on any one destroying royal inscriptions, private documents, cultic objects, and breaking treaties. For instance, no-one, regardless of his rank in society, should cause damage to inscriptions and deeds protected by curses. Added to that, in the Kassite and post-Kassite periods, when a king granted property to an ancestor, the ownership of property could be claimed, even after the death of the owner, in another king's reign. In other words, gifts could not be taken away and were valid for many generations.

Moreover, the anticipatory, prohibitive-protective and punitive role of curses to preserve inscriptions, buildings, relationship through keeping the agreement, etc. was a common tradition in the ancient Near East, as writing was common. Added to that, people lived in similar situations and had a similar world-view, namely the idea of divine punishment for evil.

However, the Biblical covenant does not have an anticipatory, prohibitive-protective and punitive role of curses regarding the covenant document as such,⁷¹ as in the East- and West-Semitic inscriptions. Furthermore, the restorative role of curses mentioned in the Biblical covenant does not occur explicitly in other ancient treaties, where it is implicit in the role of treaty-curses. Yet we find the restorative role of treaty-curses in Assyrian annals. That is, the Assyrian kings' discipline for their vassals could result in the restoration of vassal status (see further Part III 1.6). Added to that, the enduring validity of a vassal treaty in the Ancient Near East indicates the intention of the suzerain to restore the vassalship to disloyal vassals through discipline (see Part III 1.9).

⁶⁹ Also Lev 26:18a, 21a; Dt 28:15a, 58.

⁷⁰ Cf. Gevirtz, *Curse Motifs*, 257 ff; *ibid.*, "West-Semitic Curses," *VT* XI (1961), 140; Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography*, 75-76.

⁷¹ The tablets in the Ark were protected by the fact that entry to the sanctuary was forbidden.

Chapter 2

THE TRADITIONAL SOURCES OF NEO-ASSYRIAN TREATY-CURSES

2.0 Introduction

The literary tradition of Mesopotamia was a continuum; that is, from the Sumerian down to the Neo-Assyrian period, even farther down to the Seleucid period, an unbroken literary tradition ran. The prominence of the Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses leads us to explore them in the broader context of Sumero-Akkadian literature.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the continuity of the Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses from Sumerian and Early Babylonian texts through Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian into Neo-Assyrian compositions.

2.1 The Annihilation of Dynasty/the Foundation of Family

The curse of the annihilation of a treaty-breaker's family reflects the basic concern of ancient people to have children, especially boys, to continue the family line. The worst thing that could happen to them, therefore, was a threat to the continuation of the family. By its universal significance, the malediction of the annihilation of family line was used for the juridical purpose of maintaining contracts between two parties, whether kings or ordinary citizens.¹

Kings employed the curse to protect monumental inscriptions and to sustain vassal-treaties. In fact, this is the most frequent curse in contracts and building inscriptions from the Sumerian down to the Neo-Assyrian periods.²

2.1.1 Sumerian Inscriptions

The imprecation occurs in the dedicatory inscription on Gudea Statue C: "May she (Inanna) not consolidate the foundation of his throne," for anyone who defaces the inscription (§2.no.2), and, more specifically, "may his seed come to an end!" (§2.no.3). In another Gudea Statue this imprecation is expressed: "May they (the gods) annihilate his name!" (§3).

2.1.2 Old Akkadian Inscriptions

The basic idea of the curse continues throughout the second part of the third and the first part of the second millennia B.C. The malediction of destroying the

¹ See "family and daily life" in Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien I*, 389 ff.

² All numbers in brackets in this chapter refer to Appendix II.

family line occurs in the inscription on Sargon's statue, "May Enlil and Šamaš tear up his foundation and take away his offspring!" (§7) and in other Old Akkadian inscriptions.³ In a Narām-Sin inscription, the same malediction relates to the prevention of offspring and an heir (§9.no.4). A combination of these curses occurs in the inscriptions from Bitwāta (§10.no.1).⁴

2.1.3 Old Babylonian Inscriptions

The identical idea appears in CH: "May he (Enlil) order the transfer of his kingship, the disappearance of his name and memory from the land!" (§13.no.6).⁵ Furthermore, a dynasty would disappear without an heir, "May Nintu deny him an heir!" (13.no.38).

2.1.4 Inscriptions from the Kassite and the Post-Kassite Periods

The curse concerning the extermination of the family occurs in the kudurrus⁶ throughout the Kassite and post-Kassite periods with some change of expression. The same idea occurring in Old Akkadian inscriptions (2.1.2) recurs in a kudurru of Kurigalzu (c. 1415-1375 B.C.), and is followed by an additional curse, namely the destruction of the accursed "May Anu, Enlil, Ea, Nanna, Šamaš, Marduk, Nusku and Sadarnunna, Nergal and Laz tear out his foundation, and snatch away his seed! May they command that his life endure not for a single day!" (§14.no.1).

This expression is repeated with a slight modification in a kudurru from Nebuchadnezzar I's reign (c. 1124-1103 B.C.). Here, the annihilation is also expressed figuratively, "may Nusku burn his root!" (§24.no.6b),⁷ followed by the same idea (§24.no.7) which occurred in Old Akkadian inscriptions (2.2.3).⁸ A

³ For example, *RIME* II Sargon E2.1.1.6 20 33-40 (Enlil and Šamaš invoked); Rīmuš E2.1.2.7 57 46-53 (Enlil and Šamaš invoked); Man-ištušu E2.1.3.1 76 56-63 (Enlil and Šamaš invoked); Narāmsin E2.1.4.9 112 31-38 (Šamaš and Lugalmarda invoked); Narām-Sin E2.1.4.25 131 55-63 (Ningublaga, Šamaš invoked); Šarkališarri E2.1.5.2 189 16-23 (Enlil and Šamaš invoked), E2.1.5.5 193 61-70 (Enlil, Šamaš and Ištar invoked).

⁴ According to Al-Fouadi, this inscription might be dated to the period of Ur III (124), and see a detailed discussion about the date of the inscription, *Sumer* 34 (1978), 126-28.

⁵ The disappearance of one's name and memory refers to complete destruction in the ancient Near Eastern world-view.

⁶ The kudurru was a documentary monument designed to reinforce the efficacy of a legal action, J. A. Brinkman, "Kudurru," *RIA* 6 (1980-83), 270.

⁷ In this kudurru the identical curse is invoked in the names of all the gods of the kudurru (v 5-7).

⁸ The basic phrase of the annihilation of the family continues. The identical expression from the time of Kurigalzu quoted above is repeated in a kudurru of Enlil-nadin-apli (1102-1099) (§26, Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah invoked). In this same kudurru, it is also expressed by: ^dnabû aplu štru mukIn arhi u šatti umēšu likarrima ai ikšuda littuta "May Nabû, the exalted son, the establisher of the month and of the year, shorten his days, so that he have no posterity!," *BBS* 11, 78 iii 6-9.

kudurru from the time of Merodach-Baladan I (c. 1173-1161 B.C.) expresses this same idea with a curse of either childlessness or loss of children: "May Bēlēt-ilī not allow him a son or descendant!" (§19.no.1). In a kudurru of the Kassite period, which is difficult to date exactly,⁹ deprivation of an heir secures the destruction of the family line (§25.no.1).¹⁰

Sometimes, the destruction of name is followed by that of offspring, e.g., in a kudurru of Nazimaruttaš' time: "May they (the gods) destroy his name! May they (the gods) not delay in removing his offspring!"¹¹

In a deed from Marduk-nādin-ahhe's reign (1098-1081), the curse of annihilation of family is expressed as the destruction of fame: "May they (Sin, Šamaš, Adad, Nabû) destroy his name, his seed, his offspring and his prosperity in the mouth of widespread peoples!" (§27.no.6).¹² This curse is emphasized by additional phrases regarding the destruction of the seed of the accursed and lack of anyone to libate for him in another contemporary kudurru¹³ and, slightly modified, recurs together with deprivation of an heir to perform funerary rites in an inscription from the time of Nabû-mukīn-apli (c. 977-942 B.C. (§33.no.5)).¹⁴

All these maledictions in kudurrus are applicable to kings, officials and common people (see Part II 1). Yet there is only one example attested in a kudurru of

⁹ See further Walter Sommerfield, "Die Mittelbabylonische Grenzsteinurkunde IM 5527," *UF* 16 (1984), 300-301 and n. 6.

¹⁰ See also different expressions of the identical curse attributed to different gods, in iv 17-19 (Nergal), 20-23 (Sin), *ibid.*, 304.

¹¹ *šumšu lihalliqu zēršu ana šult ai iršū ntda ahi*, *MDP* 2 89 iii 25-29. The destruction of name recurs in a kudurru from the time of Meli-šipak (1188-1174), §17.no.4 (Šamaš invoked) and no.6 (all the gods mentioned in the kudurru invoked). In another case, it is also attributed to all the gods mentioned in the inscription with an additional clause (*ibid.*, 18 vi 21-25) which stresses the meaning of the preceding clause concerning destruction of the foundation of family (*ana mimma la bašē lišalikašu* "(and) to naught may they bring him!"). In the kudurru of Kudurri-Enlil (1264-1256) the same curse is attributed to Zababa, *RA* 66 (1972), 173 71b-72a. In another instance, "the destruction of the foundation" is attributed to Sin, Šamaš, Adad and Marduk, *BBS* 3 v 48-vi 1-4) and in another this curse is invoked by Anunitum (*ibid.*, 4 iii 15). In this kudurru the curse regarding "the destruction of the seed" is invoked by Ninkarrag (*ibid.*, 17). This identical idea occurs repeatedly in the Kudurru from the time of Meli-šipak's successor (Merodach-baladan, 1173-1161), invoked in the name of Anu, Enlil, Ea, Ninurta and Gula and all the gods mentioned in the kudurru (§18.no.3). In an inscription from Nebuchadnezzar I's reign this same curse occurs with the divine names Ninurta and Gula (§23.no.2) and also without a divine name (ii 60). In two later kudurrus, from the time of Marduk-nādin-ahhē (1098-1081), the identical concept of the annihilation family line which occurred in Kurigalzu's time (§14.no.1) appears and is attributed to Anu, Enlil, and Ea (§29.nos.2-3) and to Anu, Bīl, Ea, Ninmah (*KB* IV 80 iii 12).

¹² Also Livingstone, "Marduk-nādin-ahhē," iv 6-10. The same idea recurs in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan II, Delitzsch, "Der Berliner Merodachbaladan-Stein," *BA* 2 (1894), 265 v 45-47.

¹³ Livingstone, "Marduk-nādin-ahhē," iv 9-11.

¹⁴ A kudurru from Marduk-zakir-šumi has the traditional curse (§34.no.4, Nabû and Nanā invoked).

Merodach-Baladan I's time (1173-61), mentioning the annihilation of a dynasty in the future: "May his godly protector remove the kingship from his sons!" (§22).

2.1.5 Assyrian Inscriptions

2.1.5.1 Building Inscriptions

The idea of annihilation of the family/dynasty is also common throughout Assyrian building inscriptions from the Old Assyrian period: "May Aššur, Adad and Bēl, my gods destroy his seed!" (§35).¹⁵ An inscription of Adad-nārārī I (c. 1307-1275 B.C.) includes the relatives of anyone who would damage the inscriptions: "May they (Aššur, Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah) destroy his name, his seed, his clan and his kin from the land!" (§38.no.2).

The majority of the building inscriptions, from Adad-nārārī I's reign onwards, parallel the destruction of offspring with the rejection of kingship (§38.no.9, Aššur invoked),¹⁶ a joining of two curses already seen in Sumerian inscriptions (see §2.nos.2-3 in 2.1.1).

In an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1115-1077 B.C.) this malediction refers to wishing the death of the accursed one and the destruction of his family (§41.no.4, Adad invoked).¹⁷ In one of Sennacherib's inscriptions this malediction has expressions attested in the Sumerian period onwards and includes the friends of the accursed (§44.no.3).

2.1.5.2 The Neo-Assyrian Treaties

In most cases, this curse occurs in the context of war. A dynasty would come to an end with the destruction of the entire land, "may Aššur turn your people to devastation, your cities into mounds, and your house into ruins!" (AM, §49.no.10) or with deportation, "may, alas, Mati²-ilu, together with his sons, [magnates] and the people of his land [be ousted] from his country, not return to his country, and

¹⁵ Also RIMA I Šamšī-Adad I A.0.39 1 50-51 114-11.

¹⁶ Also *ibid.*, Adad-nārārī I A.0.76.15 151 39b-41 (Aššur invoked); Shalmaneser I (1274-1245) A.0.77.6 195 24-25 (Aššur invoked); Tukultī-Ninurta I (1244-1208) A.0.78.5 246 111-15 (Aššur and Adad invoked), A.0.78.18 266 41b-43 (Sin and Šamaš invoked) and A.0.78.23 274 145-46 (Aššur, Enlil and Šamaš invoked); Aššur-nādin-apli A.0.79.1 301 38-40 (Aššur invoked); RIMA II Ashurnasirpal II (883-859) A.0.101.26 282 70b-72 (Aššur and Ninurta invoked); RIMA III Adad-nārārī III (810-783) A.0.106.6, 209 29b (Aššur); Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Ashurbanipal," Iraq 30 (1968), 104 99b-100 (the great gods of heaven and earth invoked). Some colophons of tablets from Asb.'s library show the same idea of the destruction of the family, Hunger, Kolophone, 97 no. 318 10 (Nabû invoked), 98 no. 319 11-12 (Aššur and Ninlil invoked).

¹⁷ The identical idea in reverse order already appears in an inscription of Aššur-rēša-iši I (1133-1116), RIMA I A.0.86.1 311 13b.

not [behold] his country again!" (§49 no.2).¹⁸ VTE has the traditional idea: "May Zarpanitu destroy your name and your seed from the land!" (§51.no.10).¹⁹

We have observed that the imprecation concerning the annihilation of the family is transmitted from Sumerian to Old Babylonian times, it is employed in documentary monuments in subsequent periods, used with reference to individual citizens and kings. In Assyrian royal building inscriptions it is addressed to later rulers. Although there is no change in the basic idea of this curse, the expressions differ slightly from one another in most instances from the third down to the first millennium B.C. In Sumerian inscriptions it is invoked by Inanna and different gods. Among other gods, Šamaš and Enlil are called on in the majority of the Old Babylonian sources. In the Kassite and post Kassite periods, it is attributed to different gods, yet the order Anu, Enlil, and Ea appears frequently. From the Old Assyrian texts down to the Neo-Assyrian, Aššur usually heads the list of gods.

2.2 The End of a Reign in Grief

The curse that the opponent's kingship end in grief is related to his ill-health, which would indicate his failure in performance of the kingship. An additional motive would be a natural calamity, causing a difficult reign.

2.2.1 A Sumerian Inscription

The curse of a bad life is expressed bluntly: "May life be an evil for him!" (§4).

2.2.2 An Old Akkadian Inscription

The Sumerian imprecation for a bad life which recurs in the Bitwata inscription from the end of the Ur-III period prays, "may life be hateful to him!" (§10.no.2).

2.2.3 Old Babylonian Inscriptions

This basic concept is transmitted to CH. There it is related to the failure of kingship because of ill-health, "may Ninkarrark inflict upon him in his body a grievous malady, an evil disease, a serious injury which never heals . . . , and may

¹⁸ Also EB, §50.no.2.

¹⁹ Also VTE 660-61 (Nabû invoked). A similar curse in VTE 540-44 connects the annihilation of dynasty with a complete destruction of a vassal's family. The same concept is also illustrated with a mule (VTE 537-39), see Part II 3.2.6.1. A curse of the complete destruction of the people parallels a curse of no libation (SB r. 8b-9 (a divine name is broken away); AB r. 13b-14, Ea invoked) indicating the annihilation of the family. In one instance, the curse of the extinction of a dynasty can be deduced from a curse that there be no libation occurring in the context of cannibalism (§51.no.15, without a divine name).

he continue to lament (the loss of) his vigour until his life comes to an end!" (§13.no.39) and because of various calamities, "may he (Enlil) determine as the fate for him a reign of grief, days of sweat, years of famine, darkness without light, sudden death!" (§13.no.5).

2.2.4 Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

A kudurru from Nebuchadnezzar I's reign expresses the concept some 600 years later: "May Ea take away from him gladness of heart, happiness of mind, abundance and fullness!; may lamentation seize him!" (§24.no.3). The curse concerning ill-health, occurring in CH, continued in the latter part of the second millennium B.C.²⁰

2.2.5 Assyrian Inscriptions

2.2.5.1 Building Inscriptions

Tukulti-Ninurta I invoked the curse of a difficult reign on any future king who damaged or neglected the inscription: "May he (Aššur) darken his days (and) vitiate his years!" (§40.no.3).²¹

2.2.5.2 The Neo-Assyrian Treaties

The idea of a reign of grief (§48.no.9) and its relation to famine which occurred in CH (§13.no.5 in 2.2.3) continues in ŠM: "May Enlil decree him a reign of exhaustion, scarce days and years of famine!" (§48.no.4). A similar idea appears in VTE: "May your days be dark and your years dim, may darkness which is not to be brightened be declared as your fate. May your life end in exhaustion and sleeplessness!" (§51.no.25). Furthermore, ill-health and worries would make the performance of kingship difficult (§51.no.3, by Anu).

²⁰ §18.no.4 (Merodach-baladan I (1173-1161). *d₁sin d₁šamaš d₁adad u d₁marduk ilāni širāti ina pišunu la mušpili lisbarūšuma murša diha lā ūb libbi lā dumuq šeri ana šimti adi ūm baltu lišimuš* "May Sin, Šamaš, Adad and Marduk, the preeminent gods, by their unchangeable decree, overpower him; may they decree for him illness, headache, unhappiness and unsoundness of flesh, as long as lives!", S. Page, "Merodach-baladan I," *Sumer* 23 (1967), 54 iii 12-21. In an inscription of Marduk-šāpik-zēri (1080-1068), it is more elaborate, combining ill-health with its result: *ilā rabūti mala ina narī anni šumšunu zakru . . . ina būnišunu ezziš ltkilmušāma ina murāši di' dilipti quli kuri nissati imt tanihi lā ūb libbi lā ūb štri idirti gerrāni u bikti ūmi ū-la naparka lištabrāšu* "May all great gods, whose name is called in this stele, . . ., look at him with anger and let him spend the days in sickness, headache, sleeplessness, silence, fainting, woe, need, grievance, misfortune, displeasure, grief, lament and weeping unceasingly," Fawzi Reschid and Claus Wilcke, "Marduk-šāpik-zēri," *ZA* 65 (1975), 58 76-87a.

²¹ If a successor finds the inscription, he is expected to anoint it with oil, to make sacrifices, and then return it to its place, *RIMA* I A.O.78.22 271 55-58.

To sum up, the motif of the imprecation of a life of agony lasted for 1000 years, in various forms. CH relates this curse to ill-health and natural calamity, bringing the reign to an end in grief. The inscriptions of the Kassite and post-Kassite periods have this same imprecation of ill-health. Its expression in an Assyrian building inscription is basic and general, like a much earlier Sumerian inscription.

2.3 Rejection of kingship/Dethronement

The malediction of the rejection of kingship is attested from Sumerian down to Neo-Assyrian building inscriptions.

2.3.1 Sumerian Inscriptions

Gudea Statue C: "May his reign be cut off!" (§2.no.4).²²

2.3.2 Old Akkadian Inscription

An inscription of Narām-Sin: "May he not hold the scepter for Enlil and the kingdom for Ištar!" (§9.no.2).

2.3.3 Old Babylonian Inscription

CH: "May Anu take the royal sheen from him and break his scepter" (§13.no.1-2). This malediction is repeated: overthrowing the kingship (no.11, by Šamaš), invoking Ištar to curse the kingship (no.27), the destruction of the accursed king (no.15a).

2.3.4. Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kasite Periods

The malediction of rejection of kingship is not attested in these periods.

2.3.4 Assyrian Inscriptions

2.3.4.1 Building Inscriptions

The curse concerning the rejection of kingship appears in parallel with the destruction of offspring (2.1.5.1 above). One Šamšī-Adad inscription reads: "May Ištar take away his sovereignty and term of rule and [give] (them) to another!" (§36.no.4b). From the time of Adad-nārārī I onward, the phrase "may Aššur, my lord, overthrow his sovereignty!"²³ is used regularly and invoked in the name of the chief gods.²⁴ This stock phrase²⁵ occurs with an expression of the result caused by

²² Also NBW II, Utuhegal 330 7 11-12.

²³ *d*aššur bēlt šarrāssu liskip, RIMA I Adad-nārārī I A.0.76.9 143 25-26.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Tukultī-Ninurta I A.0.78.5 246 116-19 (Aššur and Adad invoked); RIMA II Tiglath-pileser I A.0.87.1 31 77 (Anu and Adad invoked).

²⁵ RIMA I Shalmaneser I A.0.77.4 193 51-52.

an enemy's victory in a Shalmaneser I building inscription (§39).²⁶ In an inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta I, it is related to an invocation of the end of the reign (§40.no.2, Aššur). In a building inscription of Ashurnasirpal II the stock-phrase parallels the malediction of deprivation of the throne (§42.no.2, by Aššur and Ninurta). In another inscription of Ashurnasirpal II, the deprivation of the throne appears with defeat in war (§42.no.3, Ištar invoked).²⁷ In Sennacherib's inscription the idea of the stock-phrase parallels a general invocation of divine curse (§44.no.1, by the great gods).

2.3.4.2 Neo-Assyrian Treaties

Rejection of kingship is expressed directly: "May Šamaš reject his kingship!" (ŠM, §48.no.7a) or "may Anu break his scepter!" (§48.no.3). VTE: "May Enlil overthrow your throne!"²⁸

The rejection of kingship is invoked without a divine name in the Sumerian inscription. The same idea recurs in an Old Akkadian inscription. In CH Anu, Sin, and Ištar are invoked. In the Assyrian inscriptions, it is attributed to Aššur in most instances. Sometimes, he appears with Adad, or Ninurta, or Ištar. In other instances the action of this curse is attributed to an enemy king who may seize the throne. In Neo-Assyrian treaties, Šamaš, Anu and Ellil are invoked.

2.4 Curses Related to War

One of the king's duties was to lead the army in conquest of new territory or in defense against invasion, so curses with reference to war relate to failures in the performance of kingship. When this curse appears in the monumental documents of the Kassite and post-Kassite period, it refers to individuals who participated in war, since kudurrus are private documents.

2.4.1 Breaking Weapons

One of the criteria for "the masculinity of the ancient" was "his prowess in battle."²⁹ "The symbols for virile manhood were the bow and arrow."³⁰ Thus, the malediction of breaking weapons implies the removal of masculinity from men.³¹

²⁶ A similar idea occurs in one Tn.I inscription, *ibid.*, A.O.78.5 246 111-19.

²⁷ Also *RIMA* III Adad-nārārī III A.O.104.6 209 29c-30b (Marduk invoked).

²⁸ *dellil bēl kussē [ku]ssakun[ū lušabalkit]*, *SAA* II, 58 659.

²⁹ Harry A. Hoffner, "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity," *JBL* 85 (1966), 327.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 392.

³¹ This imprecation is associated with a simile curse in VTE 616-17, see Part II 3.2.8.1.(5). The same idea is expressed by holding a spindle in 2 Sam 3:29, see Part IV 2.1.3.8 (2) fn. 58.

2.4.1.1 Old Akkadian Inscriptions

An inscription of Sargon: "May he (Enlil) break his weapons!" (§8).³²

2.4.1.2 An Old Babylonian Inscription

CH: "May she (Ištar) break his weapons on the battle-field!" (§13.no.29).³³

2.4.1.3 Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

A kudurru of the Kassite period combines the idea of breaking weapons with an imprecation for weakness: "May Zababa and Ištar smash his weapon in the battle-field (and) make his arm slack!" (§25.no.2). A kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhe's time has the basic idea of the curse (§29.no.7, by Nergal; §28.no.7, by Zababa).

2.4.1.4 Assyrian Inscriptions

(1) Building Inscriptions

One Šamši-Adad's inscription (c. 1813-1781 B.C.): "May Ištar break his weapon and the weapons of his army!" (§36.no.2). Inscriptions throughout the Middle-Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian periods have the curse of "breaking the weapons of any individuals" who might damage the inscriptions.³⁴ One Tiglath-pileser I inscription: "May they (Anu and Adad) smash his weapons, bring about the defeat of his army, and make him sit in bonds before his enemies!" (§41.no.2). The same idea recurs in Ashurnasirpal II's inscriptions.³⁵

(2) Neo-Assyrian Treaties

AM (v 13): "may she (Ištar) take away their bow!"³⁶ The traditional expression recurs in VTE: "May Ištar smash your bow in the thick of ba[ttle]!/ may she bind your arms!/ and have you crouch under your enemy!" (§51.no.16).³⁷

To sum up, the imprecation of breaking weapons is transmitted from the Old Akkadian to Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Although other gods are invoked, Ištar appears throughout.

³² Also RIME II Sargon E2.1.1.6 20 48-49, 7 22 33-34 76 46-47.

³³ Also §13.no.24 (Zababa). The identical expression of this curse (Ninurta) occurs in a kudurru from Meli-shipak's reign, BBSt 4 iii 16.

³⁴ RIMA I A.0.39.1 51. Also Tukulti-Ninurta I A.0.78.22 line 63a (Aššur invoked), *ibid.*, 270 and A.0.78.23 lines 139-40 (Aššur, Enlil and Šamaš invoked), 274, A.0.78.14 lines 39 ff (Dinitu invoked), 260; Tiglath-pileser I A.0.87.1 line 80 (Anu and Adad invoked), *ibid.*, vol.2, 31; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.50 line 42b-3a (Ištar invoked), *ibid.*, 321.

³⁵ Defeat (Aššur and Ninurta invoked), *ibid.*, A.0.101.26 282 71b and smashing weapons (Ištar invoked), 50 321 42b-44a; the latter malediction parallels the rejection of kingship.

³⁶ *qassišunu likim*, SAA II, 12.

³⁷ Also SSA II EB 27 iv 18a (Astarte invoked).

2.4.2 Destruction of Troops

Specific mention of the destruction of troops in ancient Near Eastern curses does not occur very often, probably because it can be assumed in the contents of other curses related to war.

2.4.2.1 An Old Babylonian Inscription

CH: "May she (Ištar) strike down his warriors!" (§13.no.31), and "may she (Ištar) make a heap of his warriors' corpses on the plain!" (§13.no.33).

2.4.2.2 Assyrian Inscriptions

(1) Building Inscriptions

Tukultī-Ninurta I: "May he (Ašsur) bring about the defeat of his army!" (§40.no.1). The same idea occurs in Tiglath-pileser's annals (§41.no.2).

(2) Neo-Assyrian Treaties

Destruction of troops is to be deduced from other curses referring to war (see below "bloody defeat"). Although the curse of the destruction of the troops of disloyal vassals is not mentioned specifically in Neo-Assyrian treaties, it is included in the maledictions of the destruction of vassals' people in AM (2.4.5.3 (2) below) and of bloody battle (2.4.7 below).

2.4.3 Losing Life in War

CH: "May he (Nergal) shatter him with his mighty weapon and break his body in pieces like a figure of clay!" (§13.no.37).

An inscription from the reign of Merodach-Baladan I prays: "May Marduk and Zarpanitu deliver him to the sword!" (§19.no.3).³⁸ In a kudurru from Nabû-mukîn-apli's reign the same idea occurs: "May Nergal slay him in his battle!" (§33.no.3, by Nergal).

The malediction of losing life in war is comparable to that of bloody battle (see 2.4.7 below). The malediction of losing life in war is attested in VTE: ""May Aššur st[ri]ke [you] down with [his] fierce weapons!" (§51.no.28).

2.4.4 Losing Liberty in War

This malediction relates to defeat. It appears in parallel to the malediction of turning day into night: "May he (Zababa) turn day into night for him and cause his enemy to trample upon him!" (§13.no.26). Losing liberty in war also relates to an

³⁸ Cf. Livingstone, "Marduk-nādin-ahhē," iv 29.

imprecation concerning the withdrawal of divine support. A kudurru from Marduk-nādin-ahhe's time: "May Zamama not grasp his hand in the battle!" (§29.no.8).

The same idea occurs in one of Šamaš-Adad I's inscriptions: "May he and his army not prevail in the face of a king who opposes him!"³⁹ The same idea occurs in an Adad-nārārī I inscription: "May he not stand firm before his enemy!"⁴⁰ This idea is expressed in Tiglath-pileser I's inscription: "May they (Anu, Adad) make him sit in bonds before his enemies!"⁴¹ and recurs in Ashurnasirpal II's inscriptions.⁴² The same malediction continues in Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses.⁴³ It follows the same idea, namely binding the arms of the accursed in VTE: "May she (Ištar) bind your arms and have you crouch under your enemy!" (§51.no.16b-c). And the malediction of not standing firm before the enemy which occurred in Adad-nārārī I's inscription recurs as a simile curse in VTE 535a.⁴⁴

2.4.5 The Destruction of the Land

Destruction of the land can be categorized in two ways: devastation of towns, including people, and destruction of borders. This curse is not attested in the Sumerian and Old Akkadian inscriptions.

2.4.5.1 An Old Babylonian Inscription

CH: "May she (Ninlil) cause his land to be ruined, his people destroyed!" (§13.no.8; cf. no.13 (Šamaš invoked)).

2.4.5.2 Inscriptions of the Post-Kassite Period

An inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I's time (1124-1103): "May ruin fasten its grip upon the inhabitants of his city!" (§23.no.4). This is comparable to the curse of destruction of (the property) boundary; for example, in a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhe's time, "May he (Ninurta) destroy his boundary!" (§28.no.6; cf. no.5).

2.4.5.3 Assyrian Inscriptions

(1) Building Inscriptions

The Assyrian building inscriptions carry on those curses. The devastation of cities is compared with a result of the flood in an inscription of Adad-nārārī I: "May

³⁹ *ana pān šarri [ma]hrišu ša u ummanāssu ai iprikā*, *RIMA* I A.0.39.1 51 118-21.

⁴⁰ *ina pāni nakrišu ai izziz*, *RIMA* I A.0.76.2 134 60b-61a, 9 143 31b-32a, 76.15 151 43b-44; *Shalmaneser* I A.O.77.6 195 27-28a; *Tulkultī-Ninurta* I A.O.78.5 246 123b-124.

⁴¹ *ina pān nakrišu kāmiš lašibāšu*, *RIMA* II A.0.87.1 31 iii 82-83a.

⁴² *Ibid.*, A.0.101.26 282 71b, 50 331 19b (Ištar invoked).

⁴³ *SAA* II EB 27 iv 18b-19a.

⁴⁴ See Part II 3.2.10.1 (1).

he (Adad) make his land (look) like ruined hills created by the deluge!" (§38.no.8). The same idea continues in Tiglath-pileser III's time (§43). In an inscription of Adad-nārārī III this curse relates to the devastation of the land which might be caused by a plague of locusts (§45.no.1, by Adad). Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sîn and Šamaš are invoked in an inscription of Shalmaneser IV to smash the land like a brick (§46.no.2).

(2) Neo-Assyrian Treaty-Curses

AM: "May Aššur turn your land into a battlefield, your people to devastation, your cities into mounds, and your house into ruins!" (§49.no.10).⁴⁵ The same idea occurs in VTE: "May Šamaš with an iron plough overturn your city and your district!" (§51.no.29).

2.4.6 No Mercy

CH: "May she (Ištar) not bestow mercy on his warriors!" (§13.no.34). The same idea occurs in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I's time, namely that the captor may not accept the supplication of the accursed (§23.no.6).

Esarhaddon: "May she (Ištar) not grant him mercy!"⁴⁶ recurring in VTE: [May] Ištar [no]t show you mercy and compassion!" (§51.no.17).

2.4.7 Bloody Battle

The imprecation of bloody battle appears in CH. There two different aspects are expressed: one refers to the accumulation of corpses on the field (§13.no.33 in 2.4.2.1);⁴⁷ the other has "may she (Ištar) drench the earth with their blood!" (§13.no.32). A battlefield and chariots covered with blood would result from fierce fighting. That would result in filling the battlefield with blood (VTE, §51.no.6).⁴⁸ Thus, the curse of chariots drenched with the accursed ones' blood in VTE (§51.no.32) may be compared.

2.4.8 Burning People

CH: "May Nergal . . . burn his people with his great overpowering weapon like a raging fire in a reed thicket!" (§13.no.36). We find the fulfilment of this malediction in Ashurnasirpal II' and Tiglath-pileser III's annals (see Part III 2.1.3).

⁴⁵ Also 2.4.2.2 (2) above; §50.no.2a, by Melqarth and Eshmun.

⁴⁶ *ai iršišu rēm*, *Asarhaddons*, 76 §48 25b.

⁴⁷ Cf. Part II 3.1.10.2.

⁴⁸ See also Part III 2.1.5.

It recurs as a simile curse in VTE: "May your figure be burnt in the fire!" (§51.no.31).⁴⁹

2.4.9 Dispossession

Conquerors commonly plundered houses of the defeated. A kudurru of Nebuchadnezzar I's time: "May another possess the house which he has built!" (§23.no.5). The same idea occurs in Šamši-Adad I's inscription: "May Nergal take away by force his treasure and the treasure of his land!"⁵⁰ The malediction is expanded in VTE to include wives: "May Venus make your wives lie in the lap of your enemy before your eyes; may your sons not take possession of your house, but a strange enemy divide your goods!" (§51.no.8).⁵¹

2.4.10 Deportation

CH: "May they (enemies) carry him away in bonds to a land hostile to him!" (§13.no.35). A deed of Marduk-zākir-šumi: "May they (Marduk and Zarpanit) pronounce his fall and captivity!" (§34.no.3). These two ideas occur together in Tukultī-Ninurta I's inscription: "May they (Aššur, Enlil and Šamaš) force him to dwell in captivity in the land of his enemies!" (§40.no.4).

In AM this curse relates to a disloyal vassal together with his family and his people (§49.no.2 in 2.1.5.2 above).⁵²

2.5 Short Life

A Gudea inscription: "May they alter his determined fate! May he be killed at this, his day, like a cow!" (§1.nos.1-2).

In CH this malediction occurs in relation to that of a reign of grief (§13.no.5 in 2.2.3).

In following eras the length of life is accursed, e.g., in a kudurru of Marduk-ahhē-ērība: "May the gods not grant him life for a single day!" (§32.no.3).⁵³ In a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē this malediction is emphasized by parallelism: "shorten his days, reduce his months, diminish his years!" (Appendix IV 29).

An Assyrian inscription from Tiglath-pileser I's reign contains: "May he (Adad) command that he live not one day longer!" (§41.no.4a).

⁴⁹ A similar simile curse occurs in Hittite military oaths, N. Oettinger, *Die Militärischen Eide*, 8-9 i 47-51. See also Part III 2.1.3.

⁵⁰ *dnergal ina kaškašim išittašu u išitti mātišu lirtaddi*, *RIMA* I A.0.39.1 51 122-126.

⁵¹ See also Part III 2.1.4.

⁵² Also §50.no.2; VTE 579-81 in Part II 3.2.10.2.

⁵³ Also in a kudurru of Marduk-zākir-šumi's time, *RA* 16 (1919), 130 iv 11-12.

In Neo-Assyrian treaties the general expressions of this imprecation occur in ŠM, "may Nabû not spare his life!" (§48.no.2) and in VTE, "may Aššur not grant you long-lasting old age and the attainment of extreme old age!" (§51.no.1).⁵⁴

2.6 Life Spilt like Water

Losing life is illustrated with shedding water. CH (§13.no.8): "May she (Nin-lil) cause his life to be spilled like water!" recurring in a kudurru of Nazimarruttaš (c. 1323-1298 B.C.), "may Marduk . . . shed his life like water!"⁵⁵ and in ŠM: "may he pour out his life like water!"⁵⁶

2.7 Solitary Survival

A kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē: "May he crouch like an owl in abandoned ruins!" (§28.no.2), and a similar idea appears in AM vi 5 (see Parts II 3.3.3; cf. III 2.1.15).

2.8 No Burial

A kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's time: "May his corpse not be buried!" (§21).⁵⁷ The same idea recurs in VTE: "May the earth not receive your corpses!" (§51.no.24).

2.9 No Libations

2.9.1 An Old Babylonian Inscription

The curses relating to war could result in deprivation of offspring, who would have fulfilled the duty for the dead. So the dead would live like vagrants in the underworld. The Epic of Gilgamesh describes the state:⁵⁸ "Have you seen him whose spirit has no one to tend? - I have seen (him). He eats lees of the pot, crumbs of bread, which are thrown on the street."⁵⁹ No libations as a curse occurs

⁵⁴ This curse is to be deduced from the punishment related to the loss of life in war in the treaty of the ninth century B.C., see ŠM e. 18b below. In AM this malediction is connected with decapitation (AM i 27a, in Part II 4.3.1.3) and the destruction of life (§49.1).

⁵⁵ *dmarduk . . . napištašu ktma mē litbuk*, MDP 2 89-90 iii 30-35.

⁵⁶ *napištašu kt mē litbuk*, SAA II 4 e.18b.

⁵⁷ See further Part II 4.3.1.4; also Livingstone, iv 21.

⁵⁸ *ša eṭemmašu pāqida lā išū tāmur atamar šukulat diqāri kusipat akāli ša ina sūqi nadā ikkal*, in K. Deller and K. Watanabe, "šukkulu(m), šakkulu "abwischen, auswischen," ZA 70 (1980), 211-12 xii 153-54. See further Part II 4.3.1.4.

⁵⁹ One of the blessings of people in the ancient Near East was that the dead could drink water. We read in a Babylonian inscription on a mortuary cone of the second millennium B.C: *ina šaplati eṭemmušu mē zak[ūt]i l[i]lta* "may his spirit drink pure water in the underworld" (lines 14-16), Émile Szlechter, "Inscription Funéraire Babylonienne," in *Académie des Inscriptions*, 430.

in CH: "May he (Šamaš) make his ghost thirst for water below in the nether world!" (§13.no.15b).

2.9.2 Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

A kudurru of Kurigalzu's time: "May Šamaš never let the pipe for him receive cool water down below!" (§14.no.2). In a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's reigns this malediction is invoked in the name of Ninurta for deprivation of the offspring "who pours the waters for him!" (§29.no.6).⁶⁰

2.9.3 Neo-Assyrian Treaties

This malediction follows curses of cannibalism and corpses eaten by animals leading no-one to take care of the ghosts: "May your ghost have nobody to take care of the pouring of libations to him!" (§51.no.14). In another example, the curse occurring in CH (§13.no.15b, 2.9.1 above) recurs in VTE (§51.no.20).⁶¹

2.10 Drought

For Babylonia an interruption of the flow of rivers and canals would be a serious matter. The concept occurs in Atrahasis II iv 2-3: "Below, the flood did not [rise] from the abyss!"⁶² As a malediction this idea appears in Sumerian, "may the water be held back in the earth!" (§1.no.7), continues in CH, "may he (Enki) dam up his rivers at the source!" (§13.no.10a) and in a kudurru of Marduk-ahhē-ērība's time, "may Marduk stop up his river!" (§32.no.2). An Old Akkadian inscription: "May Enki not make his canal full!" (§9.no.6).

This traditional idea is echoed in AM iv 21: "may women fetching water not draw water from the springs!"⁶³

2.11 Famine

Gudea Statue B: "May famine rule in his reign!" (§1.no.9). In CH this curse occurs in the context of the end of the reign in grief (see 2.2.3) and continues in the kudurrus from the end of the second millennium B.C. In a kudurru of Meli-shipak's time, along with other expressions, famine is invoked in the name of all the gods

⁶⁰ Also in a kudurru of Nabû-mukīn-apli's time (§33.no.5b, by Ninurta); Livingstone, iv 11 (without a divine name).

⁶¹ Cf. *SAA* II AB 67 r. 14b; SB 72 9b-10a.

⁶² *šapliš ul i[l]lika milu ina naqb[i]*, Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasīs*, 78-79, 108 ff.

⁶³ *habti [mê] ai ihbâ mē nagbi*, *SAA* II, 11.

mentioned (§17.no.7). A kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's reign: "May Nabû appoint days of scarcity and drought as his destiny!" (§27.no.5).⁶⁴

Famine occurs in a Middle-Assyrian inscription in the context of the Adad-curse (2.16.1.5 (1)). An inscription of Ashurnasirpal II: "May they (Ninurta and Ištar) establish in his land distress, famine, (and) hunger!"⁶⁵

Famine would cause a disaster among the people. Thus, the malediction of famine relates to the destruction of inhabitants: "May he (Marduk) strike down his people [through hunge]r and famine!" (ŠM, §48.no.1). In AM famine occurs in an Adad-curse (§49.no.5 in 2.16.1.5 (2) below). It also would cause a difficult reign to vassals (§48.no.4 in 2.2.5.2 above). VTE: "May want and famine, hunger and plague never be removed from you!" (§51.no.23).⁶⁶

2.12. Divine Anger/Curse⁶⁷

2.12.1 Sumerian Inscriptions

The imprecation of divine curse/anger can be traced back to Sumerian inscriptions: "May Gilgameš curse him!" (§5)⁶⁸ and "may he (Nanna) look at his city with anger!" (§6).⁶⁹

2.12.2 Old Akkadian Inscriptions

A Narām-Sin inscription: "May Sîn, Ištar-Annunītum, An, Enlil, Ilaba, Sîn, Šamaš, Nergal, Um(um), Ninkarak, in their totality curse him with a terrible curse!" (§9.no.1).

2.12.3 Old Babylonian Inscription

CH: " May Enlil curse him with these curses!" (§13.no.41) and all the gods are invited to curse an evil king and his whole realm (§13.no.40).⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Also §30.no.5. In another kudurru, Marduk is invoked to punish the accursed with famine (30-34) followed by its result, namely: *ina naṭal kammāli tiriṣ qāti u lā epēri saq ališu lissahhur* "may he go around the streets of his city with his adversary (?) looking on, begging but receiving no food!" (MDP 2 109 35-40); translation in CAD K, 125.

⁶⁵ *sunāqu bubātu u nibrātu ina māssu [lā]kinā*, RIMA II A.O.101.32 297 20d.

⁶⁶ §51.no.22 has the abandonment of food and drink, which may result in famine and illness. In the ceremonial curses of this treaty, on the other hand, famine is vividly expressed; the value of bread through scarcity is compared with the value of gold (VTE 567).

⁶⁷ The divine anger and the invocation of divine curse are the same concept, since they refer to withdrawal of divine favour.

⁶⁸ Also UET I nr. 289 87 71-72 and two Sumerian inscriptions from OB, *ibid.*, nr. 294 90 37-38 & §11.

⁶⁹ Also Šulgi 46 12-16 (*ibid.*, 199); Šulgi 65 7-14 (*ibid.*, 199); Ibbīsuēn A 9-8 71-72 (*ibid.*, 288).

⁷⁰ Also §13.3, by Anu.

2.12.4 Inscriptions from the Kassite and the post-Kassite periods

A kudurru of Nazimaruttaš: "May Anu, Enlil and Ea curse him (with) an indissoluble evil curse!" (§15.no.1)⁷¹ recurs in a kudurru from Meli-shipak's reign (§17.no.1, by Anu; cf. no.5).⁷² A similar idea relating to the invocation of a divine curse is divine anger, attested already in a Sumerian inscription (2.12.1), and recurs in kudurrus from the time of Melišipak onwards: "As for that man, may Anu, Enlil and Ea, the great gods, look at him with anger."⁷³ The joining of divine anger and divine curse is first attested in a kudurru of Melishipak's time.⁷⁴

2.12.5 Assyrian Inscriptions

2.12.5.1 Building Inscriptions

The malediction of divine anger/curse does not appear frequently in Assyrian curses. A Tiglath-pileser I inscription has: "May Anu and Adad look at him with anger and inflict an evil curse upon him!" (§41.no.1).⁷⁵ An inscription of Ashurnasirpal II: "May Aššur and Ninurta look at him with anger!" (§42.no.1). Sennacherib: "May Aššur and the great gods of heaven and earth curse him with an evil curse!" (§44.no.2).

2.12.5.2 Neo-Assyrian Treaties

The invocation of divine curse continues in the Neo-Assyrian treaties (§50.no.1).⁷⁶ The expression of divine curse and an angry glance go together in VTE: "May they (all the great gods of heaven and earth) strike you, look at you in anger! May they curse you grimly with a painful curse!" (§51.no.19).

⁷¹ Also MDP 2 89 iii 16-24 and in a kudurru of Kudur-Enlil, RA 66 (1972), 173 67b-68.

⁷² Also MDP 10 92 iv 12-14 (Anu, Enlil and Ea invoked); MDP 6 38 vi 12b-13; AfO 23 (1970), 3 iv 4-6 (from Merodach-Baladan I's reign, by Šuqamuna and Šumalia); §18.no.2, §29.1 (from Marduk-nādin-ahhē's reign), BBSt 9 61 i 37b-39a (from Nabû-mukīn-apli's time, by Anu, Enlil and Ea), BBSt 10 74-75 rev. 38-40 (Shamash-shum-ukīn's time, by Anu, Enlil and Ea).

⁷³ *amltu šuātum d^anu d^eenlil u d^aaa ilāni rabūti izziš likkilmāšuma*, MDP 10 92 iv 8-11; also JCS 2 (1948), 203 (?) 2-3 (between Meli-shipak II and Enlil-nādin-apli, Ea and Enlil invoked); Livingstone, iv 1-5 (Marduk-nādin-ahhē, Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah invoked) and Peiser, KB IV iii 8b-11 (Marduk-nādin-ahhē, Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah invoked) and see further fn. 74.

⁷⁴ MDP 2 108-09 iv 15-25 (angry divine glance) and iv 26-28 (divine curse) (Anu, Bēl, Ea and Ninhursagga invoked); ZA 65 (1975), 56 51b-54a (from Marduk-šapik-zēri's time, by Anu, Enlil, Ea and Bēlet-ilī). In some cases, divine curse is followed by divine anger, BBSt 6 35 ii 37-38 (from Nebuchanezzar I's time); Hinke, A New Boundary Stone, 192 ii 14-20 (from Marduk-ahhē-ēriḫa's time); see further Part V 1.3.1 fn. 13.

⁷⁵ See further Part V 1.1.6 fn. 10, 3.1 fn. 13.

⁷⁶ Also the expression of this idea is modified in SAA II, SB 72 r 7-8a; cf. EI ii 1-4, *ibid.*, 78.

To sum up, the invocation of deities to curse which includes all aspects of life in CH, occurs as a basic expression in Sumerian. It is further related to the natural calamity in a kudurru of the time of Meli-shipak. The basic expressions existing from the Sumerian period are used in Assyrian building inscriptions and Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses.

2.13 Divine Evil Speech

The malediction concerning evil speech by a deity against the accursed is attested in inscriptions from the Old Babylonian period: "May the bride Aya put in a bad word about him before Šamaš for ever!" (§12.no.1). The same idea occurs in CH: May Ninlil vitiate his matter before Enlil at the place of litigation and verdict!" (§13.no.7). The same idea recurs in the Kassite and post-Kassite periods, e.g., "May Zarpanitu speak evil about him in the presence of the lord of lords (§33.no.1)⁷⁷ and continues in VTE: "May Mullissu make the utterance of his (Aššur's) mouth evil!" (§51.no.2a).

2.14 Evil Demons

Evil demons were sent "as mere agents and executors of the will of the gods; their rôle was to implement divinely ordained punishment for sin" usually "by infliction of diseases."⁷⁸

A kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time: "May she (Ištar) hang an evil deity, a sapping spirit, at his side!" (§28.no.8). A similar idea recurs in VTE: "May demon, devil and evil spirit select your houses!"⁷⁹

2.15 Infertility

Barrenness of women and impotence of men were well known in the ancient Near East.⁸⁰ Two kudurrus from the end of the second millennium have the malediction of infertility. In a kudurru of Nazimaruttaš this malediction it relates to both humans and animals: "May Belet-ili not give any birth in his house and in his house may she prevent birth of ox, sheep, donkey and human!" (§15.no.4).⁸¹

⁷⁷ See further details, *BaM Bh* 3, 41-42.

⁷⁸ J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols*, 63.

⁷⁹ *šedu utukku rabṭṣu lemmu bītātikunu lthirā*, *SAA* II 49 493. In an Old-Assyrian building inscription Šin is invoked to become an evil demon, see §36.no.3 in 2.16.3.3 (1) below.

⁸⁰ Harry A. Hoffner, "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity," *JBL* 85 (1966), 326-34.

⁸¹ In a kudurru of Kudur-Enlil (1264-1256) line 75, the same expression occurs without a divine name, *ibid.*, 173. This curse appears slightly modified in a kudurru from Nabû-mukîn-apli's reign *ninmah . . . alad amelūti alpē u šēnē lišāshissu* "May Ninmah, . . ., take from him utterly the birth of slaves, oxen, and sheep!," *BBSt*, 9 ii 26-29a. A similar idea occurs in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's reign (§19.no.1).

A similar idea is attested only in AM v 11b-12a,⁸² dealing with impotence and barrenness.

The Erra-Epic from the 8th century B.C.: "He/she shall cut off birth and deprive the nurses of the cries of the little children."⁸³ The same coupling recurs in VTE: "May Belet-ili cut off birth from your land; may she deprive your nurses of the cries of little children in the streets and squares!" (§51.no.11).

2.16 Curses by Specific Deities

2.16.1 Adad-Curse

Adad is invoked in relation to agriculture, rain and flood, and famine.

2.16.1.1 Sumerian Inscriptions

The Adad-curse can be related to the Sumerian curse of drought, since Adad-curses usually relate to drought and other natural disasters.

The malediction of drought is invoked without a divine name, "May the rain be retained in heaven!" (§1.no.6).

Curses invoked in the name of Adad are attested from Old Akkadian down to Neo-Assyrian Inscriptions.

2.16.1.2 An Old Akkadian inscription

An inscription of Narām-Sin: "May Adad and Nisaba not let his furrow flourish! (§9.no.5).

2.16.1.3 An Old Babylonian Inscription

CH: "May Adad deprive him of rain from heaven (and) floodwater from the springs!" (§13.no.21). Adad is also invoked to destroy the land by want and hunger (§13.no.22) and by flood (§13.no.24), presumably, accompanied with thunder (§13.no.23; cf. §49.no.5 below).

2.16.1.4 Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

The same basic idea of curse by Adad continues in the Kassite and post-Kassite periods. Yet it is more elaborate. In a kudurru of Kudur-Enlil (1264-1256), Adad is asked to inflict hunger-cramp (§16). A kudurru from Merodach-Baladan I's reign: "May Adad withdraw the water from his river!" (§19.no.2). He also appears in relation to the infertility of soil and the deprivation of crops and plants: "May

⁸² See also Part II 3.2.6.1.

⁸³ *iparrasa talittu ikkil šerri u lakē* (variation *laʾi*) *tārttu [uzamma]*, K. Watanabe, "Rekonstruktion von VTE 438 auf Grund von Erra III A 17," *Assur* 3 (1983), 165.

Adad make potassium of his fields useless and deprive (them) of crops! May he not let vegetation grow!" (§20.4).⁸⁴ In an inscription from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, Adad relates to the malediction of filling canals with mud, famine and its consequences, "may oppression, ruin and adversity be bound day and night at his side!" (§23.no.3).⁸⁵ The malediction of filling canals with mud is expanded by filling the field with thorns and the destruction of vegetation in a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time (§29.no.5).⁸⁶

2.16.1.5 Assyrian Inscriptions

(1) Building Inscriptions

All the ideas of the Adad-curses above are represented in the Assyrian inscriptions.

Adad-nārārī I's building inscriptions have the Adad-curse of flood: "May Adad overwhelm him with a terrible flood!" (§38.no.4) followed by its results, famine and the destruction of the land (§38.nos.5-6).⁸⁷ Further the Adad-curse (§38.no.7) has: "May Adad strike his land with terrible lightning (and) afflict his land with want!" This would result in famine. The same expression recurs in a Tiglath-pileser I inscription combined with famine and plague (§41.3).⁸⁸

(2) The Neo-Assyrian Treaties

Adad is invoked for the same curses from the ninth to the seventh centuries B.C. In ŠM Ea is invoked to dam rivers (§48.no.6). The curses of deprivation of rain and seasonal flood occur, which would result in famine and the destruction of the land (ŠM, §48.no.10). Adad in relation to the destruction of the land through

⁸⁴ The same idea occurs in a kudurru of Marduk-šāpik-zeri (1080-68): *dningirsu bēl alala eqli ugaršu idrana lišeshipma ina širišu urqtu ai ibbaši kīmu dnisaba puquttu lihnuv* "May Ningirsu, the lord of (work) song in the fields, spread alkali over his field, so that no vegetation may grow in his furrows; instead of crops, may thorn-plant shoot!," *ZA* 65 (1975), 56-58 68-71. As a result, the work song of farmer would disappear, see further Part II 3.1.3, cf. 3.6.1; cf. Part III 2.2.13.

⁸⁵ The Adad-curse related to famine is a continuum of CH (§13.no.22); also found in a kudurru of Marduk-šāpik-zeri's time (*ZA* 65 (1975), 56 61b-63).

⁸⁶ In another contemporary kudurru the Adad-curse appears in connection with the uncultivable fields (§27.no.4).

⁸⁷ The terrible thunder invoked by Adad occurring in CH (§13.no.23) recurs in an Adn.I inscription, *RIMA* I A.0.76.9 143 27-29.

⁸⁸ This imprecation is expressed slightly differently in Ashurnasirpal II's inscription: *dadad gugal šamē u eršete ina birqi lamutte mātišu libriq sunq[ū] nibrtu hušahu ana māssu līdi* "May Adad, the canal-inspector of heaven and underworld, strike his land with terrible lightning (and) afflict his land with distress, famine, (and) hunger!," *RIMA* II A.0.101.40 310 42-44. In an inscription of Adad-nārārī III the Adad-curse relates to a natural disaster which would cause the land of the accursed to be devastated, §45.no.1.

famine also occurs in AM (§49.no.5). The malediction of withdrawal of rain is expressed by deprivation of Adad's thunder in AM (§49.no.7; cf. §13.no.23). VTE: "May Adad cut off sea[sonal flooding] from your land and deprive your fields of [grain], may he [submerge] your land with a great flood!" (VTE §51.no.12).⁸⁹

Adad is responsible for the weather conditions and agricultural prosperity from the Sumerian period onward. From the OB onwards the Adad-curse includes the consequences of the calamities, e.g., drought and famine, destruction of the canals and the soil. These would also cause civil unrest. Furthermore, Adad is responsible for controlling flood and its results, namely the destruction of the country through famine. These ideas, in modified expressions, continue in the Assyrian inscriptions and Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses.

2.16.2 Marduk-Curse

This curse usually relates to dropsy as a severe punishment and an incurable disease. The curse that Marduk might inflict dropsy is attested in kudurru inscriptions from the post-Kassite down to the Neo-Assyrian periods.

A kudurru from Marduk-nādin-ahhē's reign shows the Marduk-curse of dropsy (*aganutillū*) as *rikissu la ippaṭṭaru* as "the bond which cannot be loosed" (§27.no.3).⁹⁰ The same concept occurs in another contemporary kudurru, but omits the term of dropsy (§29.no.4). A kudurru of Enlil-nādin-apli (1102-1099) has the Marduk-curse as *šerissu rabīta* "his great punishment."⁹¹ The Marduk-curse as dropsy and severe punishment (*šeressu kabittu*) occurs in a Neo-Babylonian text.⁹² Sometimes, dropsy is attributed to both Marduk and other deities. For example, in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I the malediction of dropsy is invoked in the name of all the gods mentioned in the kudurru: "May they afflict him with dropsy."⁹³ In a kudurru from Merodach-Baladan II's time, dropsy is invoked as a dire punishment (*šertu kabittu*) with its symptoms: "May Marduk and Zarpānīt, the lords, who

⁸⁹ The curse of flood (VTE 442a, §51.no.12c) slightly modified occurs in VTE 488-89a without a divine name.

⁹⁰ Also in other kudurrus: 1) Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time, Livingstone, v 29-33 and KB IV 80 iii 13-14 (§30.no.1); 2) Marduk-šāpik-zeri's time, namely: ^d*marduk šar šamē u eršeti kārīb gimri aganutillā š[a] rikissu la paṭṭru lišaršišuma [ai i]ppaṭir markassu* "May Marduk, the king of heaven and earth, who blesses the universe, cause him to have incurable dropsy, so that its grip may not be unfastened!," Reschid & Wilcke, ZA 65 (1975), ? 64-67.

⁹¹ BBSt 11 79 iv 4b-6.

⁹² Citations in CAD A/1 144.

⁹³ *agallatillā lišamrišūma*, MDP 6 38 vi 20.

determine fate, let him bear his heavy punishment, dropsy; may his body come to an end in wasting away!"⁹⁴

To sum up, the Marduk-curse as dropsy parallels the terms "an indissoluble bond," "severe or great punishment." When the Marduk-curse omits the term dropsy, either "an indissoluble bond" or "severe or great punishment" respectively refers to dropsy.

In VTE Marduk is asked to curse with "a severe punishment (*hītu kabtu*) and an indissoluble curse (*māmīt lā pašāri*)" (§51.no.7).⁹⁵ Since these expressions also occur with the specific curse of dropsy, we can assume that is implied here.

2.16.3 Sin-Curse

2.16.3.1 An Old Babylonian Inscription

The "punishment of Sîn" (*šertam rabītam*) as a euphemism for *saharšubbû* (leprosy) is first attested in CH (§13.no.17).⁹⁶

2.16.3.2 Inscriptions from the Kassite and the post-Kassite periods

In a kudurru of Nazimaruttaš the illness Sîn inflicts is identified with *saharšubbû*: "May Sin fill him (with) leprosy! May he lie outside like a wild ass!" (§15.no.3). From this time onward⁹⁷ the Sîn-curse principally occurs with *saharšubbû*, with two Assyrian exceptions (see below). Sometimes, leprosy is expressed with *šeret la piṭri* "an indissoluble punishment."⁹⁸ At the same time, the consequence of this illness occurs in parallel, namely, excommunication. In this case, the person afflicted with leprosy is doomed to live outside the city, in the steppe, like a wild donkey.

Although the malediction of leprosy is attributed almost always to Sîn, it is also invoked in the name of various deities from the 12th century B.C. onwards.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ *d₁marduk u d₂zarpānti bēlē mušimmā šimti šerissu kabittu [a]galâtillâ lišiššūšuma ina šihat šeri liqtâ zumuršu*, Delitzsch, "Der Berliner Merodachbaladan-Stein," *BA* 2 (1894), 265 v 40b-44. A simple expression of this malediction invoked by Marduk appears in a purchase deed from Esarhaddon's accession year, Owen and Watanabe, "Eine Neubabylonische Gartenkaufurkunde mit Flüchen aus dem Akzessionsjahr Asarhaddons," *OA* 22 (1983), 37 Rs 27-28.

⁹⁵ Dropsy is attributed to Ea in VTE 521-22, see Part II 3.5.2. In another Neo-Assyrian treaty, the curse invoked to destroy the land by war and famine, usually attributed to Aššur, relates to Marduk (ŠM e. 16-19). In an Asb foundation deposit, Marduk is invoked to look with anger and destroy the name and offspring, *Assurbanipal*, Cyl. L⁶ (P²), 238 29-30.

⁹⁶ See further *CAD* Š/II 325b.

⁹⁷ See further, K. Watanabe, "Die literarische Überlieferung eines babylonisch-assyrischen Fluchthemas mit Anrufung des Mondgottes Sin," *ASJ* 6 (1984), 101-02.

⁹⁸ *MDP* 10 pl.12 iv 17 in *CAD* Š II 325.

⁹⁹ See Watanabe, "Die literarische Überlieferung," *ASJ* 6 (1984), 101-04.

Thus, when the two examples from the seventh century B.C. attribute the imprecation of *saharšubbû* to Ištar, it is not a new phenomenon. In addition, the expressions of the Sîn-curse are not stereotyped. They are expressed slight differently.¹⁰⁰

2.16.3.3 Assyrian Inscriptions

(1) Building Inscriptions

The Sîn-curse is only attested in an inscription of Šamši-Adad I. There, Sîn is invoked to become an evil demon to the accursed: "May Sîn, ..., be an evil demon to him forever!"¹⁰¹

(2) The Neo-Assyrian Treaties

Sîn-curse in ŠM (§48.no.8) is expressed as *šerta rablta* which also occurred in CH (§13.no.17). Sîn is invoked to cause a difficult reign for a vassal (§48.no.9, see 2.2.5.2 above). In AM the Sîn-curse is connected with leprosy which is invoked together with its consequence: "May Sîn clothe Mati²-ilu, [his so]ns, his magnates, and the people of his land in leprosy as in a cloak! May they have to roam in the open country, and may there be no mercy for them!" (§49.no.4) and recurs in VTE "May Sîn clothe you with leprosy and forbid your entering into the presence of the gods or king. Roam the desert like the wild ass and the gazelle!" (§51.no.4).

2.16.4 Gula-Curse

The Gula-curse is first attested in CH: "May Ninkarrak,¹⁰² inflict upon him in his body a grievous malady, an evil disease, a serious injury which never heals, whose nature no physician knows, which he cannot allay with bandages, which like a deadly bite cannot be rooted out, and may he continue to lament (the loss of) his vigour until his life comes to an end!" (§13.no.39).¹⁰³

A kudurru of Nazimaruttaš: "May Gula put a lasting evil in his body and give him an incurable sickness! May he bathe (in) blood (and) pus as (in) water!" (§15.no.5). The kinds of inscriptions and the time span for the occurrence of the Gula-curse are almost identical from the Kassite down to the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. During this period all examples of this curse share the second part of the curse *dama šarka kīma mē lirmuk* "may he bathe in blood and pus as in water," - sometimes, blood and pus occur in reverse order - although the first part of the curse

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *d_{stn} ilu ... lā rabiš lemussu ana darētim*, RIMA II A.0.39.1 51 132-35.

¹⁰² Ninkarrak was later identified with Gula.

¹⁰³ Watanabe arranges occurrences of the Gula-curse chronologically, see BaM Bh 3, 35.

is expressed slightly differently.¹⁰⁴ Added to that, this malediction is attributed to Gula in all examples, except one, where Ninurta and Gula appear together.¹⁰⁵

The Gula-curse is not attested in Assyrian building inscriptions. In the Neo-Assyrian treaties, the Gula-curse appears in VTE: "May Gula put sickness and weariness [in your hearts] and an unhealing wound in your body. Bathe in [blood and pus] as if in water!" (§51.no.18).¹⁰⁶

2.16.5 Šamaš-Curse

2.16.5.1 Juridical Aspect

Šamaš-curses are attested from the Old Babylonian down to the Neo-Assyrian periods. The majority of the instances from the second millennium B.C. relate to judgment in two different aspects.¹⁰⁷

One refers simply to Šamaš' judgment and is first attested in CH: "May malevolent word of Šamaš swiftly overtake him!" (§13.no.14). A kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time refers to the same idea: "May Šamaš decide his punishment and oppose him!" (§30.no.2).

The other refers to refusal of just judgement. An inscription from Nebuchadnezzar I's time: "May Šamaš and Adad may not judge him with a judgment of justice and righteousness!" (§24.no.4). In a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē this imprecation specifies Šamaš' denial of a successful lawsuit: "May Šamaš not give heed to him in his litigation! May he not allow his lawsuit to reach a decision!" (§28.nos.3-4).¹⁰⁸

In Assyrian building inscriptions the Šamaš-curse continues the idea of justice (Šamšī-Adad I (§36.no.4a)).¹⁰⁹

2.16.5.2 Physical Disabilities

¹⁰⁴ In two cases the second part of the curse is missing, see *ibid.*, 37-39.

¹⁰⁵ Gula is Ninurta's wife, see no. 12, *ibid.*, 37. See further, *ibid.*, 35-40.

¹⁰⁶ Also *SSA* II EB 27 iv 3-4.

¹⁰⁷ In some cases, Šamaš is invoked to overthrow the kingship of the accused (§13.no.11) and to destroy the country (§13.no.13).

¹⁰⁸ The identical idea is expressed differently in a contemporary kudurru (*BBSt.*, 8 iv 10-11) and in one kudurru of the time of Nabû-mukin-apli (977-942) (*BBSt.*, 9 ii 1-3a). A similar curse is invoked by Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Šin and Šamaš in a Shalm.IV's building inscription, *RIMA* III A.O.105.1 240 15-19.

¹⁰⁹ A Šamaš-curse in an inscription of Adad-nārāri III refers to a solar eclipse: *dšamaš dayyān šamē u eršeti eklētu ina mātišu lišabštma ai iṭlā ahameš* "May Šamaš, judge of heaven and underworld, cause darkness in his land so that people cannot see each other!," *RIMA* III A.O.104.6 209 30c-31b. In another example, from Ashurbanipal's annals, it relates to the annihilation of the family line (§47).

Šamaš is invoked to attack the physical ability of the person in a kudurru of the time of Merodach-Baladan I (§20.no.2).¹¹⁰ A kudurru from Marduk-nādin-ahhē's reign has a Šamaš-curse, which probably indicates loss of eyesight: "May Šamaš smite his countenance! May his bright day turn to darkness for him!" (§27.no.2). If that is correct, this is the first reference to the loss of eye-sight.

However, the tradition of the Šamaš-curse recurs in Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses. In ŠM it relates to rejection of kingship (§48.no.7a in 2.3.4.2 above) already seen in CH (§13.no.11) and no justice (§48.no.7b). In VTE the Šamaš-curse refers to no justice and the removal of eyesight: "May Šamaš, the light of heaven and earth, not judge you justly. May he remove your eyesight. Walk about in darkness!" (§51.no.5).

Furthermore, Šamaš in relation to the destruction of the country, occurred in CH (§13.no.13), recurs in VTE (§51.no.29).

Šamaš is further invoked for the removal of eye-sight from the seventh century B.C. Colophons have the Šamaš-curse regarding eye-sight.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Also in a kudurru from Marduk-šāpik-zēri's reign, *ZA* 65 (1975), 56 57-61a.

¹¹¹ Hunger, *Kolophone*, 112. Another colophon from the same period attributes the removal of eye-sight to Ea, *ibid.*, 113.

This summary reveals long traditions in the substance of curses, although none are transmitted in stereotyped phrases. Therefore, we deduce that the scribes in ancient Mesopotamia had freedom to re-word existing curses. They could select curses appropriate to the circumstances. For example, the curse of destruction of troops (2.4.2) does not occur in kudurrus since they are private, not royal documents. The malediction of rejection of kingship is only once attested in a kudurru. Despite its rare occurrence this phenomenon should be understood in the light of the role of curses. That is, even a king was not allowed to change a royal grant (see further Part II 1 and Appendix I). Furthermore, the freedom of the scribes is recognizable in their selection of the deities invoked. That is to say, the identical idea occurs in the names of different gods. We also note that curses reflect contemporary customs and situations, e.g, deportation as a military practice, the common occurrence of dropsy and 'leprosy', depriving the dead of libations. When composing Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses, the scribes were free to select from the traditional store and to modify the curses as they saw fit. Only a few curses retain stock phrases from earlier centuries entire, e.g., leprosy related to Šin and rain to Adad, yet even then these have differences of expressions and they do not always occur in the names of the same deities.

Chapter 3

CURSES UNIQUE TO NEO-ASSYRIAN TREATIES

3.1 Common Settings

There are curses in the Neo-Assyrian treaties which are not attested in Sumero-Babylonian texts, yet, arise from common problems of society, natural disaster and misfortune.

3.1.1 Homosexuality

The curse of becoming male prostitutes does not occur in other cuneiform literature, although homosexuality among men is attested in Mesopotamia from the third millennium onward.¹ Obviously it was regarded as abnormal, since it was invoked as a curse in AM v 9b-10: *mati'ilu lu issu harimtu šabū[šu] lū issū ki iss'harimtu ina rebit ālišun[ū nidn]u limhurū* "May Mati'-ilu become a prostitute, his soldiers women, may they receive [a gift] in the square of their towns like any prostitute!" Furthermore, the following curse implies a reaction in abhorrence (AM v 11a): *mātu ana māti lidhušunu* "May one country push them to the next!

3.1.2 A plague of Locusts

A plague of locusts appears in VTE 442b-43a: *erbū mušahhir māti ebūrkunu l[kul] ikkil* "May the locust who diminishes the land devour your harvest!" The plague of locusts was a common disaster in the ancient Near East. For example, an OB text mentions an invasion of locusts (*tibūt erbim*).² A Neo-Assyrian letter cites an astrological omen: *[ina šatti šā]ti erbū itebbīma ebūra ikkalu* "in th[at year] locusts will rise and consume the harvest."³ Furthermore, an attack of locusts is used as a simile in a curse asking Adad to attack the country of the accursed bringing its downfall (Appendix II §45.no.1).

3.1.3 No Work Song

AM iv 19: *ikkarušu ša ina šēri ai ilsā alala* "may his farmers not sing the harvest song in the field!" This situation might result from drought, or war when every agricultural activity would stop and the enemy destroy crops and devastate the land.

¹ H.W. F. Saggs, *The Might that was Assyria*, 145.

² CAD E, 257.

³ SAA X, 364 12b-13a.

As a result in both cases, the sound of the mill stone would stop (see 3.1.7 below).⁴

3.1.4 Clothing in Human Skin

VTE 450b-51a: *amtlu mašak amli lillabiš* "May one man clothe himself in another's skin!" A parallel imprecation appears in an astrological text (ACh Adad 17:36b): *amtlu mašak amli itabbaš* "a man will dress in human skin."⁵

3.1.5 Dust as Food

AM iv 14a: *epru ana akālišunu* "may dust be their food!" The metaphorical use of "dust" occurs in other texts. In the context of war eating dust means defeat. In an Amarna letter, the elders of Irqata asked the Pharaoh for help when they fought 'Abdi-Aširta and his 'Apiru followers: "May he grant a gift to his servant(s) so our enemies will see this and eat dirt" (VAS 16 174:11)⁶ which means "to be defeated."⁷ An Old Babylonian letter says: *kīma tīdū plja epiram maītma ittika ūl ad(!)bu[b]* "As you know, my mouth was filled with dust (i.e., I was in trouble), and I could not talk with you."⁸ Eating dust also means "be ashamed, be dishonorable" in the Old Testament (e.g., Micah 7:17).⁹ This semantic field shows the curse of AM iv 14a seeks utter misery for the cursed.

3.1.6 Sleeping Place in a Dung Heap

AM iv 16-17a: *liššakin ina tubkini lu maiālšunu* "may their sleeping place be in a dung heap."¹⁰ In an incantation to Marduk, it is a dwelling-place for demons: *lū ša tubqināti tattanaššabā* "Or who regularly sit in a dung heap." The same idea occurs in a text from Uruk: *nīš tupqinni u [ašibi]ša* "I swear at the dung heap and those, who live in it." It is also used metaphorically for low status: *šarru bēli ana dīni ša urdišu liqūla dibbi gabbu šarru lēmur . . . amēlu lapnu mār lapni kalbu mītu saklu u sukkuku anāku issu libbi kiqilliti intathanni* "Let the king my lord pay heed

⁴ According to B. Landsberger and Th. Jacobsen, "*alala* renders onomatopoeically the sound of the work-song . . .," "An Old Babylonian Charm Against *Merhu*," *JNES* 14 (1955), 20. See further "removal of joyful sounds" in Part II 4.1.3.2.

⁵ Cited in *CAD* M/1 376.

⁶ William L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 172 100:33 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁸ Cited in *CAD* E, 186.

⁹ Hugo Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 1, 291.

¹⁰ The equivalent of the Aramaic *qlqt* is *tubkinnu* "refuse heap, rubbish tip" in Assyrian. In *tubkinnu* "a variety of flora can grow: cucumbers, palm trees, grain, and medical plants," Jonas C. Greenfield and Aaron Shaffter, "*Qlqt, Tubkinnu*" *AnSt* 33 (1983), 125.

to his servant's case, let the king examine the entire suit. . . I am a commoner, the son of a commoner, a dead dog, simple and limited, but he had lifted me from the rubbish dump."¹¹ So, AM iv 16-17a asks for the worst circumstances for the accursed.

3.1.7 Deprivation of Essentials

Ointment (*piššatu*) was essential in daily life, as anointing the skin prevented it from cracking.¹² Thus, the curse *qtru ana piššatišunu* "may pitch be their ointment" (AM iv 14b) envisages a horrible incrustation.¹³ Furthermore, the deprivation of essentials appears in the context of war: *kurummattū ina pīkunu kūzippī kūzippī ina lanīkunu šamnu ina pašašūkunu lūhalliqū* "May they (Melqarth and Eshmun) take away the food from your mouth, the clothes from your body, and the oil for your anointing!" (EB iv 16-17). Similar are deprivation of the sound of the mill stone (VTE 443b-45a)¹⁴ and of dipping in the dough, taken (VTE 446b-447a)¹⁵ from food preparation activities. The curse of no honey,¹⁶ oil,¹⁷ ginger¹⁸ and cedar balsam¹⁹ for injury (VTE 643-45)²⁰ would remove medicine for curing wounds.

3.1.8 Bad Water

VTE 521-22: *ea šar apsi bēl naqbi mē lā balāti lišqtkunu aganutillā limalltkunu* "May Ea, king of the Abyss, lord of the springs, give you deadly water to drink, and fill you with dropsy!" The danger of bad water was well known. A text from the 8th or 7th century B.C. reveals: *ummāni ina harrān illaku šummū*

¹¹ Greenfield and Shaffer, "Qlqlt, Tubkinnu", 126.

¹² See Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* 1, 243 ff, 411.

¹³ Cf. VTE 656-58.

¹⁴ *erī u tinūri ina bitātkunu a-a ibši uṭṭutu ana ṭeāni lū tahliqakkunu* "The sound of mill or oven be lacking from your houses, may the grain for grinding disappear from you!"

¹⁵ *kišru ša ubānkunu ina lēši lū lā iṭabbu* "May not (even) your (first) finger-joint dip in the dough!"

¹⁶ Honey was mixed with other drugs for dressing, *CAD* D, 161.

¹⁷ Oil was used for wounds because of its softening effect. For example: *qām šamni ina karpatim šakin šūbilam awtlam kalbum iššukma urakkas šamnam šūbilam* "send me two silas of oil - they are in jug - a dog bit the man and I want to bandage (him), send the oil" (OB letter, PBS 7 57:12 and 16), *CAD* Š/1, 327.

¹⁸ *zinzaru'u* a foreign word of uncertain meaning; it is possibly Hurrian with the ending *-uhhe*, *CAD* Z, 124. Ginger has an antiseptic property.

¹⁹ See the medical use of cedar balsam, *CAD* E, 278.

²⁰ *kt nakrakunu upattahākanāni dišpu šamnu zinzaru'u dām erēni ana šakān pithtkunu lihliq* "When your enemy pierces you, may there be no honey, oil, ginger or cedar-resin available to place on your wound!" Cf. 490-92.

išabbassima mē la tībū išattīma imāt "my army will be overcome by thirst on a campaign it will go on, will drink bad water and will die" (CT 20 7:24).²¹

3.1.9 Strangulation

VTE 606-07: *ana kanāšunu issātēkunu mar'ēkunu mar'ātēkunu ina pitilti lih-naqūkunu* "May they strangle you, your women, your sons and your daughters with a cord!" This could be a crime. Old Babylonian legal texts report: *šubartyam ihtanaq* "he strangled (PN) the Subaræan"; *PN ina wardim hanaqim ubtirrū* "they have (now) indicted PN for strangling the slave."²²

3.1.10 Animals

3.1.10.1 Man-eating lion

EB iv 6-7: *ḏbaiti-ilāni ḏanatib[aiti-ilā]ni ina qātē nē[ši ākili] [limnū]kunu* "May Bethel and Anath-Bethel [deliver] you to the paws of a man-eating lion!"²³ The danger of a man-eating lion was well known. For example, in an Old Babylonian business document, *nēšu idākšuma ... 1 manū kaspam išaqqalu* "(if) a lion kills him, they (the sellers) will pay one mina of silver."²⁴ Gilgamesh wished: *ammaki taškunu abūba nēšu litbāmma nišē lišahhir* "Instead of your bringing on a flood, would that lions had risen to diminish mankind" (Gilg XI 182, cf. *ibid.*, 183).²⁵ Marduk prophecy reveals people were threatened by dangerous animals: *nēšū alaktam iparrasū* "lions block the road."²⁶ Furthermore, Assyrian kings boasted of killing lions, so what was originally part of the king's duty to protect his people had become a royal sport. For example, Tiglath-pileser I reported that, by the command of Ninurta, he killed 120 lions on foot and 800 from his chariot.²⁷ The palace reliefs at Nimrud and Nineveh depict the kings hunting lions.²⁸ The serious danger lions presented is shown by the Babylonian Chronicle's record of a lion killed in Babylon.²⁹

²¹ Citations in CAD M/II, 150.

²² Citations in CAD H, 77.

²³ Also VTE 467-68.

²⁴ Grant Bus. Doc.22:14, CAD N/II, 193 and see further references, *ibid.*, 193-94, cf. from the time of Ninurta-tukul-aššur: *kt nēšu ušabitušu* "when a lion had seized him", Ernst F. Weidner, "Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs," AfO 10 (1935-36) 40 no 89 Vs 11.

²⁵ Citations in CAD S, 123.

²⁶ R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi," BiOr 28 (1971), 8 ii 9.

²⁷ RIMA II A.0.87.1 26 vi 76 ff.

²⁸ E. A. W. Budge, Assyrian Sculptures, pls. xii no. 4a; xlii no. 36; R. D. Barnett, Sculptures from the North Palace, pls. vii-xiii.

²⁹ Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, 133 17 i 17.

your daughters go backwards like a crab." Although the meaning of this curse is obscure, the behaviour of a crab in simile curses is attested in Neo-Assyrian texts.³⁹

3.2.6 Annihilation of Family Line

3.2.6.1 Fauna

A characteristic of a mule, sterility, is used as a simile for the destruction of present and future family : *ki ša zar'u ša kudin[i la]ššūni šunkunu zar'akunu zar'u ša mar'ekunu issu māti lihliq* "Just as a m[ule has n]o offspring, may your name, your seed, and the seed of your sons and your daughters disappear from the land!" (VTE 537-39). The simile of a mule is not unique to VTE. A mule is used in a simile of impotence: *mati'[-ilu lū ša] kudani aššātīšu lītūtu* "may Mati'-ilu's (sex) life be that of a mule, his wives extremely old!" (AM v 11b-12a).

3.2.6.2 Hunting

VTE 576-78: *ki ša ālu kaššudūni dēkāni ana kāšunu ahhēkunu mar'ekunu bēl [dāmi]kunu lukaššidā lidākūkunu* "As a stag is pursued and killed, so may your [mortal] enemy pursue and kill you, your brothers and your sons!" Hunting scenes were favoured on seals from prior to 3000 B.C. and continued to Assyrian times. Stag hunting is depicted on Ashurnasirpal's reliefs of the 9th century and Ashurbanipal's of the 7th century B.C.⁴⁰

3.2.6.3 Ceremony

Blowing water out of a tube is used for two maledictions: *[k]i ša mē ina libbi ta[kk]ussi tanappahāni an[a k]āšunu issātēkunu mar'ekunu mar'ātēkunu lip[puh]ūkunu nārātēkunu būrātēšina ana qinniš lusahhirū* "Just as you blow water out of a t[ub]e, may they blow out you, your women, your sons and your daughters; may your streams and your springs make their waters flow backwards!" (VTE 563-66).⁴¹ The first curse implies dispersal of family. The second which would result in drought is unique (cf. Part II 2.10).

The destruction of the cursed together with his loyal family and people is illustrated by cutting up a lamb: decapitation (AM i 25-27a)⁴² and severing shoulders (Appendix II §49.no.3).⁴³

³⁹ *ki ša alluttu ahzu ana panišu u arkišu issanahuramāku* "(my husband) would move backwards and forwards like a caught crab," CAD A/1, 361.

⁴⁰ Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures*, pls. xii no. 4a; xlii no. 36; Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace*, pl. xliv.

⁴¹ Also VTE 636A-36C.

⁴² See Part II 4.1.2.3, 4.3.1.3.

⁴³ See Part III 2.1.6.

3.2.7 Misfortune

The consuming character of fire is used for the misfortune of the curse: *ki išāti lā tābtu lā de'iqtu lušalbûkunu* "May they make evil and wicked things surround you like fire!" (VTE 621). A curse of destruction is invoked with a simile of fire in CH: *dnergal ... ktma išatim ezzetim ša apim nišišu liqme* "let Nergal devour his people like a raging marsh-fire" (xliv 31).⁴⁴

3.2.8 Famine

VTE 567: *kusāpu ina pittu hurāši ina mātkunu lušalikū* "May they make bread to be worth gold in your land." In an OB legal text, gold is used in a figurative sense: *ištu pī adi hurāši zizu gamru* "from chaff to gold (i.e., from the least to the most valuable item) they have divided (the property) and settled (the matter)."⁴⁵

3.2.9 Mutual Antagonism in the Family

3.2.9.1 Fauna

VTE 555-59 draws on animal behaviour:

kī ša šēru u šikku ana libbi issēt hurrete lā errabūni lā irabbišūni ina muhhi nakās napšāte ša ahe'iš idabbabūni attunu issātēkunu ana libbissēn bēte lā terrabā ina muhhi issēt erši lā tatālā ina muhhi nakās napšāte ša ahe'iš dubbā

Just as a sna[ke] and a mongoose do not enter the same hole to lie there together but think only of cutting each other's throats, so may you and your women not enter the same room to lie down in the same bed; think only of cutting each other's throats!

The curse seeks mutual antagonism in the family of the cursed.

3.2.9.2 Inanimates

The sweetness of honey is related to enjoying cannibalism (cf. 3.3.1 below). The bitter taste of gall illustrates hostility among the members of family : *ki ša martu marratūni attunu issātēkunu mar'ēkunu mar'ātēkunu ina muhhi ahe'iš lā marrākunu* "Just as gall is bitter, so may you, your women, your sons and your daughters be bitter towards each other!" VTE 646-48). Honey already occurs in a simile in an OB poem: *d'mama zamārašama eli dišpim u karānim tābu tābu eli dišpi u karānim* "the songs (in praise of) Mama are sweeter than honey and wine, they are sweeter than honey and wine" (CT 15 I: 3 ff.).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Citations in CAD I-J, 229; Also in a text from the 8th or 7th century B.C. (CT 17 29:1 ff.), *nam.tar.hul.gāl.kalam.ma izi.ginxmū.[mū]:ša mātu ktma išātu iqammū* "the evil Namtar (demon) that scorches the country like fire," *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Cited in CAD H, 247.

⁴⁶ Cited in CAD D, 163.

3.2.9.3 Ceremony

Cannibalism is also illustrated by VTE 547-50:⁴⁷ *ki ša agurru tu [anni]tu šalqatūni štru ša mar'ša ina pīša šakinūni ki hanni'i štru ša ahhēkunu mar'ēkunu mar'ātēkunu ana būrikunu lušākilūkunu* "Just as [thi]s ewe has been cut open and the flesh of [her] young has been placed in her mouth, may they make you eat in your hunger the flesh of your brothers, your sons and your daughters." This simile is not attested elsewhere.

3.2.10 War

3.2.10.1 Defeat

(1) Quality of Lead

Lead's low melting point is used in VTE 534-36: *ki ša annuku in apān(ē) išāti lā izzazzūni attunu ina pānē nakriku[nu lā t]azzazzā mar'ēkunu mar'ātēkunu ina qātēkunu [lā t]ašabbatā* "Just as lead does not stand up before a fire, so may you [not s]tand before yo[ur] enemy (or) take your sons and your daughters in your hands!" Various uses of lead are very well attested from Old Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian periods.⁴⁸

(2) Hunting

VTE 582-84: *ki ša iššūru ina tabāqi iššabbatūni ana kašunu ahhēkunu mar'ēkunu ana qātē bēl dāmīkunu liškanūkunu* "Just as one seizes a bird by a trap, so may they deliver you, your brothers and your sons into the hands of your mortal enemy!"⁴⁹ The simile occurs in an Amarna letter of Rib-Hadda to the Pharaoh: "like a bird in a trap: *kilūbi* (cage), so am I in Gubla."⁵⁰ Sennacherib claimed: *šāšu kīma iššu quppi qereb ursālimmu al šarrūtīšu* "himself [Hezekiah], like a caged bird I shut up in Jerusalem his royal city" (OIP II 33 iii 27b-28).

(3) Insect

Catching a fly in the hand indicates defeat (VTE 601-02): *ki zumbi ina qātē nak(i)rikunu lēpašūkunu nakrikunu limriskunu* "May they (the gods) make you like a

⁴⁷ Cf. VTE 551-54.

⁴⁸ Lead is easily obtained by smelting an ore and is also easy to work. It was used for making vessels, figurines, weights, ect, see on P. R. S Moorey *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries*, 292-97.

⁴⁹ Also VTE 588-90. The same idea occurs in incantation: *kīma huhāri ana sahaptya kīma kāpi ana abatpya kīma šēti katameya* "To cast me down like with a bird trap, to destroy me like with a rock, to cover me like with a dip net," Meier, *Malqū*, 19 ii 162-64.

⁵⁰ Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, EA 74 143 45 ff., 79 149 34 ff., 81 151 34 ff., 105 178 6 ff.

fly in the hand of your enemy, and may your enemy squash you!" The occurrence of a fly in a simile is not unique in VTE. It also appears in the Gilgamesh Epic: *ilā kīma zumbī eli bēl niqē iptahru* "the gods gathered like flies over the performer of the sacrifice" (xi 161).⁵¹

(4) Flora

VTE 630-31: *kī qan appāri ina mē luniššūkunu kī qanē ina riksi nakrakunu lušallipkunu* "May they (the gods) make you sway like reeds in water; may your enemy pull you like reeds from a bundle!" Here, reeds in water swaying in the wind illustrates the destruction of the cursed, which is again repeated by emphasized as singling them out like "reeds from a bundle" (see further Part VI 2.4).

(5) Inanimate

The holes of a honeycomb illustrate a curse in VTE 594-98: *kī ša ina libbi kamāni ša dišpi hurrāte pallušāni ina libbi širīkunu širi ša issātēkunu ahhēkunu mar'ēkunu mar'ātēkunu ina balūtūttēkunu hurrāte lūpallišū* "Just as the honeycomb is pierced with holes, so may they pierce your flesh, the flesh of your women, your brothers, your sons and your daughters with holes while you are alive!" This simile is not attested elsewhere.

Two similes describe helplessness before the enemy in VTE 616-17: *kī pilaqqi lušašbirūkunu kī issi ina pān(ē) nak(i)rīkunu lēpašūkunu* "May they (the gods) spin you around like a spindle-whorl, may they make you like a woman before your enemy!" The second malediction occurs in Esarhaddon's inscription: *dištar bēlet qabli u tāhāzi zikrusu sinnišāniš lu-šālikma* "May Ištar, lady of combat and battle, destroy his virility, (so that he becomes) like a woman!"⁵² Tukulti-ninurta I: *[ištār .] . . lūšūmi [zikr]ūsu sinšaniš/ [mutūssu] ana rīhūti [lišku]n* "May [the goddess Ištar] . . . change him from a man to a woman!/May she cause his manhood to dwindle away!"⁵³

The curse of a soldier becoming a woman is common.⁵⁴

3.2.10.2 Deportation

The deportation of the accursed with his family and people is illustrated by taking a lamb from its fold forever (AM i 16-20):

⁵¹ Cited in CAD Z, 155.

⁵² Asarhaddons, § 65 Mnm. A 99 55b-56a.

⁵³ RIMA I A.0.78.1 238-39 vi 9-15.

⁵⁴ It is attested in Akkadian, Hittite and Biblical literature, See further Hillers, Treaty-Curses, 66-68. See Parts II 2.4.1; IV 2.1.3.8 (2) fn. 59.

kī ša hurāpi anniu issi pitqīšú šelū[ni] ana pitqīšú lā itāruni ša pitqīšú [lā emarūni] ahula mati²-ili adi mar²ēšu [rabūtišu] nišē māssu lā iturra pani ša mātišu lā [emmar]

Just as this spring lamb has been brought from its fold and will not return to its fold and [not behold] its fold again, (in like manner) may, alas, Mati²-ilu, together with his sons, daughters, [magnates] and the people of his land [be ousted] from his country, not return to his country, and not [behold] his country again!

Furthermore, the caterpillar's life cycle illustrates deportation, or death (VTE 579-81):

kī ša burdišhe lā taddaggalūni ana biškāniša lā tasahharūni kī hanni²i attunu ina muhhi issātēkunu mar²ēkunu mar²ātekunu ana bētātīkunu lā tasahhurā

As a caterpillar does not see and does not return to its cocoon, so may you not return to your women, your sons, your daughters, and to your brothers!⁵⁵

3.2.11 Unique Simile

The analogy in VTE 626-29 is otherwise unknown: *kī ša arrātē ana bēl ihṭūhi kappē ša ahēšunu šepēšunu ubattiqūni enēšunu ugallilūni kī hanni²e ligmartūkunu* "Just as the *Cursers* sinned against Bel and he cut off their hands and feet and blinded their eyes, so may they annihilate you!"

3.3 Common Tradition

3.3.1 Cannibalism

The curse that human flesh taste as good as the flesh of lambs occurs in simile curses, AM iv 10b-11. VTE reveals the same idea and the cause of cannibalism. There, this malediction is expressed in a simile (VTE 568-69): *kī ša dišpu matiqūni dāmu ša issātēkunu mar²ēkunu mar²ātekunu ina pīkunu limtiq* "Just as honey is sweet, so may the blood of your women, your women, your sons and your daughters be sweet in your mouth!" VTE 449-50a mentions that famine would cause cannibalism:⁵⁶ *ina būrikunu šir mārīkunu aklā ina bubūti hušahhi amīlu šir amīli ltkul* "In your hunger eat the flesh of your sons! In want and famine may one man eat the flesh of another!"

We can trace the curse cannibalism back to Sumerian literature: *gu₄ gaz-gaz-e dam hé-en-gaz-e udu šum-šum-zu dumu hé-en-šum-e* "May the cattle slaughterer

⁵⁵ A treaty between Shattiwaza and Suppiluliuma illustrates the same idea is illustrated with: "As the water of a drainpipe never return to its place, let us, like the water of a drainpipe not return to our place," HDT 49 §11.

⁵⁶ Adad is invoked for famine, as a result, cannibalism occurs in this context in AM iv 10b-11 and VTE 445b-451a, see below.

slaughter his wife! May your sheep butcher his child!"⁵⁷ Prolonged famine caused severe cannibalism in Atrahasis (rev vi 7-13a):⁵⁸

5 šattu ina kašā[di] erēb ummi mārtu idagal ummu ana mārte ul ipate bāb-š[a] zibanit ummi mārtu in[aṭal] zibanit mārte inaṭal [ummu] 6 šattu ina kašādi iltaknū ana napt[āni mārta] ana kurummate^{te} buna iltaknū . . . bitu iltanu šanū^ū i[rehamma]

When the fifth year arrived, the daughter watched the mother's going in, but the mother would not open her door to the daughter. The daughter watched the scales (at the sale) of the mother, [the mother] watched the scales (at the sale) of the daughter. When the sixth year arrived, they served up [the daughter] for dinner. They served up the son for food. . . . One house consumed another!

It also occurs in an astrological text (ACh Adad 17:36a).⁵⁹

Cannibalism would bring about hostility among the members of the family: *ummu eli mārtiša [bābša līdil]* "May a mother [bar the door] to her daughter" (VTE 448b).⁶⁰ This curse already occurs in Sumerian lamentations, according to A. L. Oppenheim.⁶¹ It recurs in Akkadian literature, in Atrahasis (see above) and in a prophetic text that state there would be a hostility between mother and daughter: *ummu eli mārti bābša iddil* "A mother will bar her door against daughter!"⁶² In other words, hostility caused by famine was common.

In Neo-Assyrian history cannibalism occurred during Ashurbanipal's siege of Babylon (see Part III 2.1.1.4).

3.3.2 Grinding bones

This curse (VTE 445b-46a) highlights a severe circumstance of famine: *kām uṭṭiti ešmārtkunū mar'ēkunū mar'atēkunū liṭēnū* "Instead of grain may your sons and your daughters grind your bones!" It seems grinding bones to make flour was one of the worst punishments executed in the ancient Near East, since the underlying concept is the annihilation of ancestors. It is attested in the Hittite soldiers oath.⁶³ A relief from Ashurbanipal's palace apparently depicted rebels grinding their

⁵⁷ Cooper, The Curse of Agade, 60-61.

⁵⁸ Lambert and Millard, Atra-hasīs, 112-15.

⁵⁹ See further Part V 2.2.3.

⁶⁰ Also VTE 555A-59; 646-48.

⁶¹ A. L. Oppenheim, "Siege-documents" from Nippur, Iraq 17 (1955), 78.

⁶² R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten Zwei prophetische Texte," BiOr 28 (1971), 15 iv 15. It also occurred in the time of siege: ". . . a mother did not open the door for her daughter," Oppenheim, "Siege-documents" from Nippur, Iraq 17 (1955), 76. Hostility between people occurs in famine: *alu itti ali bitu itti bti ahu itti ahišu namg[a]ru itti nāri . . . inakkiru* "One town will become estranged from the other, one house from the other, brother from his brother, irrigation canal from the river," Virolleaud, ACh Adad 15 17:35-36a.

⁶³ N. Oettinger, Die Militärischen Eide, 10-11 26b-27a.

fathers' bones.⁶⁴ A comparable idea occurs in Amos 2:1, condemning Moab for having burned the bones of Edom's king to lime (Amos 2:1).

3.3.3 Decline of a Land

AM vi 3-4: *[ālu ša] iltm bitātū ana 1 bti lltūr iltm maškunū ana 1 maškini lltūr* "may [a town of] one thousand houses decrease to one house, may one thousand tents decrease to one tent!" The same idea recurs in AM vi 5: *ina libbi āli l amēlu ana dilīli ltnizib* "May one man be spared in the city to (proclaim) my glory!"⁶⁵ This imprecation implies a maximum destruction of the land. The concept "maximum to minimum" has its counterpart in the Tell Fekherye inscription,⁶⁶ in Lev 26:26, and has a Sumerian antecedent. Similar is the malediction of "maximum" territorial reduction (AM i 5-7a): *kaqqaru ammar libittu ina u[zūzišu] ana uzūzi ša mar'ešu mar'āt[ēšu rabūtišu] [nī]šišu māssu lihliq* "May only an area the size of a brick (be left) for [him to stand upon], may nothing be left for his sons, [his daughters, his magnates and the peo]ple of his land to stand upon!" In VTE 527 this is expressed more concisely: *ammar libitti kaqquru lusiqqūnekkunu* "May they (all the gods) make the ground as narrow as a brick for you."⁶⁷

3.3.4 Iron Earth, Bronze Heaven

VTE 528-32a

kaqqarkunu kī parzilli lēpušū . . . kī ša issu libbi šamā'ē ša siparri zunnu lā izannunūni kī hanni'e zunnu nalšu ana libbi eqlātīkunu tamerātīkunu lū lā illak

May they (the gods) make your ground like iron . . . Just as rain does not fall from a brazen heaven so may rain and dew not come upon your fields and your meadows!

Almost same curse occurs in:

Dt 28:23

23. והיו שמיך אשר על ראשך נחשת
והארץ אשר תחתיך ברזל

And the sky above your head will be bronze, and the ground beneath you iron," which will be discussed below (Part VI 1.1.2).

3.4 Curses from Incantations

3.4.1 Disease

⁶⁴ SAA II, 47.

⁶⁵ See Part III 2.1.15.

⁶⁶ Part II 4.2.1.1.

⁶⁷ See also Part III 2.1.16.

VTE 585-87: *širkunu štru ša issātēkunu ahhēkunu mar'ēkunu mar'ātēkunu ki qtru kupri napti lušallimū* "May they (the gods) make your flesh and the flesh of your women, your brothers, your sons and your daughters as black as [bitu]men, pitch and naphtha!" This malediction has an echo in Maqlū vi 34: *lušallimūši kīma tikmenni* "may (her spells) turn her (the sorcerers) as black as ashes."⁶⁸

3.4.2 Annihilation of Family Line

VTE 524-25: *girra nādin mākali ana seh(e)rūti rabūti šumkunu zērkuṇu liqmu* "May Girra,⁶⁹ who gives food to small and great, burn up your name and your seed! is comparable to Maqlū v 183: *niši ḡira qāmikunu* "by Girra, who burns you . . ."⁷⁰

3.4.3 Destruction of the Accursed

VTE 608-11: *ki ša šalmu ša iškūri ina ištati iššarrapūni ša ḡidi ina mē immahhahūni [i]ḡ hannī'e lānkunu ina girra liqmū ina mē luṭabbū* "Just as an image of wax is burnt in the fire and one of clay dissolved in water, (so) may your figure be burnt in the fire and sunk in water!" In addition to this expression as a wish, the physical acts were performed in rituals: e.g., *2 šalmē bīni 2 šalmē erīni 2 šalmē lipi 2 šalmē iškūri 2 šalmē kupsi 2 šalmē itī ḡidi 2 šalmē liši <teppuš>* "you make two figurines of tamarisk-wood, two of cedarwood, two of tallow, two of wax, two of sesame residue, two of bitumen, two of clay (and) two of dough" (RA 26 40 r. 17).⁷¹

3.5 Unique Expressions

Although the same concepts of curses occur elsewhere, they are expressed in unique ways.

3.5.1 Destruction of Economy

EB has unique curses referring to the geography of Tyre and her major economic source, the sea trade (iv 10-13):

ḡbaalsameme ḡbaalmalagē ḡbaalšapunu šāru lemnu ina elēppīkunu lūšatba markassīna liptur tarkullašīna lissuhū edū dannu ina [tāmt]im liṭabišīna šamru agū ēlikunu līl[īa]

May Baal Shamaim, Baal Malagē and Baal Saphon raise an evil wind against your ships to undo their moorings and tear out their mooring pole, may a strong wave sink them in the sea and a violent tide [rise] against you!"

⁶⁸ Meier, *Maqlū*, 42 iv 34; transliteration and translation according to *CAD*

⁶⁹ See further R. Frankena, "Girra und Gibil," *RIA* 3 (1957-71), 383-85.

⁷⁰ Meier, *Maqlū*, 40.

⁷¹ Cited in *CAD* I-J, 252.

A curse in AM v 11b-12a refers to the absence of animal dung: *kabut alpē emārī emmerī sīsē ina mātišu ai ibši* "May there be no more dung of oxen, asses, sheep, and horses in his land!" (AM iv 6b-7). As well as implying lack of livestock, this is a curse on the land which would not be productive without fertilization, so leading to the collapse of the economy.⁷²

3.5.2 Papyrus for Clothing

This curse follows that of misery and is to be understood in that context: *nāru ana lubuštišunu* "may papyrus be their clothing" (AM iv 15b).

3.6 Curses with Unique Contents

3.6.1 Diseases

Rimtu disease is attested in VTE 469-71: *kubaba iš[ar(u) ša] gargamis rimtu dannu ina libbīkunu liškun [dāmi]kunu kīma tiki ana qaqqari littattuk(ū)* "May Kubaba, the god[dess of] Carchemish, put a serious *rimtu*-disease within you; may your [blood?] drip to the ground like raindrops!"⁷³ VTE 570-72, another unique curse, about worms eating their flesh while people are alive: *ki ša šāšbutu tultu takuluni ina balūttekunu širkunu šru ša issātēkunu mar'ēkunu mar'ātēkunu tu'essu lū tākul* "Just as a worm eats ..., so may the worm eat, while you are (still) alive, your own flesh and flesh of your wives, your sons and your daughters!"

The malediction in VTE 640 may refer to a disease which interferes with walking: *ešmātēkunu ana ahēš lū lā iqarribā* "May your bones never come together!"⁷⁴

3.6.2 No Intercession

Depriving the wrong-doer of divine intercession invoked in the name of Mulsu, is attested in ŠM (Appendix II §48.no.5) and VTE (Appendix II §51.no.2b). A similar concept, rejection of divine support in the law courts, occurs in an inscription of Shalmaneser IV (Appendix II §46.no.1).

3.7 Curses Fulfilled in the Assyrian Annals

3.7.1 Causing the Ground to be Infertile

⁷² Cf. "the destruction of the land" in the Sumero-Babylonian source of the Neo-Assyrian curses and Saggs, *The Might that was Assyria*, 167-69.

⁷³ According to Watanabe, *BaM Bh* 3, 164.

⁷⁴ Watanabe understood this to mean no burial and restlessness for the dead, *ibid.*, 207.

The malediction *māssu ammar harbāt[ī xxx]* "May his land [be reduced] to wasteland!" (AM i 4) was realized during Tilgath-pileser I' and Ashurbanipal's punitive campaigns (see Part III 2.1.13).

3.7.2 Drinking Donkey's urine

AM iv 15a: *šīnāti emari ana šatīšunu* "May donkey's urine be their drink!" occurs in Ashurbanipal's punitive campaign against Uaite' (see Part III 2.1.1.4).

3.7.3 Killing Oneself

EI ii 18: *patrišu likšus[su]* "May his own sword make an end of him!" This malediction may be understood in two possible ways: he could kill himself, or someone else could kill him with his own weapon. This could happen to an inferior king, if he was overwhelmed with terror, for example, the king of Urartu,⁷⁵ *ina paṭar parzilli ramanišu kīma šahī libbašu ishulma* "he pierced himself through the heart with his own iron dagger as if he were a pig.

3.7.4 Impossibility of Escape

VTE 649-51: *šamaš huhāru ša siparri ina muhhtikunu mar'ēku[nu] [mar]'ātēkunu lishup ina gišparri ša lā napašudi liddīkunu ai ušēši napšātīkunu* "May Šamaš clamp a bronze bird trap over you, your sons and your [daught]ers; may he cast you into a trap from which there is no escape, and never let you out alive!" This malediction of impossible escape from a trap, invoked in the name of Šamaš (VTE 649-51), is not attested elsewhere. However, the same motifs may have developed from Sumerian tradition. In the Vulture Stele Ningirsu holds the defeated soldiers of Umma in a net,⁷⁶ and a trap is the emblem of Šamaš from the Old Babylonian period onward.⁷⁷

3.7.5 Relentless Pursuit

There was no hiding place where the stronger king might not penetrate (Appendix II §51.no.21) and 635-36: *ša ana imitti illakāni patrāti lēkulāšu ša ana šumēli illakāni patrātīmma lēkulāšu* "May iron swords consume him who goes to the south and may iron swords likewise consume him who goes to the north!" Conquerors boasted of reaching the most remote enemies. For example, Sargon of Akkad penetrated into Anatolia, where the people felt secure, since the route was

⁷⁵ Cited in CAD Š/1 103.

⁷⁶ H. W. F. Saggs, *Babylonians*, 62, fig. 35.

⁷⁷ Reference in CAD H, 224-25.

very difficult, but Sargon conquered the city. The same punitive principle appears throughout the Assyrian annals (see Part III 2.1.8).⁷⁸

3.7.6 Piercing People Alive

This curse (VTE 594-98)⁷⁹ was fulfilled in Assyrian history. For example, Ashurnasirpal II pierced alive rebels during his punitive campaigns (see Part III 2.1.7).

3.7.7 Defeat

Drenching a chariot with blood illustrates a bloody defeat (Appendix II §51.no.32). This simile is taken from a common scene of battle-fields (see Part II 2.4.7) and occurs throughout the Assyrian annals (Parts III 2.1.5; cf. VI 2.4).

Synopsis

Some Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses do not occur elsewhere. Of them some are attested throughout the Assyrian annals alone, while others occur only in Neo-Assyrian treaties. Most of the unique Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses are derived from common tradition and arise from the environment and culture of the ancient Near East.

⁷⁸ Sometimes, the king admitted that his enemy fled to an inaccessible place. For example, Asn.II stopped chasing fugitives who took to a rugged mountain (RIMA II A.O.101 197 48-49a). In another case, Senn. stopped pursuing, Kudur-nahundu, the Elamite king who escaped to Haidala in a distant mountains because of heavy storms, OIP II 40-41 iv 80-v 11a.

⁷⁹ See 3.2.10.1 (5) above.

Chapter 4

CURSES IN SEFIRE STELAE, THE TELL FEKHERYE AND PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF CUNEIFORM CURSES

4.1 Sefire Stelae

4.1.1 Common settings

Some of the following curses are attested in Sumero-Akkadian curses.¹ But the contents of most curses are based on the general circumstance of the ancient Near Eastern world.

4.1.1.1 Natural disaster

Sf I A 27-28a: ושבע שָׁנָן יֹאכַל אַרְבֵּה וְשִׁבַע שָׁנָן תֹּאכַל תּוֹלְעָה וְשִׁבַע [שָׁנָן יִס] ק תּוּי² "For seven years may the locust devour (Arpad), and for seven years may the worm eat, and for seven [years may] blight come up upon the face of its land!"³

The expression of a seven year cycle of famine was not a rare phenomenon in the ancient Near East. Seven is not meant to be a precise figure, but to indicate a period so long as to result in complete loss of crops. For example, in the Epic of Gilgamesh, it is expressed by 7 years of (barrenness).⁴ Yet the natural disaster of a seven-year's plague of locust, worms and blight, which would cause famine, reflects partly the common Near Eastern problem with locusts⁵ and partly the climate of northern Syria: a the Mediterranean and desert climate.⁶ If the climate became abnormal, agriculture would suffer from these plagues. If it became hot and dry in summer, the plague of locusts would occur.⁷

4.1.1.2 Becoming a lair for wild animals

¹ Mati^c-el of Arpad in Sefire stelae is the vassal in the treaty of Aššur-nerari V. Some expressions of curses which only appear in these two inscriptions (see below).

² Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 86; cf. Lemaire and Durand, *Les inscriptions Araméennes* 121.

³ Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 44-45.

⁴ E. A. Speiser, *ANET*, 85, VI 103-113. A famine occurs in Atra-hasis; yet because of damage the exact period of famine is unclear, Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasis*, II 78, 80, iv 1-v 9.

⁵ See Part II 3.1.2.

⁶ Roughly, the promised land also has a similar climate. Similar plagues of locusts and worms would occur (Dt 28:38-39); two plant diseases in Dt 28:22 would be caused by abnormal climate (see Part II 5.2.2).

⁷ The locusts fly on warm, dry days when their body temperature is high. "A swarm ceases flying only when environmental conditions change; e.g., rain falls, temperature decreases, or darkness occurs", *EncyB* VI 293.

ועקה "And may Arpad תהוי ארפד תל ל[רבק צי ו]צבי ושעל וארנב ושרן וצדה ו.. ועקה become a mound to [house the desert animal]: the gazelle and the fox and the hare and the wild-cat and the owl and the [] and the magpie!" (Sf I A 32c-33a)⁸ The Curse of Agade already contained this picture:⁹ . . . *ka₅ du₆ gul-gul-la-ke₄ kun hé-ni-ib-ùr-re abul kalam-ma gar-ra-zu ù-ku-ku^{mušen} mušen šà-sìg-ga-ke₄ gùd hé-em-ma-an-ús* ". . . may foxes that frequent ruined mounds sweep with their tails!; in your city-gate . . . may the 'sleep bird' the bird of depression, establish its nest!" It occurs in the Assyrian kings' annals, too, for example, Šubria's breach of a treaty provoked Esarhaddon's disciplinary campaign, destroying cities so that: *šelabu u buš[u] iqnunū qinnu* "The fox and hyena made their lairs (in the ruins)."¹⁰

4.1.1.3 Wild animals

The danger of wild animals was well known: וישלחן אלהן מן כל מה אכל בארפד "May the gods send every sort of devourer against Arpad and against its people!" (Sf A 30b-31a).¹¹ If a city was ruined, wild animals would threaten people; according to the Curse of Agade:¹² *mìn-kam-ma-šè gú má gíd-da ki a-lá id-da-zu šeg₉-bar mul muš-ul₄ kur-ra-ke₄ lú na-an-ni-ib-dib-bé* "Moreover, on your two-paths, places (built up) with canal sediment, may *recurved* mountain sheep and mountain *ul*-naskes allow no one to pass!" Lions would block the road.¹³ People could die from dog-bite: "all, whom they (dogs) bite, do not recover, (but) they die."¹⁴ Considering the danger of wild animals, the author of the Sefire text could have taken a would-be-misfortune from his environment.¹⁵

4.1.1.4 Being stripped

Sf I A 40b-41: ונשי ר[בוה] ונשי עקרה ונשי מתעאל ונשי יעררן כן יעררן [נניה] [אך זי תערר ז] [נניה] [כן יעררן נשי מתעאל ונשי עקרה ונשי ר[בוה]] [... "[And just as] a [ha]r[lot is stripped naked], so may the wives of Mati'el be stripped naked, and the wives of his offspring and the wives of [his] no[bles!]."¹⁶ This malediction has a Babylonian antecedent. A legal deed prescribes: *u šumma bittidagan aššassu ana kikkini mūtiša ūl mūtmi attā iqabbi erišiša ušši ana blt rug-*

⁸ Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 44-47. This motif appears in Lev 26.

⁹ Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*, 62-63 lines 257-59.

¹⁰ *Asarhaddons*, 107, Edge line 3.

¹¹ Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 44-45.

¹² Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*, 62-63 266-67.

¹³ See Part II 3.1.10.1 fn. 24.

¹⁴ R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi," *BiOr* 28 (1971), 16 ii 11.

¹⁵ See further "man-eating lion" in Part II 3.1.10.1.

¹⁶ Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 46-47.

bat ekallim ušellūši "but if Bittidagan, his wife, says to Kikkini, her husband, "You are not my husband," she shall go out (from his house) naked, and they shall take her up to the upper floor of the palace (to expose her)" (BRM 4 52:14).¹⁷

4.1.1.5 Sowing salt and weeds

Another imprecation is *וירע בהן הדד מלח ושהלין* "may Hadad sow in them salt and weeds" (Sf I A 36a).¹⁸ The act of spreading salt alone or with weeds was "a symbolic act signifying the annihilation of the destroyed settlement."¹⁹ For example, having destroyed Arina, Shalmaneser I says: *u kudīme elišu azru eprīšu* "I sowed salty plants over it."²⁰ Furthermore, salt was used to illustrate the annihilation of a household, in the Hittite military oath.²¹

4.1.2 Common Genre: Simile Curses

Burning wax images, magicians performed incantations to combat the evil power of sorcerers and witches affected the client or patient.²² In this vivid way, they believed they could overcome the evil power. In treaties simile curses use this figure for destruction, should vassals become disloyal. The same sort of curse was invoked against rebel Hittite soldiers in the same way, using wax, salt²³ and malt, reed²⁴ and the water of a drainpipe.²⁵ Simile curses for the scene of daily life further occur in the Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses (see Part II 3.2).

¹⁷ Cited in CAD E, 320. The same idea occurs in a Nuzi tablet: PN *ana muti uššab šubāte iham- mašūma erisiš[a] ušesšūša* "Should PN wish to live with (another) husband, they shall strip off (her) clothes, and shall turn her out naked, (HSS 5 71:35), *ibid.*

¹⁸ Fitzmyer, Sefire, 46-47.

¹⁹ CAD § 205.

²⁰ RIMA I A.0.77.1 183 51. Also in Adn.I's inscription we read: *ālirrida akšūd ašrūp aq[ur u kudij-imme elišu azuru* "I conquered, burnt, (and) destroyed the city Irridu and sowed salty plants over it," *ibid.*, A.0.76.3 136 35-36. This Punitive act recurs in Neo-Assyrian history, see Part III 2.1.13. Suppiluliuma spread weeds in a destroyed city, Heinrich Otten, "Zu den Anfängen der hethitischen Geschichte," MDOG 83 (1951), 41 48.

²¹ Johannes Friedrich, "Der hethitische Soldateneid," ZA 35 (1924), 161 ff: "And as salt has no seed, so may (it happen) to such a man that his name, his descendants, his house, his cattle, and his sheep shall perish."

²² Simile curses are already attested in the Sumero-Akkadian incantations, C. Daxelmüller and M.-L. Thomsen, "Bildzauber," Anthropose 77 (1982), 27-64. G. Meier, Maqlū, 33 132 ff. I. Tzvi Abusch, Babylonian Witchcraft Literature. Black and Green, Gods, Demons and Symbols, 127. The combating of the evil influence of witches also occurs in Hittite literature, V. Haas, "Magie und Zauberei," RIA VII, 239-254.

²³ Friedrich, "Der hethitische Soldateneid," ZA 35 (1924) i 41-ii 1-18, 162, 164.

²⁴ HDT 43-44 §15.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 49 §11.

4.1.2.1 Burning Cities

Sf I A 35b: "Just as this wax is burned by fire, so may Arpad be burned and [gr]eat [cities]!"²⁶ Burning cities, illustrated by burning wax, was a common practice in war (see Part III 2.1.2.1).

4.1.2.2 Burning People

The curse "Just as this wax is burned with fire, so may Mati[‘el be burned with fi]re!" (Sf I A 37b)²⁷ has a parallel in CH (see Part II 2.4.8). Ashurnasirpal II burnt the people in the course of his campaign against Hudun (see Part III 2.1.3).

4.1.2.3 Mutilation

Sf A 39b-40a: "[Just as] this calf is cut in two, so may Matf‘el be cut in two, and may his nobles be cut in two!"²⁸

The cutting up of animals illustrates the severe consequence of breaking a treaty.²⁹ The idea occurs in the treaty of AM, where severing the head from the body is expressed in detail (4.3.1.3 below). This curse parallels that of tearing out the shoulder of a lamb (see Appendix II §49.no.3).

4.1.3 Common Tradition

The following curses have counterparts in East Semitic curses.

4.1.3.1 Famine

Famine afflicts both humans and animals. Sf A 21b-22a invokes: ושבע ושבע [מהי]נקן ימשחןו שדיהן ו[יהינקן עלים ואל ישבע ושבע ססיה ושבע ססיה ואל יש[בע ושבע] שורה יהינקן עגל ואל ישבע ושבע שאן יהינקן אמר ו[אל יש]בע "and seven mares shall suckle a colt, may it not be sa[t]fed; and seven cows shall suckle a calf, may it not be sated; and seven ewes shall suckle a lamb, [may it not be sa]ted!" (Sf A 22b-24a).³⁰ Here, the severity of famine is expressed with number seven³¹ as the impossibility for humans and animals being satiated. The

²⁶ Lemaire and Durand, *Les Inscriptions Araméennes*, 114; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 46-47.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Cf. Kitchen, "Egypt, Ugarit, Qatna and Covenant," *UF* 11 (1979), 461.

³⁰ Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 44-45.

³¹ Kapelrud, "The Number Seven," *VT* 18 (1968), 499.

same result of a severe famine regarding animals occurs in Ashurbanipal's annals: *bakrū suhīrū būru hurāpu ina muhhi 7 mušēniqāte ēniqūma šizbu lā ušabbā karassūn* "a young camel, a young ass, a calf (and) a spring lamb sucked seven nursing mothers, but they could not satisfy their stomachs with milk."³² The same severe result of famine for both humans and animals in reverse order appears in the Tell Fekherye inscriptions (see below). Furthermore, the curse of famine (lines 21b-24b) involves the principle of "maximum effort-minimum result" (see below) which is attested commonly and appeared from the end of the Sumerian period onwards.

Sf A 24a is damaged and difficult to interpret, Fitzmyer suggested: *ושבע בכתה יהרגן* "and should seven hens (בכתה) go looking for food, may they not kill (anything)."³³ Yet his suggestion does not make sense in the context of famine. Hillers read: *ושבע בנתה יהרגן* "And may his seven daughters go looking for food, but not seduce (anyone)," because of lack of men.³⁴ Lemaire and Durand, following the same reading, understood *יהרגן* as Hophal of *רגג*; "and be not desired."³⁵ Following Lemaire and Durand, this curse has two possible interpretations. The one is that Mati'el's seven daughters³⁶ would go looking for food by means of prostitution, yet no man would want them. The other is that they wanted to sell themselves into slavery to maintain their lives, but no-one would want to buy them.³⁷

4.1.3.2 Removal of Joyful Sounds

Sf I A 29-30a: *ואל יתשמע קל כנר בארפד ובעמה המל מרק והמן ית צעקה ויללה* "Nor may the sound of the lyre be heard in Arpad; but among its people may there

³² *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 67 ix 65-67.

³³ *Sefire*, 44-45, 81.

³⁴ Hillers understood *יהרגן* as causative (Haphel) from a root *רגג* (Syriac, "desire, covet") "to make to long, rouse desires, yearnings," *Treaty-Curses*, 73. Hillers' interpretation of Sf A 24a in the light of Isa 4:1 is not convincing. Isa 4:1: "seven women will take hold of one man and say, 'We will eat our own food and provide our own clothes; only let us be called by your name. Take away our disgrace!'" This verse envisages a situation where shortage of men makes women difficult to marry. In such a situation many women might marry one man. A shortage of men does not mean Mati'el's daughters could not seduce any.

³⁵ *Les Inscriptions Araméennes*, 121, 133; Lemaire, "Notes d'épigraphie," *Syria* 62 (1985), 33, 35.

³⁶ Seven daughters indicate all Mati'el's daughters, cf. Kapelrud, "The Number Seven," *VT* 18 (1968), 499.

³⁷ According to siege-documents from Nippur children were sold by their parents for money. Selling oneself to survive a difficult time commonly occurred in the ancient Near East. In Shamash-shum-ukin's time, when the Babylonians suffered famine during the Assyrian siege, a woman sold herself into slavery to survive famine, Ernst Weidner, "Keilschriftentexte nach Kopien von T. G. Pinches," *AfO* 16 (1952-53), 37.

be the din of *affliction* and the *no[ise of crying]* and lamentation!"³⁸ D. R. Hillers and J. A. Fitzmyer, following Dupont-Sommer, see a parallel imprecation of Sf I A 29b-30a in AM iv 19 (see Part II 3.1.3). According to a Babylonian parallel, the absence of a work song would bring about silence in the city: *ina qirbētiya ušessū ḏalāla ki āl nakiri ušqamemū ālī* "They have excluded the harvest cry from my fields, and silenced my city like an enemy city."³⁹ In the Sefire stelae, two clauses of the imprecation are juxtaposed. The concept has a Sumerian antecedent. The author of *Curse of Agade* mentioned that music and song flourished during Akkad's prosperity, but the Gutian invasion changed the scene; the survivors of the Gutian rampage lamented for seven days and seven nights.⁴⁰ Later Esarhaddon claimed in the letter to Aššur:⁴¹ *ina sūqēšu hadū ul iba' epiš nigūti ul ipparik* "In his streets no one goes who rejoices; no merry-maker goes along."⁴²

4.1.3.3 Breaking Weapons

Sf I A 38-39a: [קשת מתעאל] ויהי כן ישבר אנרת והרד "Just as (this) bow and these arrows are broken, so may 'Inurta and Hadad break [the bow of Mati'el], and the bow of his nobles!"⁴³

The curse of breaking weapons is attested from Old Akkadian down to Neo-Assyrian times.⁴⁴

4.1.4.4 Destruction of Family

Sf I C 21b-25: [ע]ליתה [ל] וישמו תחתיתה [ב]ה וכל זי [ב]ה "May the gods overturn th[at m]an and his house and all that (is) in it; and may they make its lower part its upper part! May his offsp[ring] inherit no name!"⁴⁵ The idea is comparable with the annihilation of family attested from the end of the third millennium onwards (see Parts II 2.1).

4.1.4 Unique Curses

4.1.4.1. The Annihilation of Kingdoms

³⁸ Fitzmyer, *Sefire* 44-45. Cf. Chr. Brekelmans, "Sefire I A 29-30," *VT* 13 (1963), 225-28.

³⁹ "Ludlul bēl nēmeqi," W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, 36 101-102.

⁴⁰ Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*, 58, 60 lines 195-209.

⁴¹ *Asarhaddons*, 107 edge line 1.

⁴² The imprecation of lament occurs in the treaty of AM (Appendix II §49.no.11).

⁴³ Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 46-47.

⁴⁴ See Part II 2.4.1.

⁴⁵ Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 54-55.

The way this curse is expressed in Sf I A 25b is unique. Following collation, A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand preferred F. Rosenthal's view, although admitting dittography is not impossible.⁴⁶ Rosenthal suggested: **כמלכת חל מלכת חלם זי ימל כאש** "like a kingdom of sand, a kingdom (like) a dream that fades like fire."⁴⁷

4.1.4.2 Annihilation of a City's Name

Sf I A 33b-35a: **ואל תאמר קר[יתא הא ו]מדרא ומרבה ומוזה ונבלה ושרן ותואם** "And may [this] ci[ty] not be mentioned any more, [nor] Madûrâ, nor MRBH, nor Mazzêh, nor Nabbulâh, nor Sharun, nor Ti'imme, nor Baytel, nor Dinân, nor [....., nor A-]rneh, nor Ḥazaz, nor Udm!"⁴⁸ Although this malediction is unique, the concept of disappearance is comparable with the annihilation of dynasty/family (Part II 2.1).

4.2 Tell Fekhreye Inscription

4.2.1 Common Settings

4.2.1.1 Fruitless Labour in the Field

Line 19: **ואל יחצד ואל יזרע ואל יחצד ואל יזרע ואל יחצד ואל יזרע** "And may he sow, but not harvest! May he sow a thousand measures of barley, but take only a fraction of it!"

This curse of futile effort in agriculture is identical with that of the Assyrian part (lines 30b-32a).⁴⁹ Presumably, the situation of this imprecation would occur because of drought and plant disease (4.1.1.1 above). Furthermore, the concept of "maximum effort for minimum result" is not confined to the Tell Fekherye inscription. Millard cited an example from a Sumerian poem of the late third millennium B.C. (The Curse of Agade lines 176-180): "In a time of disaster 'one shekel's worth of oil was only half a quart, one shekel's worth of grain was only half a quart, one

⁴⁶ Lemaire and Durand, *Les Inscriptions*, 133. H. Bauer read **תהי כמלכה חל מלכת חל מלכת חל** "may your king be like a kingdom of sand as long as Ashur rules!," Hans Bauer, "Ein aramäischer Staatsvertrag," *AFO* 8 (1932-33), 7-8. Then **מלכת חל** is a dittography. Joseph A. Fitzmyer suggested: **תהי מלכתה כמלכת חל מלכת חל מלכת חל** "may his kingdom become like a kingdom of sand, a kingdom of sand, as long as *Asshur* rules!" (*Seffre*, 14-15). Rainer Degen considered **לכת חלם** as a partial dittography, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 10 n, 49). So he read: **תהי מלכת חלם** "may his kingdom be a dream kingdom, which Ashur rules," *ibid.*, 126, 129.

⁴⁷ *ANET* 659.

⁴⁸ Lemaire and Durand, *Les Inscriptions Araméennes*, 114, 122.

⁴⁹ *ltriš lu la ešidi ltm ltriš l sātu lšbat* "May he sow, but not harvest; may he sow a thousand measures, (but) may he take a se'ah!" According to Greenfield & Shaffer, "the measure *partsu* is usually considered a half *kāru*, but *partu* was used here to indicate a minimal measure; thus in the Assyrian text *sātu* is used, a small measure in use in Assyria," "Notes on the Curse Formulae of the Tell Fekherye Inscription," *RB* 92 (1985), 53.

shekel's worth of wool was only half a mina, one shekel's worth of fish filled only one *ban*."⁵⁰ He continued: "As in the time of the siege of Samaria (2 Kings 6, 7), inflation was rife. A shekel's worth of wool may usually have been about 20 times the amount indicated, and a shekel's worth of fish the same or more."⁵¹

4.2.1.2 Gleaning Barley from a Refuse Dump

Line 22b: *ומן קלקלתא ללקטו אנשוה שערן לאכלו* "And may his men glean barley from a refuse dump, and eat!"⁵²

This malediction is another result of famine and is not confined to the Tell Fekherye inscription. The same concept is attested in The Curse of Agade: "May your upstanding nobleman eat the thatch(?) on his roof, may he gnaw at the leather hinges on the door of his father's house' (lines 250-54)."⁵³

4.2.1.3 Refusal of Offerings

Line 17b: *מראי הדד לחמה ומוה אל ילקח מן ידה* "May Hadad, my lord, not accept his food and water from his hand!"⁵⁴

This malediction reflects the common tradition of an ancient Near Eastern religious aspect. According to J. C. Greenfield and A. Shaffer, the combination of food and drink offering appears in an OB inscription.⁵⁵ They draw a further parallel curse in a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription from Carchemish: ". . . from him [the malefactor] may they [the gods] not accept bread and (liquid) offering."⁵⁶ In this inscription the imprecation follows a divine curse,⁵⁷ whereas these curses are separated by the second dedication and protasis in the inscription of Tell Fekherye, both in Aramaic and Assyrian parts. In other words, there may have been a tradition, where the curse of divine anger and the curse of rejected of offering were parallel.

⁵⁰ "The Tell Fekheriyeh Inscriptions," in Biblical Archaeology Today, 522.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Lines 36b-38 in the Assyrian part: *eli tupqināte laqtē lilqutē* "May the gleaner glean in refuse dumps!," see Greenfield and Shaffer, "Qlqt", *Tubkinnu*, 123-29.

⁵³ Cited in Millard, "The Tell Fekheriyeh Inscriptions," in Biblical Archaeology Today, 522.

⁵⁴ Lines 28b-29a in Assyrian part: *ḏadad bēlt akalšū mēšū lā imaharšū* "May Adad my lord not accept from him his food and water!"

⁵⁵ "Notes on the Curse Formulae," RB 92 (1985), 52. The food and drink offering also appears in a Neo-Assyrian religious text (ca. 8th-7th century B.C.) from Ashur: *ilāni akila akliya šata me* "the gods who eat my food (offering) and drink the water of my (libation)" (KAR 38:16), CAD M/II, 152-53.

⁵⁶ Greenfield and Shaffer, "Notes on the Curse Formulae," RB 92 (1985), 52-53. J. D. Hawkins, "Kubaba at Karkamiš and Elsewhere," AnSt 31 (1981), 162 12 iii.

⁵⁷ "With him (the malefactor) may Tarhaunzas, Karhubas and Kubaba be angry," J. D. Hawkins, "Kubaba at Karkamiš and Elsewhere," AnSt 31 (1981), 162 (12) ii.

4.2.2 Common Tradition

4.2.2.1 Famine

In the Aramaic part, the severity of famine is expressed with the number one hundred: ומאה סאון להינקן אמר ואל ירוה ומאה סור להינקן עגל ואל ירוי ומאה נשון ומאה ימלאה "And may one hundred ewes suckle a calf, but it not be satisfied! And may one hundred cows suckle a calf, but it not be satisfied! And may one hundred women suckle a child and he not be satisfied!; may one hundred women bake bread in an oven, but not fill it!" (20-22a) This expression "maximum to minimum" relates to the severity of famine (4.1.3.1 above). Apart from the difference of number, the reverse order of the curse and the different content regarding humans, the curse of famine is identical with the Sefire stelae (see above).

4.2.2.2 Opposition of a Deity

Line 12b: והד גבר להוי קבלה "May Hadad, the hero, be his adversary!"⁵⁸ The idea relates to Sumero-Akkadian curses about divine anger against the accused.⁵⁹

4.3 Phoenician Curses

4.3.1 Common Tradition

4.3.1.1 Rejection of Kingship and Dynasty

The curse on Ahiram's sarcophagus is one of the common curses in the building inscriptions and treaties: תחתסך חטר משפטת תהתפך כסא מלכה "May the throne of his kingdom be overturned! May the sceptre of his rule be torn away!"⁶⁰

4.3.1.2 Annihilation of the Family Line

The curse on Eshmunazar's sarcophagus ואל יכן למ בן וזרע תחתנם "May they have so son nor seed to succeed them"⁶¹ follows a tradition from Sumerian times (see Part II 2.1).

4.3.1.3 Smashing Heads

⁵⁸ Line 18 in the Assyrian part: *adad qardu la bel dintšu* "May Adad, the hero, be his adversary!"

⁵⁹ See Part II 2.12.

⁶⁰ SSI III Ahiram 14 2b β - γ ; see also Part II 2.3.

⁶¹ SSI III, 106-07 lines 8d-9a); אל יכן למ שרש למט ופר למעל ותאר בחים תחת שמש "May they have no root below nor fruit above nor renown among the living under the sun! (*ibid.*, 11b-12a). See below for this curse in its context.

The gods of *YDY* were invoked:⁶² ישחת ראש בעל צמד אש לגבר ישחת ראש "May Baal-Şemed, the (God) of Gabbār, smash his head!; and may Baal-Hammon, the (god) of BMH, and Rākib-El, the lord of the dynasty, smash his head!"⁶³ The same idea occurs in the epic of Keret (Part I.1). Perhaps, it is also comparable to: *ki ša kaqqudi ša hurāpi anniu qaštipūnu [ku]rsinnušu ina pišu šaknatunfi xxx ka[qqud]ju ša mati²-ilu lu qatip* "Just as the head of this spring lamb is cut off, and its knuckle placed in its mouth, [...] may the head of Mati²-ilu be cut off!" (AM i 25-27a)."

4.3.1.4 Neither Resting-place nor Burial⁶⁴

אל יכן לם משכב את רפאם ואל יקבר בקבר "May they have no resting-place with the shades, and may they not be buried in a grave." These curses which occur on Eshmunazar's sarcophagus (SSI III 106-07 8b-c) have a parallel in the Epic of Gilgameš in reverse order (xii 151-52).⁶⁵ The same coupling occurs in a boundary stone of Merodach-baladan I: *šalamtašu ina iršti ai ikkibir eṭemmašu ana eṭemmi kimtišu ai isniq* "May his corpse not be buried!/ May his spirit be unable to join the spirits of his family!"⁶⁶ In both Eshmunazar and the boundary stone a curse of deprivation of progeny follows,⁶⁷ a result of deprivation of progeny follows in the Epic of Gilgameš (see Part II 2.9.1). All three texts share two concepts, no burial and no progeny.

4.3.2 Unique Curse

4.3.2.1 Civil Unrest

The inscription of Kilmuwa of *YDY* displays a unique curse, seeking a possible conflict between two ethnic groups of *YDY*'s inhabitants.⁶⁸ משכבם אל ידבר

⁶² J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 45-46, and see the pantheon of *YDY*, *ibid.*, 20 ff.

⁶³ A similar malediction occurs in the Hittite military oath: "May the Moon God hammer your head with stone," N. Oettinger, *Die Militärischen Eide*, 92 21-24.

⁶⁴ The curse of no resting place (SSI III, 103 7b-8; 106 8) in the underworld (רפאם) on Tabnit's sarcophagus reflects a general concern for peaceful life in the underworld.

⁶⁵ See further Part II 2.9.

⁶⁶ MDP 6 38 vi 21-22; cf. CAD S sanāqu A 135.

⁶⁷ SSI III 106-07 line 8d-9a: ואל יכן לם בן וזרע תחתנם "And may they have no son nor seed to succeed them!" MDP 6 39 vi 24b and 27: *šumšu lihalliqa* "May they annihilate his name!" (line 24b); *afi] izziba daddašu* "May they (the gods) not leave his youngest son!" (line 27) - the text vi 23-26 is incomplete.

⁶⁸ SSI III, 34 lines 14b-15a. The name משכבם apparently refers to native, non-Aramean inhabitants and the name בעררם to the immigrant Arameans in *YDY*, Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 41, 45.

למשכבם "May the MŠKBM not honour the B'RRM, nor the B'RRM, nor the B'RRM honour the MŠKBM!"

In Ahiram's sarcophagus civil unrest is expressed: ונחת תברח על גבל "May peace flee from Byblos!"⁶⁹

4.3.2.2 Destruction

The curse of deliverance to a mighty king occurs on Eshmunazar's sarcophagus ויסגרנם האלנם הקדשם את ממלך־ת <אדר אש משל בנם לק צתנם "But may the holy gods deliver them up to a mighty ruler who shall have dominion over them, so that they perish!"⁷⁰

Synopsis

The preceding study demonstrates that the West-Semitic inscriptions have some curses which do not occur elsewhere. It has further crystallized the connection of other curses to those in cuneiform inscriptions. The curses in those inscriptions can be seen to reflect the common environment, literary genre and traditions of the Fertile Crescent due to the geographical setting of Syria and Phoenicia and their cultural links.

⁶⁹ SSI III 14 2ca.

⁷⁰ SSI III, 106-07 9b-10a.

Chapter 5

COMPARISON OF COVENANT-CURSES IN LEV 26:14-39 AND DT 28:15-68

5.1 Structure¹

	Lev 26:14-39	Dt 28:15-37	Dt 28:38-57 (repetition)	Dt 28:58-68 (Summary)
Condition	14-15 ²	15 <i>States in the Promised Land (16-19) Yahweh's Anger (20)</i>		58
Disease/ War	16-17	21-22	41	59-62 ³
Drought	19b-20	23-24	cf. 38-40, 42 ⁴	
<i>Wild Animals</i>	21-22			
War	25	25	49-51	
<i>Corpses for Wild Animals</i>		26		
<i>Shortage of Food</i>	26			
<i>Diseases</i>		27		
<i>Blindness and Consequences</i>		28-29		
<i>Lower Status Result of Defeat</i>		30-34	43-44 48	
<i>Disease</i>		35		
<i>Affirming the Occurrence of Curses</i>			45-47	63a
Cannibalism	29		53-57	
Destruction (Sanctuaries/ Cites)	30-32		52	
Deportation	33	36a	41	63b-64a
<i>The Sabbath of the Land</i>	33-34			
Misery in Exile	36-39	36b-37		64b-68

¹ Curses either only occurring in Lev 26, or in Dt 28 are italicized. See the text in Appendix III.

² Also vv. 18, 21, 23, 27.

³ Disease

⁴ Natural calamity.

5.2 Common Structure and Concepts

Eight themes occur in these parallel sequences. All the topics of the curses in Lev 26 appear in Dt 28 apart from the curses of wild animals (Lev 26:21-22) and shortage of food (26).

5.2.1 Condition for Curses

Five conditional sentences in Lev 26 emphasize the seriousness of disloyalty to the divine suzerain. In Dt 28:15 its seriousness is signified by mentioning the offense failing to heed Yahweh's voice and keep his תורה. And failure in keeping the covenant-stipulation would result in punishment by Yahweh (Dt 28:58).

The emphasis on the consequence of disobedience is expressed with emphatic adverbs and repeated statement of punishment in apodoses: אף-אני "surely I myself" (16a, 24a), שבע "seven times" (18b, 21b) and the repeated assertive statement of punishment (19a, 24a). Moreover, in the case of persistent disloyalty, the security of Yahweh's punishment is conveyed by the emphatic use of אף-אני and גם-אני שבע (24) and אף-אני שבע (28b).

In Dt 28:15 a succession of two verbs conveys the serious consequence of disobedience: ובהוא and ושיגוך. The second verb emphasizes the definite occurrence of curses in the future (see 5.4.3 below). Another conditional phrase (58) leads to the summary of the preceding curses (15-57).

5.2.2 Diseases and War

According to Lev 26:16-17, Yahweh will suddenly⁵ afflict people with diseases destroying (eye-)sight and draining away life (16a), and Israel would not harvest any thing, since enemies would eat it (16b). Furthermore, Israel's enemies would defeat her; they would control her, so the people would live restlessly (17).⁶

הרבה in Dt 28:21 is to be understood as deadly diseases in a general sense afflicting both men (Lev 26:25; 2 Sam 24:25) and animals (Ex 9:3), resulting finally in destruction of the promised land. Then seven further plagues follow (22): the first four affect people and the last two crops;⁷ the fifth plague (חרב),⁸ war in a gen-

⁵ The noun בהלה (v. 16) has syntactically an adverbial function, since it does not have an article and a preposition like the following two nouns, see about adverbial substantives, Paul Jöüon, *Grammar I*, § 102d. *Contra* Gordon J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus*, 325.

⁶ Cf. Judges. The curse of enemies ruling Israel will culminate in her exile (see below).

⁷ See Part II 4.1.1.1.

⁸ Commentators suggest חרב as drought (S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 308; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 342), but this reading is unnecessary. The noun חרב "drought" is not attested in the Old Testament in any list of maledictions, whilst חרב "sword" occurs in Lev 26:16 ff; Ez 5:17, etc.

eral sense, would afflict both people and crops. All these plagues would bring about Israel's destruction.

If we compare these passages, we see that the malediction of diseases in Lev 26:16a parallels that of Dt 28:21-22a α which has more similar diseases. This malediction is extended to crops in Dt 28. On the other hand, the curse of war is expressed in more detail in Lev 26:16b-17: agricultural efforts become fruitless because enemies seize the harvest (16b), and as a result of defeat, enemies would rule over Israel who would have a restless life (17), whereas Dt 28:22a α only mentions war (חָרַב).

5.2.3 Drought⁹

The next punishment was drought: Yahweh would make the sky like iron, unable to give rain and the ground like bronze, dry and infertile, so cultivation would be impossible (20), in order to break Israel's pride.

In Dt 28:23-24 drought is expressed in the reverse order:¹⁰ the earth is described as iron and heaven as bronze; referring to the soil's impotence to produce any plant and to the state of heaven. The description of heaven as bronze may denote the rainless sky with brilliant sunshine, or the bronze heavens were brought about by yellowish dust which filled the sky (24). The idea that instead of rain, the Lord will let dust and powder fall from heaven can be understood as the sand dust swept in from the eastern desert by the sirocco wind.¹¹ The drought would further cause the evaporation of moisture in the soil, then the soil would be blown away, with consequent failure in agriculture. Moreover, these severe phenomena would result in Israel's destruction. Thus, the result of drought is more severe than in Lev 26.

5.2.4 War

This malediction is expressed in slightly different contexts: during an invasion of Israel:¹² sheltering in cities, afflicted with pestilence and delivered to an enemy

⁹ This malediction is otherwise only attested in VTE (Part II 3.3.4).

¹⁰ *W-qatalit* in v. 23 syntactically has a loose or improper use, and the succession of *w-qatalit* in v. 22 is broken, see Joüon, *Grammar* II, § 119 ff.

¹¹ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 343. See further Part VI 1.1.2.

¹² Wars are sent by Yahweh as a punishment for breach of covenant (25). In time of war, the people would gather in the cities for defense and security. But Yahweh would send pestilence among the people that would frustrate the defense against enemies. Another curse relates to stopping the food supply (26), caused by a siege.

(Lev 26:25), in a thematic repetition of curses (49-51), an enemy would take away the source of food from Israel.¹³

5.2.5 Destruction

Lev 26:30-32 includes sanctuaries and the land, whereas Dt 28:52 only refers to cities in the repetition, omitted in the basic curses (15-37). The destroyer is Yahweh in the former and the enemy in the latter. Since Yahweh employs an enemy to punish Israel, he is the performer of this curse.

5.2.6 Misery in exile

People's inability to control their acts, resulting in loss of mental balance, would lead them to slow but steady erosion of their lives in exile (Lev 26; Dt 28). This curse in Lev 26:36-39 omits the worship of lifeless gods of wood and stone, which occurs in Dt 28:36b, 64b. Dt 28:37 adds that Israel would become an object of horror in exile. An additional aspect in Dt 28:68 is Israel's returning to Egypt and experiencing the deepest humiliation there because they are not even worth selling as slaves. The misery in exile in Dt 28 is much more intense than that in Lev 26.

5.3 Identical Contents in Differing Sequences

5.3.1 Cannibalism

No specific context is given for the curse in Lev 26:29, whereas cannibalism in Dt 28:53-57 occurs in the context of war in the thematic repetition of the curses in vv. 15-37.

5.3.2 Deportation

This malediction in Lev 26:33 is accompanied by its result, the desolation of the land, omitted in Dt 28 (cf. v. 52). Its relation to sabbaths as the enjoyment of the land is unique in Lev 26:34-35. Deportation appears three times in different sequence in Dt 28: the first is anticipated (36a) before the curses of misery in exile (36b-37); the second in the thematic repetition (41) and the third in the summary of the curses (63b-64a).

5.4 Dissimilarities in Structure and Contents

5.4.1 Unique Curses

5.4.1.1 Lev 26

¹³ This would lead to cannibalism, see below.

The curses of wild animals¹⁴ and shortage of food (22, 26) have no equivalent in Dt 28, nor has the idea of the sabbath of the land after Israel's deportation (34-35). The expression "maximum to minimum" of shortage of food: ten women baking in one oven but no-one being satiated (26) does not occur in Dt 28.

5.4.1.2 Dt 28:28-29¹⁵

Three co-related plagues occur in v. 28. The first שגעון "madness" refers to inability to conduct one's affairs.¹⁶ The second noun עורון "blindness" refers to a physical blindness.¹⁷ The third noun תמהון לבב "confusion"¹⁸ has a similar meaning to שגעון: "mental inability to act" (cf. Zech 12:4). The consequence of these imprecations is vividly illustrated in v. 29. The cursed blind man fumbles in bright daylight and "does not know how to make himself prosperous." "His fumbling ineptitude makes him an easy prey for robbers."¹⁹ Instead of managing his life according to the Torah, "he is now at the mercy of those who live outside the law."²⁰ In other words, disobedience to Yahweh will lead to physical blindness, resulting in mental inability to act according to Yahweh's instruction, producing an unsuccessful and restless life.²¹

5.4.1.3 Dt 28:43-44

This curse refers to Israel's status being lower than the resident alien, the underprivileged member of their own community, who would rule her in the Promised Land.²²

5.4.2 Expansion of Curses

Some contents of curses in Dt 28 vary from those in Lev 26, restating and elaborating them.

5.4.2.1 ארור

¹⁴ The danger of wild animals was well known to Israel. To prevent wild animals living in the land, Israel was not allowed to eliminate the nations all at once (Dt 7:22).

¹⁵ *Contra* Craigie, who takes v. 28 as a possible indirect reference to disorders of the skin (344).

¹⁶ P. Mommer, "שגע", *TWAT* VII, 1066.

¹⁷ In another context עורון indicates the inability to keep the Torah. For example, according to Isa 29:18b: "Out of gloom and darkness the eyes of the blind will see" (NIV). See on L. Wächter, "עור", *TWAT* V, 1190-93.

¹⁸ See further U. Berges, "תמה" *TWAT* VIII, 671-75; H.-J. Fabry, "לב", *TWAT*, vol. 4, 435.

¹⁹ Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 345.

²⁰ *Ibid.* The Torah forbids the putting of a stumble-block in front of the blind (Lev 19:14).

²¹ Cf. Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 345.

²² Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 347.

Six nominal sentences led by אָרוּר "cursed" describe the states of the whole nation or individuals (אתה) who do not keep Yahweh's commandments. The prepositional phrases in v. 16 specify the urban and rural lives of Israel, which will be affected by curses on agricultural products (17, 18a β), offspring (18a α), and animals (18b). Two prepositional clauses in v. 19, being cursed בְּבֹאֵךְ "in coming" and בְּצֵאתֵךְ "in going out", reinforce them. This refers to all daily activities, namely, in time of peace, moving freely out and in through the city-gate, carrying out legal business in the assembly of elders at the city-gate (e.g., Ruth 3:11), etc.; in time of war, going forth to battle (e.g., 1 Ch 20:1), etc.²³ In other words, the whole life-sphere of Israel will be cursed.

That leads to a general curse (20):²⁴ a series of calamities in every enterprise. The first noun הַמְאָרָה "curse" denotes disaster as a divine judgment in a general sense.²⁵ The second noun מְהוּמָה "confusion" refers to a panic caused by Yahweh's judgment (מְאָרָה) and disorientation. The third noun מְגַעֲרָת "anger", the physical expression of Yahweh's anger, denotes also its effective result.²⁶ The cause of these calamities is evil deeds, the results of Israel's abandonment of Yahweh. These calamities will prevail until Israel perishes. In a sense v. 20 reinforces the statement of the apodosis in Dt 28:15b, Yahweh's judicial acts are carried forward to any future disobedience by Israel.

5.4.2.2 War

²³ Cf. E. A. Speiser, "Coming" and "Going" at the "City" Gate," BASOR 144 (1956), 20-23.

²⁴ Scholars regard Deut. 28:20-24 as one unit (Craigie, Driver (vv.20-26) and (Caquot, "גער," TWAT II, 55). That is, v. 20 is a general description for the following list of tangible plagues. However, there is no grammatical reference which ties vv.20-24 together. 20, 21, 22-23, and 24 describe disasters which the Lord will send upon Israel, if she becomes disloyal. Especially, three nouns in v. 20 with the article describe not only the general, but also the specific cursed circumstance. The second noun מְהוּמָה "confusion" denotes a mind which does not know what is appropriate to the situation. This occurs in the context of war. God will deliver the enemy to Israel, putting them into great confusion (מְהוּמָה, Dt 7:23). This strategy of the divine suzerain for his vassal appears in 1 Sam 14:20, where the Philistines fell into total confusion (מְהוּמָה), striking each other. Here mental disorientation and a resulting disoriented act are inseparable. In another instance, מְהוּמָה is used in parallel with יִרְאֵת יְהוָה "the fear of the Lord" (Prov 15:16) and means an absence of respect for the Lord, thus a disorientation. מְהוּמָה also occurs in a religious context Ezek. 22:5, Jerusalem was full of מְהוּמָה "confusion" because of bloodshed and idols. Thus, מְהוּמָה, the mind without criteria for doing right, is the punishment due for failure in keeping the commandments of the divine suzerain. מְגַעֲרָת in v. 20 designates the anger of God (Caquot, *ibid.*), punishment of the evil deeds which are the fruit of the confused mind. The first noun הַמְאָרָה "curses" in v. 20 refers to the confused mind together with its fruit and God's punishment of evil deeds. It is to be understood within the meaning of disaster which already happened, but not in a sense of the curse-formula or the curse-word, Scharbert, "ארר," TWAT I, 445.

²⁵ See also Mal. 2:2; 3:9; Prov. 3:33; 28:27.

²⁶ A. A. Macintosh, "A Consideration of Hebrew גער," VT 19 (1969), 471-79.

The curse of war in Dt 28:25-26 refers to some other consequences, namely, a terrible defeat of Israel, so that she will become an object of horror for all nations, with her corpses given as meat for birds and animals of prey. Other further consequences of war include poverty Dt 28:30-34.²⁷ The worst consequence of siege, cannibalism along with hostility among the members of family (54-57), which is stated in much more detail in Dt 28:53-57.

Another expansion of war is the result of defeat (30-34, 48). Dt 28:30-34 mention consequences of defeat. The consequences in Dt 28:30 relate to exemptions from military service granted in time of war (Dt 20:5-7). If one died in war, someone would take possession of the bride, or a newly built house, or a newly planted vineyard (30). In vv. 31-34, the enemy would take control of the livestock (31), the children (32), and the agricultural products (33-34). These represent the loss of the basic elements of life. Another expansion occurs in 48: Israel would be subject to her enemies in the Promised Land, so instead of serving the Lord she would serve them in her impoverished state.

5.4.2.3 Diseases

The curses of diseases are expanded to include various skin diseases in Dt 28:27. Yahweh would afflict the people with four incurable diseases. The first disease included a variety of scaly, scabby or crusted disorders, and the third and fourth were similar infections of the skin.²⁸ Some other incurable skin diseases occur in v. 35.

5.4.3 Emphasis

In Lev 26 the serious consequence of disloyalty is conveyed: 1) by repeated conditional statements with recurrence of emphatic adverbs (see 5.2.1 above); 2) by the recurring of שבע "seven times" for Israel's sin (18, 21, 24, 28).²⁹ On the other hand, the definite consequence of treaty-breaking is expressed twice, by *w-qatal* in

²⁷ The change of the subject with *x-yiqtol* in v. 30 structure indicates beginning of a new topic which describes the consequences of defeat in battle. Vv. 30-34 display eight individual curses: 1) three curses structured with *x-yiqtol* followed by three results in *w-x-yiqtol* (v. 30); 2) three curses structured with *x-qatol* followed by two results in *w-x-yiqtol* (v. 31 $\alpha\beta$) and *w-x-x* (a nominal sentence v. 31b β); 3) one curse structured with *x-qatol* followed by two results in *w-x-qatol* and *w-x-x* (v. 32); 3) one curse structured with *x-yiqtol* (v. 33a) followed by two results in *w-qatal-x* (vv. 33b-34). This grammatical chain is broken by *yiqtol-x* in v. 35.

²⁸ G. R. Driver, "The Plague," *JRAS*, 1950, 50-52. Presumably, God afflicted the Egyptians with the first disease prior to the Exodus (Ex 9:9-10).

²⁹ The number seven was used "to indicate intensity, quality, not directly quantity" and "may also indicate fulfilment, completion, finishing," Kapelrud, "The Number Seven," *VT* 18 (1968), 499.

Dt 28:15b. Dt 28:38-57 (Appendix III)³⁰ reinforce the consequences of disobedience by repeating the themes of the preceding curses with additional consequences, e.g., cannibalism, a curse which would also bring about hostility among the members of a family. The thematic repeated and added curses in vv. 48-57 are emphasized by statements to assure their occurrence in vv. 45-47.³¹ The serious outcome of disobedience is reinforced adding to a summary of the basic curses (58-68), disease (59-62), re-assurance of Yaweh's punishment (63a), deportation (63b-64a) and a vivid description of misery in exile (64b-68 (Appendix III 20), much more terrifying than Lev 26:36-39, which depict the restless life of the Exiles, gradually wasting away because of their and their fathers' sins.

5.4.4 Structure

The structural dissimilarity between Lev 26 and Dt 28 lies in the introductory statement of curses (protasis and apodosis). It is employed in Lev 26 to structure curses; in Dt 28 it is used only in the introduction and the summary of curses (Dt 28:16-68). The curses are structured in Dt 28:16-68 by the changing verb-forms and order of clauses.³²

Dt 28 displays two other features which do not occur in Lev 26. The first (38-57) is the thematic recurrence of basic curses (15-37).³³

³⁰ This paragraph is grammatically marked. The *yiqtol* structure followed by two *w-qatal* clauses in v. 37 does not continue. The new series of curses starts with *x-yiqtol* structure in v. 38. This series comes to an end in v. 57, since the conditional clause in v. 58 marks a new paragraph.

³¹ In v. 45 the succession of (*w*)-*x-yiqtol* is interrupted; and vv. 45-48 is a new subsection. The conjunction *וְאֵלֶּיךָ* in v. 47 always leads a causal clause stating the reason for the main clause (Num 25:13; Dt 21:14; 22:29; 28:62; 1 Sam 26:21; 2 Ki 22:17; 2 Chr 21:12; 34:25; Isa 53:12; Jer 29:19; 50:7), apart from Ez 36:34 where it is used in the meaning of "instead of" leading a subordinate clause stating the opposite state to the main clause.

³² Following the apodosis in 15b, six curses with the passive participle *אָרוּר* followed by the 2nd person pronoun denote the cursed state of Israel. Thereupon a chain of imperfects with the name of God follows, whereby each sentence indicates individual curses. The successive curses are formulated either with *x-yiqtol* (25a β , 29a β) or with *w-qatalti* (22b, 26). Furthermore, *w-qatalti* introduces a new topic of curse (23) and a new subsection (45). If the *x-yiqtol* structure breaks the chain of *w-qatalti*, it introduces a new theme of curses; each related curse is introduced by *w-x-yiqtol* structure (30). In this context, a nominal phrase (*subject + passive participle*) follows with its related curse either in *w-yiqtol* structure (31a) or in a nominal clause (*subject + active participle*) (32a β).

If a durative aspect is emphasized, *וְהָיָה* with active (v. 29a α) and passive (33b, 34) participles are used (cf. Jouion, *Grammar* II, § 121 e); the former refers to a durative act of "groping", and the latter to the durative states of "being oppressed" and "being driven to despair".

If the subject of a curse in *x-yiqtol* structure is emphasized, *casus pendens* occurs (Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures*, 93); the founders of family would eat their offspring, instead of multiplying the family. The curse of cannibalism mentioned in *w-qatalti* structure in v. 53 is restated in detail in vv. 54-56. There *הָאִישׁ* (54) and *הָרִכָּה* (56) are resumed by the 3rd masculine (54b) and feminine possessive pronouns (56b) respectively. In another instance, the curse expressed in *w-qatalti* (66) is expanded by *x-yiqtol* structure (67).

³³ See further Part V 1.7.2.

The curses in vv. 38-57 repeat and expand the preceding curses.³⁴ The topics of the curses mentioned in vv. 21-22, 25, 36-37 resumed in vv. 38-44 in a chain structure. None of Israel's agricultural enterprise will prosper because of plant disease (21-22) and plagues of locusts and worms (38-40, 42).³⁵ Israel's defeat by enemies will result in flight (25) and deportation of her descendants (41). Israel's subjection to enemies, mentioned in vv. 30-34, recurs in v. 48 (cf. 43-44).³⁶ The topic of invasion in v. 25 is repeated in vv. 49-50 with its additional results: siege accompanied by deprivation of sources of food, destruction of cities (51-52) and cannibalism bringing hostility among members of the family (53-57).

The second feature is the summary of curses (58-68).³⁷ Moses warns Israel once again what will happen to her if she breaks the covenant. The preceding curses are summarized in two paragraphs: plagues and diseases (21-22, 27, 35) in 59-62 and invasion (25-26, 30-34), deportation (36a) and hopeless life in exile (36b-37) in vv. 63-68.

These two features of Dt 28, the repetition and summary of curses, emphasize the serious consequences of a breach of covenant (see above).

Synopsis

The emphasis of curses differs between Lev 26 and Dt 28, insofar as the speakers are different. In Lev 26 Yahweh himself announces curses, emphasizing his personal acts against the disloyal people. In Dt 28 his mediator is concerned more with the consequences of Israel's disloyalty. Therefore, the effects on the cursed are elaborated, e.g., the consequences of war and diseases. Dt 28:64-68 mention the cursed state of Israel in exile much more vividly than Lev 26:36-39. Furthermore, the cursed state is highlighted in Dt 28 by the אָרוּר-formulae. The serious consequences of covenant-breaking are also re-enforced by an elaborate, thematic, repetition of the preceding curses, then the summary. So Dt 28 presents a much longer list of curses than Lev 26. However, all the curses in Lev 26:14-39 occur in Dt 28:15 ff. following the same sequence of themes, except a few curses (5.4.1.1). This indicates that both passages follow a common model.

³⁴ For the syntactical justification of this section, see above vv. 30-34 (see fn. 32 above).

³⁵ See fn. 8 above.

³⁶ See above vv. 23-24 fn. 32 about a function of *w-qatalit* dividing paragraphs.

³⁷ See the reversed status of Israel from being blessed in the promised land, Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 351.

PART III

**TREATY-CURSES IN THE ASSYRIAN ANNALS
FROM TIGLATH-PILESER I TO ASHURBANIPAL**

Chapter 1

TREATY-CURSES AS AN INTEGRAL COMPONENT

IN THE CONCEPT OF VASSALSHIP IN THE ASSYRIAN ANNALS

1.0 Introduction

Following H. Tadmor,¹ M. Weinfeld stated concerning VTE: "this treaty is actually a loyalty oath on the part of the Median vassals obligating them to remain faithful to Assyria and her King on the occasion of change in the political leadership."² He continued: "we learn from other documents that not only the vassals were adjured, but that four days earlier (on the twelfth of Iyar) all of the people of Assyria, young and old alike, were required to swear allegiance to the new King Ashurbanipal."³ For Weinfeld VTE is "simply fealty oaths imposed by the retiring king on his Median vassals with respect to his successor (Ashurbanipal)."⁴ However, Esarhaddon was not making the people of Assyria and the Medes alone swear allegiance, Ashurbanipal asserted: *upahhir niše mātaššur^{ki} šihir u rābi ša tāmtim elti u šapliti* "he (Esarhaddon) assembled the people of Assyria, high and low, from the Upper (Caspian) to the Lower (Mediterranean) Seas."⁵ Hittite history offers illustrations. When Mursili II installed Tuppi-Teshshup as a Hittite vassal over Amurru in place of his father, he made his brothers and the people swear an oath to Tuppi-Teshshup.⁶ Mursili also let the people of the land swear to Manapa-Tarhunta, when he enthroned him over the Seha River land.⁷ These events show that a suzerain occasionally, while establishing vassal treaties, might make the royal family and people swear a loyalty oath to the vassal simultaneously. In other words,

¹ Tadmor stated: "*Adē* is a concept and an institution. The relations between the Assyrian emperor and his vassal, especially under the Sargonids, are expressed in terms of and are governed by loyalty oaths. . . . From the accession of Esarhaddon and especially from that of Ashurbanipal, numerous documents show that the populace of Assyria, rank and file, had to swear *adē* - the oath of allegiance to the new king," "Assyria and the West," *Unity and Diversity*, 43. Following Tadmor, K. Watanabe denied VTE are vassal treaties, *BaM Bh* 3 (1987), 4, 6-24.

² "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *UF* 8 (1976), 379.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Deuteronomy*, 6.

⁵ *Assurbanipals* Pr. A 15 i 18-19. Wiseman, "The Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958), 3-4. See also VTE 1-8. Esar.'s assembling the Assyrian people was not unique, since "a loyalty oath imposed on Assyrian citizens is already attested in an inscription of Šamši-Adad V dating from the 9th century B.C.," *SSA* II, xxiv.

⁶ *HDT*, no. 8, 55 §4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 12, 78 §3.

loyalty oaths and vassal treaties coincide.⁸ The circumstances of these Hittite treaties are comparable with those of VTE. So to see VTE only as loyalty oaths is one-

⁸ According to M. Liverani, "in Hittite texts, vassal-treaties and oaths/instructions are different in form and content, and Esarhaddon's texts are clearly similar to the second class and quite different from the first one," "The Medes at Esarhaddon's Court," *JCS* 47 (1995), 58 fn. 15. Indeed, the form of the two sorts of documents varies. As for Hittite "oaths/instructions," however, the contents in Hittite soldiers oaths, the instructions for the royal bodyguard and the instructions for Hittite princes and officials are not same. In the first, the one who breaks the oaths made before the gods and does evil against king, queen and princes, is cursed. That is, this protasis is followed by (simile) curses sworn by soldiers, but there are no instructions or commands attached (N. Oettinger, *Die Militärischen Eide*). In the second, the duties and regulations for bodyguards are mentioned without curses (H. G. Güterbock and Van den Hout, *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*). There, there is no command to remain loyal, as in the case of the instructions for princes and officials (see below). The form and content of these two texts differ from VTE. In the third (E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*), the themes of the instructions of the Hittite princes and officials are:

- 1) Protection for the king and his descendants (*ibid.*, 8-9 §§1-2, 24 §7, 28 §25, etc.).
- 2) Report of a plot against the king (*ibid.*, 13 §21, 14 §24, 24 §6, etc.)
- 3) No giving away secrets of the Hittite court (*ibid.*, 11 §8, 27-28 §24).
- 4) Forbidden to do evil or to speak evil against the king (*ibid.*, 13 §21, etc.).
- 5) No change of the supremacy of the king (*ibid.*, 9 §§2-3, 15 §28) nor becoming vassals to another king (*ibid.*, 26 §15).
- 6) Support the king in time of revolt (*ibid.*, 22 §2).
- 7) No support of an enemy's land (*ibid.*, 25 §12).

All these obligations occur in Hittite vassal treaties (see *HDT* & also fn. 10 below). In other words, the Hittite officials and vassals were under the same obligations to loyalty. In this light, therefore, some similarity of contents between Hittite loyalty oaths and VTE is not surprising. However, the form of VTE differs from the Hittite instructions for princes and officials: 1) individual commands are not followed by warning statements of curses, as in the case of "Hethitische Dienstanweisungen"; 2) VTE has a list of curses at the end, which does not occur in the instructions for the Hittite princes and officials. Therefore, VTE is more similar to the Hittite vassal treaties in terms of content and form than to those instructions (*contra* Liverani). In addition, the texts of Hittite instructions are commonly understood as loyalty oaths. That is a wrong perception. According to von Schuler, "die Instruktion wird von den Hethitern *išhiul* 'Bindung = Vertrag, Instruktion . . . genannt" (*Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*, 3). In other words, the Hittite instructions are duty regulations and obligations. Furthermore, the instructions for princes and officials (*Dienstanweisungen*) are about their loyalty, but there is no reference to taking oaths. In a few cases, the instructions are re-enforced with curses - e.g., "may these gods destroy you," (*ibid.*, 14 §23 44, 24 §9 11) and with warning statements of consequences of oaths *das soll under Eid gelegt sein* in most cases (*ibid.*, 26 §17 20, etc.). A similar form appears in Middle Assyrian palace edicts. There, individual regulations are followed by punishment, e.g., "Either royal eunuchs or court attendants or dedicatees - If a woman of the palace either sings, or quarrels with her colleague, and he stands by and eavesdrops, he shall be struck 100 blows, they shall cut off one of his ears" M. T. Roth, *Law Collections*, 206 21. Yet the edicts do not contain commands for loyalty, because it is a basic assumption of royal service.

There are indeed three texts of loyalty oaths where military officials (*Würdenträger*) "schwören dabei nicht nur für ihre eigene Person und ihre Familien, sondern zugleich stellvertretend für die Truppen dreier Garnisonbezirke . . ." And there are no instructions attached, von Schuler, "Die Würdenträgereide des Arnuwanda," *Or* 25 (1956), 212; see 229-31. On the other hand, there are instructions for the same officials without a curse invoked or oath-taking (*ibid.*, 213-222; cf. 234). Even if we take these two different documents together, not all Hittite instructions for high officials should be categorized under loyalty oaths.

sided, since loyalty oaths and the treaty-concept are "not mutually exclusive."⁹ In view of this, VTE can be treated as part of common tradition describing the relationship between a suzerain, his people and his vassals.¹⁰

⁹ SAA II, xxxi. According to Parpola, VTE are "formulated as bilateral agreements between rulers, and in addition they share many features with the Mati²-il and Sefire treaties, which incontestably represent the classic type of a vassal treaty. Thus, while primarily drawn up for a different purpose, they could also secondarily be put to use as treaties concluded with vassals. In this context, note particularly lines 393f of the treaty, where the other party is pledged to accept the supremacy of Assyria and its chief god. This is a stipulation suiting a treaty with a newly acquired vassal, not a loyalty considered together with the background of the 'city-rulers' with whom the treaties were concluded," *ibid.*, xxx and see further xxx-xxxi. Furthermore, there is another possible interpretation. Esar. mentioned the submission of some Median city-rulers "who under my royal forefathers had not crossed the border of Assyria nor trodden her ground" (trans. Parpola) and their request for Esar.'s help (*kitru*) against other tribes who had attacked them (*Esarhaddons*, 54-55 iv 32-41). The situation of their submission is identical with that of Gyges in Asb.'s reign (1.1.2.1). That is to say, some Median tribes submitted to Assyria firstly under Esar. However, some Medes had already paid tribute to Tigl.III (see fn. 70 below). In this light, Esar. may have re-established the vassal treaty with their descendants, along with new vassals.

¹⁰ Liverani has argued that VTE forms loyalty oaths imposed on Median bodyguards at the Assyrian court, "The Medes," *JCS* 47 (1995), 57-62. This hypothesis is based on his interpretation of various passages in VTE. According to him, those passages do not fit "the distant Medes" but "some group of Medes serving at Esarhaddon's court." However, his interpretation cannot remain unchallenged, since those passages are not peculiar to VTE:

1) The statement "you shall protect him in country and town, fall and die for him" (VTE 49-51a) is not only pertinent to bodyguards. Protection for the suzerain was one of the Hittite vassals' obligations. Thus, whether any city of Hatti began war (*HDT*, no. 2, 17 §22), or an enemy invaded Hatti (*ibid.*, 18 §34), there was a revolt against the suzerain (*ibid.*, no.5, 34 §6), the suzerain led military campaigns (*ibid.*, no. 3, 25 §12), or any evil thing happened to the suzerain, vassals were obliged to come to the suzerain's aid and to protect him (*ibid.*, 25 §13). A vassal should consider the suzerain as his own person (*ibid.*, 25 §12).

2) "You shall speak with him (Asb.) in the truth of your heart, give him sound advice loyally, and smooth his way in every respect" (VTE 51b-54) refers to all courtiers (including bodyguards) and vassals, since Esar. assembled the Assyrians and people whom he ruled from the Upper to the Lower Seas (see fn. 5 above). Every Hittite vassal should be "an effective and strong helper" for the suzerain's descendants (*HDT*, no. 11, 72 §14), protect them and seek the prosperity of Hatti (*ibid.*, no. 5, 36 §15). In view of this, when Assyrian vassals came for audience with the suzerain, presumably, they discussed with suzerain the issues which were relevant for both countries.

3) "The obligation to report hostile rumors heard 'either from the mouth of his brothers, his uncles, his cousins, his family, members of his father's line; or from the mouth of magnates and governors, or from the mouth of the bearded and the eunuchs, or from the mouth of the scholars or from the mouth of any human being at all'" is important for both the Assyrians and vassals. Hittite vassals were obliged to report rumours to the suzerain, e.g.: "because people are treacherous, if rumors circulate and *someone comes and whispers before you*, . . . write about this matter to My Majesty" (*italics mine, ibid.*, no. 11, 74 §20). A stipulation in the treaty between Mursili II and Kupanta-Kurunta: "If someone plots a matter of revolt against My Majesty, and he flees before me and comes to you . . ." (*ibid.*, no. 11 72 §14; also no. 8 57 §12). According to these examples, a distant vassal could hear rumours directly from the members of Assyrian royal family and officials visiting or posted to his area.

4) "If anyone should speak to you of rebellion and insurrection, of killing, assassinating, and eliminating Assurbanipal . . . or if you should hear it from the mouth of anyone . . ." Hittite vassals were obliged to report plots: "if some evil plan to revolt arises even in Hatti, *and you hear of it*, take a stand immediately to aid My Majesty. . . . And if [you hear] in advance of some evil plan to revolt, [and] either some [Hittite] or . . . - and you do [not] quickly write in advance to My Majesty . . . then you [will] have [transgressed the oath]" (*ibid.*, no. 10, 65 §2).

In the following two chapters, we explore the relationship between Assyria and her vassals Assyrian annals from Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurbanipal in the light of the concept of vassalship reflected in the royal annals (see Part I 3).

1.1 Suzerain's Benevolence

5) The prohibitions on palace revolt against Esar. (VTE 198-211) and seditious meetings (212-13) relate to all Assyrian officials but not specifically to the "Median bodyguards." A distant vassal could plot with Assyrian officials against Esar. (cf. 6 below). Hittite vassals were forbidden to submit to another stronger king (HDT, no. 3, 24 §5).

Since vassals could participate in plots of Assyrian officials and royal family, the prohibition against killing Asb. (VTE 262-63) by giving "a deadly drug to eat or to drink" is not only pertinent to the "Median bodyguards." Tudhaliya II prohibited Sunashshura from encouraging a revolt (HDT, no. 2, 16 §12). Or "if a subject of the Great King plots against his lord while remaining in Hatti, . . ." (*ibid.*, no. 1 12 §4). Mursili II stated his vassal Mashuiluwa "stirred up my subject against me" (*ibid.*, no. 11, 70 §6). In this context, it was not impossible for distant vassals to participate in a plot of the Assyrian court.

7) The prohibitions against slandering Asb.'s brothers before Asb. (VTE 269-74) and vice versa, or against slandering Asb. before Esar. (323-26), relate to the loyalty of all Assyrian officials and vassals. VTE 266: "You shall love Assurbanipal . . . like yourself." As for Hittite vassals, "your person, your wives, your sons and your land are dear to you, the body [of the King], the person of the King, the sons of the King, and Hatti shall forever be dear [to you]" (HDT, no. 9, 60 §1).

As a matter of fact, none of the passages Liverani interpreted in the light of the Median bodyguards' hypothesis are conclusive. Those passages do not provide any basis for his assumption. They fit both the Assyrian officials and the "distant" Median vassals.

Liverani also pointed out the vassals' obligations, such as the payment of tribute, delivery of refugees, etc., are missing in VTE. Yet they are also absent from two other Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties (AM & EB). Nevertheless, Tyre paid tribute to Asb. (Part III 1.9.2). Therefore, the omissions of those duties of vassals and the suzerain's promises to vassals in VTE may be a characteristic of treaties in the first millennium B.C. Furthermore, if we accept Liverani's view that Median troops served in the Assyrian palace during 675-72 B.C., this does rule out the presence of Median vassals in Esar.'s assembly. The latter part of Esar.'s reign was marked with civil unrest. There were revolts against Esar. and the crown prince Asb. The Assyrian vassals of Media might have sent troops to support their suzerain. In Hittite vassal treaties vassals were obliged to send troops in time of revolt (HDT, no. 7, 51 §5). Presumably, they stayed longer because of the difficult situation of Assyria. However, Liverani's assumption that the Medes sent troops to Assyria is based on his interpretation about *kitru*. He stated: "*kitru* does indeed refer to the providing of troops in exchange for payment, something appropriate to the relations between Esarhaddon and the Medes, and certainly not to an *adû*-like relationship of vassalage," "The Medes," 61. According to him, therefore, "this odd use of the term *kitru* had in fact been stipulated, but in the "wrong" direction, with the Medes providing troops to the Assyrians," *ibid.*, 61-62. Liverani's view is not persuasive. The concept *kitru*, the submission of an inferior king and the reception of support, in turn, from a stronger king also occurs in Assyrian history (see 1.1.2.1 below; fn. 9 above). This is an impetus to establishing a vassal treaty. Moreover, Assyrian kings integrated talented deportees into the governmental service and forces (see Part III 2.1.14). Consequently, officials, bodyguards and troops were multi-ethnic. Esar. claimed that the people of unsubmitive Median kings were carried to Assyria, Esarhaddons, 55 iv 49-52. Therefore, it is not surprising Median soldiers are depicted in a relief (see "The Medes," 62 fn. 32). To sum up, there is no compelling reason why VTE 1-8 & Pr. A 15 i 18-19 do not refer to the Assyrian people (including multi-ethnic officials) and the Median & other vassals. In the light of our analysis, VTE presents vassal treaties for Medes, whereas it was loyalty oaths for the Assyrians.

1.1.1 Approval of Kingship

The most significant favour the suzerain could grant a vassal was the throne and that, in return, would encourage him to remain loyal to his suzerain.¹¹ It would be granted in the course of a new military expedition, if weaker kings submitted to the Assyrian kings. For example, when Tiglath-pileser I marched to the lands of Nairi. He claimed:¹²

naphar šarrāni māṭnāiri balṭūsunu qatī ikšud ana šarrāni šātunu rēma aršašunūtima napištašunu ētir šallusunu u kamusunu ina mahar dšamaš bēliya aṭṭur māmit ilāniya rabūti ana arkat ūmē ana ūm šāte ana ardūte utammīšunūti

I captured all of the kings of the Nairi lands alive. I had mercy on those kings and spared their lives. I released them from their bonds and fetters in the presence of the god Šamaš, my lord, and made them swear by my great gods an oath of eternal vassalship.

Once the vassalship was established, the succession to the kingship was not automatically inherited. The suzerain chose a loyal prince for the succession.¹³ In the case of Arvad,¹⁴ after king Yakinlū's death, his sons came to Niniveh, and Ashurbanipal chose one of them for the throne:¹⁵

ultu mⁱakīnlū šar māṭaruadda ēmidu šadāšu m^aziba'al m^abiba'al m^aduniba'al m^sapaṭiba'al m^budiba'al m^ba'alīašūbu m^ba'alhanunu m^ba'almaluku m^abīmilki m^ahīmilki mārē mⁱakīnlū āšib qabal tāmti ultu qabal tamti elūnimma itti tamartišunu kabitti illikūnimma unāššiqū šēpēya m^aziba'al hadiš appalisma ana šarrūti māṭaruadda aškunšu

¹¹ The succession of a vassal to kingship depended on the suzerain's favour, for example, Mursili I approved his vassals request and appointed the crown prince Tuppi-Teshshup as vassal king over Amurru, *HDT*, no. 8, 55 §4.

¹² *RIMA II*, A.0.87.1 22 v 8b-16. When Tigl.I marched against Sugu of the land Habhu, he killed and destroyed, then spared troops who submitted, *ibid.*, 20 iv 27-31. Shalm.III enthroned Yanzu over Namri after his conquest, *RIMA III*, 67 93b-95); eight years later, he campaigned against Yanzu carried him together with his all royal family and his soldiers to Assyria. This instance is similar to that of Ahuni of Bīt-Adini. In another instance, Shalm.III let Šullusunu of Harna (or Hir/Kin/Murna, the royal city was Masašuru), a defeated king, maintain his kingship and then imposed upon him tax and tribute, *ibid.*, A.0.102.14 70 168b-71a. When Peqah of Israel was killed by a rebellion, Tigl.III enthroned Hoshea who was submissive, *Tiglath-pileser III*, *Summ* 4 140 17b-18a; cf. 2 Ki 15:25. Sar. enthroned Ispabāra son of Taltā over Ellipi (see further 1.3.2 below). Senn. set Ethba'al, son of Luli, on the throne of Sidon when his father rebelled against Assyria, *OIP II*, 30 ii 47-49. The decision about the appointment depends only on the sovereign's pleasure. When vassals in Egypt rebelled against Assyria, the Assyrian troops stationed there defeated them and brought them alive to Niniveh, *Assurbanipals Pr. A 22-23 i 128b-ii 7*. Asb. let only Niqū live among them and restored his kingship in Egypt, *ibid.*, *Pr. A 23-24 ii 8*, 16-19.

¹³ In the historical prologue of a treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Aziru of Amurru, the former mentioned: ". . . and [because Aziru] knelt [down at the feet of My Majesty], I, My Majesty, Great King, [took up] Aziru and ranked him (as king) among his brothers, *HDT*, 33 no. 5 §2.

¹⁴ *Assurbanipals Pr. A 29 ii 63-67*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *Pr. A 30 ii 81-89*.

After Yakinlû, king of Arvad, died, Aziba'al, Abiba'al, Aduniba'al, Sapaṭiba'al, Budiba'al, Ba'alyašupu, Ba'alhanuni, Ba'almaaluku, Abimilki, Ahimilki, the sons of Yakinlû, who live in the middle of the sea, ascended from the sea and came with their heavy present and kissed my feet. I looked at Aziba'al joyfully and appointed him to the kingship of Arvad.

The suzerain's approval of vassals' kingship meant, furthermore, his protection of their kingship and dynasty, as long as they remained loyal (see 1.1.3 below).

1.1.2 Support

1.1.2.1 Military aid

The suzerain was concerned that his vassals should have military power to defend themselves and thus supported them. This indicates that vassals had freedom in their rule over their lands, as long as they remained loyal.

If a king voluntarily submitted himself to Ashurbanipal the latter granted military support to help him to solve a difficult political situation, e.g., the Assyrian military support for Gyges:¹⁶

m^gugu šar mātl^uddi nagū ša nebirti tāmti ašru rūqu ša šarrāni abbēya la išmū zikir šumišu nibit šumiya ina šutti ušabrišuma I^aššur ilu banūa umma šepē I^aššur-bān-apli šarri mātaššur^{ki} šabatma ina zikir šumišu kušud amēl^lnakrūtika ūmu^{mu} šuttu annitu emuru amēl^lrakbušu išpuru ana ša'al šulmiya šuttu annitu ša emuru ina qātē amēl^lmār šiprišu išpuramma ušannā iāti ultu libbi^{bi} ūmē^{me} ša išbatu šepē šarrūtiya amēl^lgimirraa mudallip nišē mātišu ša lā iptallahū abbēya ù attūa la išbatū šepē šarrūtiya ikšud ina tukulti^{ti} d^aššur u dⁱštar ilāni bēlēya ultu libbi^{bi} amēl^lhazānāti(?) šā amēl^lgimirraa ša ikšud 2 amēl^lhazānāti(?) ina i^ššiši išqati parzilli bireti parzilli utammehma itti tamartišu kabitte ušebila adi mahriya

Gyges, king of Lydia, a district at the coast of the sea, a far off place, whose name the kings, my fathers, did not hear, Ashur, my begetter, let him see my name in a dream: "Seize the feet of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria and conquer your enemies in his name." On the day when he saw this dream, he sent his messenger to pay me homage, he sent me this dream, which he saw, by his messenger and repeated (it) to me. From the day when he seized my royal feet, he conquered the Gimirra, who plagued the people of his land, who did not fear my fathers nor, as for me, did they seize my royal feet. Through the power of Ashur and Ishtar, the gods, my lords, from the mayors of Gimirra whom he conquered, he bound two in arrested to mayors with the clasps, the iron bond, (and) the iron chains (and) he sent them with his heavy present to me.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 30-31 ii 95-110. The Hittite kings supported their vassals with Hittite troops. For example, Suppiluliuma I sent a garrison to Amurru and said: "because Aziru turned [to] My Majesty for vassalage of his own free will, I, My Majesty, [will send] noblemen of Hatti, and infantry [and chariotry, to him from] Hatti to the land of Amurru," *HDT*, no. 5, 35 §7. In another instance, Suppiluliuma I stated in the preamble of a treaty with Tette of Nuhashshi when became a vassal land to Hatti. Sharrupshi, Tette's grandfather asked Suppiluliuma I for help, when the king of Mittanni with his troops oppressed him. Suppilulium I sent "infantry and chariotry to his aid, and they drove the king of the land of Mittanni, together with his troops and his chariotry out of the land of Nuhashshi," *ibid.*, no. 7, 50 §1.

Ashurbanipal supported Niqû, his forgiven vassal:¹⁷ *is narkabâti stšē parē ana rukub bēlātišu aqissu amēlšūt rēšēya amēl pahāti ana kitrišu itāšu ašpur* "War-chariots, horses, mules I bestowed upon him for the wagon of his dominion. My supreme commanders as the governors I sent with him for his support." This would help Niqû to maintain a friendly policy to Assyria. At the same time, Assyria would have better control over Egypt, since the Assyrian vassal had been pardoned for participating in a revolt led by Tarqû against Assyria (Pr. A i 118 ff).¹⁸

1.1.2.2 Administrative aid

Shalmaneser III supported Katî, Assyrian vassal of the land Que, to give him better control, through enthroning Katî's brother over Tarsus a city in Que in order to encourage him to remain loyal to Assyria.¹⁹

1.1.3 Forgiveness

The suzerain would forgive disloyal vassals, if they were penitent.²⁰ This sort of benevolence runs throughout Assyrian history.

When Tiglath-pileser I marched against the disloyal city of the land of Qumānu,²¹ its king submitted to him. He spared that city but commanded his vassal

¹⁷ *ibid.*, Pr. A 24 ii 14-15. Asb. also bestowed military supplies on his brother, Shamash-shum-ukîn, when he came to the throne of Babylon, *ibid.*, Pr. A 39 iii 73-75. In a Hittite treaty between Suppiluliuma I furnished Shattiwaza of Mittanni with Hittite troops, when the latter returned home, *HDT*, no. 6b § 4 46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 ff.

¹⁹ *RIMA* III, A.O.102.14 69 138b-40a; Grayson (*CAH* III/1, 263) stated that "Katê, ruler of Que, was taken to Assyria and replaced by his brother, Kirri." His references to *RIMA* III A.O.102.14 68-69 132-41a, 40 118-19 iii 1-8 do not correspond to his statement: 1) A.O.102.40 118-19 iii 1-8 tells us about Katê's submission and his presentation of his daughter together with a dowry at Kalhu; 2) from this record we can presume that Katê had become an Assyrian vassal; 3) Katê was besieged not in Tarsus before his submission (A.O.102.14 68 132-34a); 4) it seems that Katê was the ruler of the land Que, under whom there were city-rulers; because when Shalm.III campaigned against the cities of Katê for the fourth time he besieged the city Tanakun whose ruler was Tulli (*ibid.*); 5) in this campaign, Shalm.III subsequently marched to Tarsus which surrendered without opposition to him; then Shalm. enthroned Kirri, a brother of Katê over Tarsus. In other words., Shalm.III made Kirri city-ruler of Tarsus, not ruler of the whole land of Que.

²⁰ Mursili II mentioned in a treaty with Manapa-Tarhunda of the land of the Seha River, that he forgave Manapa-Tarhunda, when he was penitent during his disciplinary campaign and then established a treaty, *HDT*, no. 12, 78 §4. This was presumably a renewal of the treaty, since Mursili II enthroned him before, *ibid.*, 78 §3.

²¹ *RIMA* II A.O.87.1 24-25 v 82-vi 38. The same policy could be seen in Tigl.I's campaign against Panaru (*ibid.*, 15 ii 36-46) a district near Katmuhu, east of the Tigris, see in K. Nashef, *Répertoire Géographique* V, 214) and Sugu (*RIMA* II A.O.87.1 20 iv. 27-31), probably the region in the southern mountainous district of the Van-Lake (Nashef, *Répertoire Géographique* V, 235) and in the vassals treaties with them after his conquest; the same policy was carried out by his new expedition against the lands of Sarauš and Ammauš southeast of the Van Lake, *ibid.*, 30. His victory over those lands led to vassal treaties with the defeated people, *RIMA* II A.O.87.1 18-19 iii 73-87. In Adn.II's time Qumānu challenged the Assyrian king to war. When the people submitted, Adn.II forgave them and settled them peacefully, *ibid.*, A.O.99.1 143-44 10-19.

to demolish the wall and towers. This would prevent his vassal from relying on the strong wall and challenging Assyria to war, but assure him that he could trust his suzerain for the security of his land. In this manner Tiglath-pileser I corrected his vassal and took responsibility for the peace of his vassal's land:²²

ina ištukulti d^aššur bēliya i^snarkabāti u quradiya lu alqe kipšuna ālšarrūtišunu lū almi šar mā^tqumanē tīb tāhaziya danna ēdurma šepēya išbat āl šuāte ētir dūrašu rabā u asātešu ša agurri ana napali aqbašuma ištu uššešu adi gabadibbišu ippul ana tili utīr

With the support Aššur, my lord, I took my chariotry and warriors (and) surrounded the city Kipšuna, their royal city. The king of the land of the Qumānu was frightened of my strong and belligerent attack and submitted to me. I spared that city. I ordered him to destroy his great wall and towers of baked brick. He destroyed it from top to bottom and turned it into a ruin hill.

Ashurnasirpal II killed, mercilessly, those who refused to pay tribute during his campaigns, yet he spared all the kings of Zamua who submitted and re-enforced the vassal duty upon them.²³

When a rebellious vassal repented, the Assyrian king would restore him to the throne. For example, when Hanunu king of Gaza returned from Egypt, Tiglath-pileser III let him maintain his kingship:²⁴ *kl<ma> iššūri [ultu kurmušri] ipparšamma [...] ana ašrišu ūtiršuma* "Like a bird he flew (back) [from Egypt] [...] I returned him to his position."

²² RIMA II, A.0.87.1 24-25 vi 22-30. Tigl.I also protected the life of the submissive enemy, the soldiers of Mušku which invaded Kadmuḫu, the Assyrian vassal-land, *ibid.*, A.0.87.1 14 i 84-88. Tn.II proved himself a forgiving suzerain by showing clemency to his penitent vassal and people of Bit-Zamāni by establishing them in abandoned cities peacefully, *ibid.*, A.0.100.5 172 19, 23b-24a. In Hittite history, cities at the frontier belonging to Hatti and its vassal lands should not be fortified. This indicates that the Hittite suzerain and his vassals should rely on each other, if war broke in either lands. For example, according to a vassal treaty between Tudhaliya II of Hatti and Sunashshura of Kizzuwatna: "in the direction of the sea the city of Lamiya belongs to His Majesty and the city of Bitura belongs to Sunashshura. The border district will be surveyed and divided between them. His Majesty may not fortify Lamiya," *HDT*, 20.

²³ RIMA II, A.0.101.1 207-08 ii 77c-80a. He also showed mercy to the rebels of the land Nirbu and re-enforced their duties, *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 202 ii 9b-11a; 90-11a; cf. i 66b-67a.

²⁴ Tiglath-pileser III Summ 4 140 12b-13. Also Hiram of Tyre, who plotted with Rezin, submitted to Tigl.III and paid tribute, *ibid.*, Summ 9 rev. 186, 188 5-8. Asb. forgave Tammariṭu, usurper of Elam, who plotted with Shamash-shum-ukīn and then submitted to him, *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 41-43 iv 1-41a. Ullia, son of Ahšēri, king of Mannai, took the throne after Asb.'s campaign against his father who had rebelled, (*ibid.*, Pr. A 32-35 ii 126-iii 10) shows us that a vassal who made himself the king of his land was heavily punished. This lets us deduce that Ualli transgressed the treaty with Ashurbanipal, because he made himself king without Asb.'s approval, and because after he had come to the throne he submitted to the Asb.'s majesty, sending his crown prince and his daughter to Asb.; in return, Asb. let him reign over his land and increased his tribute, *ibid.*, Pr. A 35-37 iii 11-26. Asb. also showed mercy on Abijate', who had come to Shamash-shum-ukīn's support, when he submitted to him. Having made a treaty, Asb. enthroned him over Arabia in lieu of Uaite' who had made himself king, *ibid.*, Pr. A 63 viii 44-47; Pr. B 114-15 viii 32-35.

The suzerain would not destroy a vassal's rebel city, if it submitted, e.g., Tiglath-pileser I was lenient to the rebellious and unsubmitive city of Milidia in the land Hanigalbat and did not storm it when the people submitted.²⁵

The decision about appointing a king depended only on the suzerain's pleasure. When vassals in Egypt²⁶ rebelled against Assyria, the Assyrian troops stationed in that land defeated them and brought them alive to Niniveh.²⁷ Ashurbanipal only let one of them live and restored his kingship in Egypt: *ana mnikû ultu birišunu rêmu aršišuma uballiṣ napšassu ašar abu banāa ina ālsaya ana šarrāti ipqidduš ana maškanišu utrṣu* "Out of them I had pity on Niqû and let him live. I returned him to his palace in Sais, where the father, my begetter, had installed him as king."²⁸

1.1.4 Kindness

The suzerain would encourage the loyal vassals through:

²⁵ RIMA II, A.0.87.1 22 v 33-38a. Tigl.I did not pursue the fugitives of the city Urraṭinaš, when their king submitted to his suzerainty (*ibid.*, ii 36-46). Adn.II campaigned against the cities Sikkur and Sappānu which since the time of Tn.I had withheld tax and tribute, sparing the rebel people when they surrendered to him, *ibid.*, A.0.99.2 152 89b-90. Asn.II was lenient to the penitent people of the land of Nirbu, resettled them in their abandoned cities and re-enforced tribute and tax upon them, *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 202 ii 9b-11a. When Mati'il fomented a rebellion against Assyria, Gurgum became an ally. Having seen Tigl.III's military punishment, Gurgum submitted. Then, Tigl.III stopped destroying the rebellious land (Tiglath-pileser III., Stele I B 101 38-42a) - Gurgum was an Assyrian vassal under Shalm.III, RIMA III A.0.102.2 16 i 40b-41b. Also the district of Bit-Kapsi was spared because of the submission of its king, Battanu Tiglath-pileser III, Ann. 11 48 10-11). Senn. excluded innocent people from deportation when he carried away the rebellious people of Ekron (OIP II 32 iii 12-14). He also did not destroy the cities of Luli, his disloyal vassal, when they submitted to him (*ibid.*, 29 ii 41-46).

²⁶ Esarhaddon conquered Egypt, re-organized it and reckoned it as his vassal state. Then he put his servants in charge imposing an annual tribute upon them, *Assurbanipals*, Pr. B 92-93 i 6-21. This passage does not mention explicitly that Esarhaddon had made a vassal treaty with the local kings whom he set over Egypt after his conquest. However, there are some indications Esarhaddon did establish a vassal treaty. Firstly, when Tarqû, king of Ethiopia, had invaded Egypt, the territory of Assyria, Ashurbanipal campaigned against Tarqû (*ibid.*, Pr. A 17 ff.i 52 ff). Secondly, after a successful campaign, Ashurbanipal strengthened the defenses and re-enforced the ties with Assyria: *maššarāti eli ša āme pāni udanninma urakkisa rikšate* "the watchposts I made stronger than before and bound the obligation," *ibid.*, Pr. A 21 i 115-16. Thirdly, this means that Ashurbanipal re-established a vassal treaty after his campaign; in other words, he re-enforced the bond which Esarhaddon had already established. Fourthly, therefore, when those vassal kings in Egypt rebelled against Assyrian lordship, Ashurbanipal said that they broke "my treaty" (*ibid.*, Pr. A 21 i 118-19); *šarrāni annāti māla apqidu ina adēya iḫtû la išsurā māmit ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš} ṭabat ḫpussunāti imšāma* "these kings, as many as I appointed, sinned against my treaty; they did not keep the oath sworn by the great gods (and) forgot the good which I had done to them." Therefore, we can deduce that Esar. had made vassal treaties with Egypt after his conquest, and Asb. re-enforced that relationship.

²⁷ *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 21 ff. i 120 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 23-24 ii 8, 16-17.

1.1.4.1 Honouring with signs of favour.

The suzerain's treat favourable treatment denotes two related aspects: that the vassal stands under his protection, and that he will take precautions according to his vassal's request.

Sargon honoured a loyal vassal, who had greeted him with much tribute and food,²⁹ by giving him a banquet in the course of the campaign:³⁰

ša ^mullūsunu šarri bēlīšunu i^spaššur takbitti maharšu arkusuma eli ša ^miranzi abi aliddīšu ušaqi i^skussāšu šāšunu itti nišē ^māt^aššur ina i^spaššur hidāti ušešibšunūtima mahar ^daššur u ilāni mātišunu ikrubū šarrūtī

I prepared a table (with) abundant food before Ullusununu, the king, their lord and raised his throne high above that of Iranzi, his father, who begot him. I let them (the Manneans) sit together with the people of Assyria at a party, and they praised my majesty before Ashur and the gods of their land.

The suzerain treated new chosen vassals well by furnishing them with precious things and garments.³¹ Ashurbanipal chose Niqû among the rebellious vassals from Egypt, restored his kingship, dressed him in colourful clothes and granting him a golden dagger inscribed with Ashurbanipal's name.³² Similarly, he honoured the ambassadors of his brother, Shamash-shum-ukîn, who stood in a vassal relationship to Assyria,³³ clothing them with colourful linen garments and golden ornaments, while they were staying in Assyria.³⁴

²⁹ MDOG 115 (1983), 72 52-55.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 72, 74 62-63.

³¹ Shattiwaza of Mittanni said: "and the Great King [Suppiluliuma I] took pity on me and gave me chariots mounted with gold, chariot horses with armor, [...], a tent of linen, servants of the ...-house, two vessels of [silver] and gold, together with their cups of silver and gold, silver utensils of the bath house, a silver wash basin, festive garments of the wool-worker - all this and everything <of> the craftsmen," HDT, 46.

³² Assurbanipals, Pr. A 23 ii 10-13. Having appointed one of the sons of his vassal who came to Niniveh after their father's death, Asb. honoured the other princes, clothing them with colourful garments and golden ornaments, *ibid.*, Pr. A 30, ii 90-94.

³³ Pr. A iii 70-86 tells of Asb.'s lordship over Shamash-shum-ukîn (*ibid.*, 39); 1) Asb. said that he appointed his brother, Shamash-shum-ukîn, to the throne of Babylon (line 72); 2) Ashurbanipal bestowed on Shamash-shum-ukîn everything for kingship (lines 73-6); 3) the expressions of Ashurbanipal also refer to a vassal relationship between two brothers (lines 71, 73 and 74); 4) Shamash-shum-ukîn sent to Niriveh to ask after Asb.'s welfare (lines 85-6); 5) Asb. said that his brother broke the treaty made with him; *u ša ^mšamaš-šum-ukîn ahu la kēnu ša la iššuru adīa* "But he, Shamash-shum-ukîn, the treacherous brother, who did not keep the treaty made with me (*ibid.*, 40 96-97);" 6) finally, Ashurbanipal's self presentation implies that there was no other king equal to him; he was the king above all kings (Streck, Assurbanipal Cyl.L 226 1-3). This shows the treaty in action. In VTE Asb. is designated *mār šarri rabi* "the great crown prince" (81, 84-84, 667) for the throne of Assyria, whereas Shamash-shum-ukîn is *mār šarri* "the crown prince" (86 ff., 669) of Babylon, subordinate to Ashurbanipal.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 39-40 iii 87-95.

1.1.4.2 Marriage alliance

Marriage and territorial expansion would strengthen the vassal relationship. Sargon appointed Ambaris as successor to the throne of Tabal and gave him his daughter along with the land of Hilakku:³⁵ *lambriš mātatabalā ša ina giškussi ḫullū abīšu ušēšibušu binti itti mātḫilakki la mišir abbišu addinšuma urappiṣ māssu* "Ambris of Tabal, whom I had placed upon the throne of Hullū, his father, to whom I had given my daughter, together with the land of Hilakku, which did not belong to the territory of his father, and had extended his land, . . ." ³⁶

1.1.4.3 Territorial restoration

Territorial restoration would encourage vassals to remain loyal to Assyria. The suzerain would grant such benevolence to a new vassal (1.1.4.2 above) and a penitent vassal. Ullusunū of Mannaja put his trust in Ursa of Urartu and gave him twenty-two towns as a bribe. When Sargon campaigned against Ullusunū, he took those cities away and annexed them to Assyria. But when Ullusunū was penitent, he forgave him, let him maintain the throne and in addition, *22 ālbrāti adi 2 ālānišu dannūti ša ultu qātī mursa u mmitatti ekima addinšuma utaqqina dalihtu māssu* "I gave him back 22 fortresses together with 2 of his strong cities, which I had taken from Ursa and Mitatti and repaired the damage of his land." ³⁷

1.2 The Suzerain's Insurance for the Vassals' Loyalty

The suzerain would take sons of his vassals to guarantee their perpetual loyalty as vassals.³⁸ For example, having made vassal treaties with the kings of Nairi, Tiglath-pileser I claimed:³⁹ *mārē nabnīt šarrātīšunu ana liḫūte ašbat* "I took as hostages the sons, their royal offspring."

³⁵ Suppiluliuma I enthroned Haqqana over the land of Hayasa and gave his sister to him in marriage, *HDT*, no. 3, 23 §1. In another instance, Suppiluliuma I gave his daughter to a new vassal in marriage, *ibid.*, no. 11, 69 §3. Suppiluliuma I also gave his daughter to Shattiwaza of Mittanni in marriage to encourage him to remain loyal to Hatti, *ibid.*, no. 6a § 6, 40.

³⁶ *Sargons II*, 199 30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 207 52.

³⁸ The deported sons of vassals would have been trained in an Assyrian life-style and returned to their lands as vassals for the future.

³⁹ *RIMA II*, A.0.87.1 22 v 17-18. Also from the rebellious city Milidia of the land Hanigalbat, *ibid.*, 22-23 v 38b-39a; from the city Urratīnaš in the land Panaru in ii. 47-48. Adn.II took hostages from his disloyal vassal of the lands Habhu, Natbu and Alzu (*ibid.*, A.0.99.2, 148-49 30-32a). The passage of Tn.II's annals (*ibid.*, 172 20), which could have included the suzerain's taking hostages from the rebellious vassal, are fragmentary. But there is no evidence why he would not have taken hostages from vassals. Asn.II took hostages from the land Nirbu (*ibid.*, 202, ii 11b-12a), Madara (*ibid.*, 209, ii 99) and Bīt-Adini and Tīl-abni (*ibid.*, 216, iii 56b); Shalm.III from Tulli of Tanakun (*RIMA III* A.0.102.14 68 134b). In other cases, the royal family of rebel vassals was deported to Assyria. For example, Asb. deported the royal family of Ummanaldaš of Elam, *Ashurbanipals*, Pr. A. 56 vi 81 ff. Ummanaldaš returned to his residential city Madaktu after Asb.'s punitive campaign.

At times, the vassals would ensure their loyalty through presenting their sons to the suzerain. For example, when Ullusunū paid homage to Sargon,⁴⁰ *māršu rabū⁴ itti igisē^e šulmāni ušatlmannima ana kunni šarrātušu ipqidda narāšu⁴¹* "he presented to me his eldest son together with gifts; in order to establish his kingship he entrusted me his stele."⁴²

1.3 The Suzerain's Obligations

The suzerain's obligation towards his vassals depends on their loyalty to him: if they remained loyal, the suzerain was loyal and came to their aid through.⁴³

1.3.1 Military Support⁴⁴

The suzerain would not tolerate the invasion of his vassal's territory by any king.⁴⁵ Tiglath-pileser I led a military expedition against the Mušku, who invaded the land of Katmuhu, and restored that land:⁴⁶

He maintained the kingship, George G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, 210-11. Asb. sent him a messenger because of Nabūbēlšumāti. When the latter killed himself, Ummanaldaš preserved his corpse in salt and sent it to Asb., *Ashurbanipals*, Pr. A. 59-60 vii 9-44. His act reflects his loyalty to Assyria.

⁴⁰ Some other examples about sending daughters along either with tribute or a dowry and sons to the Assyrian kings: Mutalli from Gurguma under Shalm. III (*RIMA* III A.0.102.2 16 i 40b-41b); Hezekiah under Senn. (*OIP* II 34 iii 46); Ba'al, king of Tyre (*Ashurbanipals*, Pr. A 28 ii 54-62) and Ualli of Mannaja (*ibid.*, Pr. A 36 iii 22).

⁴¹ Millard suggests *kat-ra-a-šu* "his presents."

⁴² *MDOG* 115 (1983), 72 54.

⁴³ Mutual support between suzerain and vassals was an important element in Hittite treaties. For example, Tudhaliya II ensured his protection for Sunashshura of Kizzuwatna, his vassal and his land and requested the same from him, *HDT*, no. 2, 15-16 § 11. Mursili II stated in a treaty with Tuppi-Teshshup of Amurru: "And Aziru protected only my father, and my father protected [Aziru], together with his land," *ibid.*, no. 8, 55 §2.

⁴⁴ The difference between Assyrian military support for its vassals (see 1.1.2.1 above) and the following texts is that the former was a reply to the voluntary submission of a new vassal who was suffering from his enemy, whereas, here, it deals with an Assyrian protection for kings who have already been in vassal relationship to Assyria.

⁴⁵ The Hittite kings promised their support if their vassals were invaded or had political problems, e.g., Tudhaliya II gave his vassal the right to request military assistance, *HDT*, no. 2, 17 §31, 18 §37. Mursili II assured Tuppi-Teshshup of Amurru with his support: "if some matter oppresses you, Tuppi-Teshshup, or someone revolts against you, and you write to the King of Hatti, the King of Hatti will send infantry and chariotry to your aid," *ibid.*, no. 8, 57 §9. In the historical prologue of a treaty with Alaksandu of Wilusa, Muwattalli II mentioned that the former called on him for help when the land Wilusa was invaded, and the latter followed, *ibid.*, no. 13, 83 §2.

⁴⁶ *RIMA* II, A.0.87.1 14 i 62-77a. Tigl.I also led a punitive campaign when the troops of Hatti (4,000 Kasku and Urumu) invaded the Assyrian vassal land Šubartu in the Upper Hābūr, *ibid.*, 17 ii 96-iii 1-2a. Sar. acted accordingly to Ullusunū, who showed his loyalty (see 1.4.3 below), by eliminating Ullusunū's enemy from his land: *šēpe^{II} amēl^I nakri lemna ultu qēreb māt^I mannaye aprusma libbi^I mullusunū belišunu uštbma ana nišēšu dalpāte ušēši nāru* "I removed the feet of the wicked enemy from the land of the Mannaean and pleased Ullusunū's heart and I let light shine on his restless people," *MDOG* 115 (1983), 82. When the Babylonians continuously suffered the plundering of Hamaranu folk, Sar. intervened to rescue them, *Sargons II*, 155-56 lines 318-20. Added to that, Sar.

ina surru šarrūtiya 20,000 amēlūti māt^dmuškaya u 5 šarrānišunu ša 50 šanāte māt^dalzi u māt^dpurulumzi nāš bilti u madatte ša d^daššur bēliya ištātūni šarru yaumma ina tamhāri iratsunu lā unēhu ana danānišunu itkalūma urdūni māt^dkatmuhi ištātū ina istūkulti d^daššur bēliya išt^dnarkabāti u qurādiya lultešir arkā ul ūqi šad^dkašiyara eqli namrāši lū abbalkit itti 20,000 ummānāte muqtablišunu u 5 šarrānišunu ina māt^dkatmuhi lū altanan abiktāšunu lū aškun

In my accession year: 20,000 Mušku with their five kings, who had held the land Alzu and Purulumzu for 50 years- bearers of tribute and tithes to the god Aššur, my lord - (the Mušku), whom no king had ever repelled in battle, being confident of their strength they came down (and) captured the land Katmuhu. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I put my chariotry and army in readiness (and), not waiting for my rear guard, I traversed the rough terrain of Mount Kašiyari. I fought with their 20,000 men-at-arms and five kings in the land Katmuhu. I brought about their defeat.

The suzerain did not tolerate a vassal invading his co-vassal's territory. For example, Ashurbanipal led a military expedition against Tarqû, when he invaded Egypt,⁴⁷ the territory of his co-vassals, and restored the states of his vassals (Pr. A i 110-15).⁴⁸ Moreover, if a foreign king invaded the lands of Assyrian vassals he would provoke an Assyrian campaign. Ashurbanipal came to the aid of the Assyrian vassals of Amurru, when Ammuladi, king of Kedar challenged them to war, and defeated him.⁴⁹

1.3.2 Political Intervention for Loyal Vassals

The suzerain's main concern was that the throne of the vassal-land should be held by someone who was loyal.⁵⁰ Thus, he would put down a rebellion in a vas-

released the people of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, the Babylonians from the oppression of the Sutu, *ibid.*, 169 373-74. Sar. also restored the cities which the vassal of Que lost through attack by the king of Mushki, *ibid.*, 110-11 125-26.

⁴⁷ *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 18 i 66-67. The rebellion of a vassal, who invaded the country of his co-vassals, eliminating vassal kings and appointed officers, is expressed as "having left the power of the Assyrian gods and having relied on his own power," *ibid.*, Pr. A 17 i 56-59. In this manner, the rebel vassal broke the bond which had been established by treaty.

⁴⁸ *šarrāni annūti amēl^dpahati amēl^dqepāni ša qereb māt^dmušur upaqidu abu banā ša lapan itbut m^dtarqû piqittāšunu umaššerū imlū šeru ūtirma ašar piqittišunu ina maškānišunu apqidsunūti māt^dmušur māt^dkasi ša abu banā iksudū ana eššūti ašbat maššarāti eli ša ūmē pāni udanninma urak-kisa* "These kings, governors, (and) chiefs, whom my father, my begetter, set in Egypt (and) who Tarqû's revolt had left their posts, (and) filled the field I brought back to their posts; I set them in their place. Egypt (and) Nubia which my father, my begetter, had conquered I besieged again. The watchposts I made stronger than before," *ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, Pr. A 62 viii 15-29.

⁵⁰ In his treaty with Sunashshura of Kizzuwatna, Tudhaliya II stated: "if someone [revolts] against Sunashshura, and he captures him, Sunashshura [shall do] as he pleases with him. If the enemy is in the land of Kizzuwatna - if he has seized or encircled a city - as he is Sunashshura's enemy, he will likewise be His Majesty's," *HDT*, no. 2, 16 §15. Muwattalli II assured Alaksandu of Wilusa he would intervene if someone of the royal family revolted against him, *ibid.*, no. 13, 83 §5-6.

sal's realm and reward his loyal vassal with restoration to the throne. We read in Sennacherib's third campaign:⁵¹

. . . m^{pa}dī šarrašunu ultu qereb āl^ursalīmmu ušēšamma ina is^kkussi belūti elīšunu ušešībma mandatu belūtiya ukīn . . .

I brought Padi out of Jerusalem, set (him) on the throne over them (people of Ekron) and imposed (upon him) the tribute of my majesty.

If a loyal vassal was assassinated, the suzerain interfered in the matter of succession; e.g., when the people of the land Patina⁵² killed their ruler, Shalmaneser III marched against them, and then he enthroned a submissive puppet.⁵³

Sargon intervened in a quarrel over the succession between princes after the death of Daltā in the land of Ellipi: one sought help from Elam (Nibe) and the other from Assyria (Išpabāra). Sargon defeated the former together with the Elamite army and enthroned the latter who was friendly to Assyria.⁵⁴

The suzerain would come to the aid of his vassal, if a governor responsible to an Assyrian vassal rebelled. The latter was regarded as a rebel against Assyria. We have an instance in Sargon's annals, where Matatti of Zikirtu did not follow Ullusunu but joined a revolt led by Ursa of Urartu. Sargon chased him along with his troops and punished them.⁵⁵

⁵¹ OIP II, 32 iii 14b-17. Senn. further re-instated a former vassal in Ashkelon, having dethroned the disloyal vassal, *ibid.*, 30-31 ii 60-68. Asn.II led a campaign against Bīt-Zamāni to avenge his vassal who was assassinated by rebel nobles. Since the rebel nobles lavished gifts on him, he did not punish them. Asn.II's march, however, reflects the suzerain's responsibility for his submissive vassal, RIMA II A.O.101.1 211 ii 118b-25a. Sar. came to the aid of his vassal, Taltā of Ellipi, when five districts rebelled, Sargons II, 213-14 70-72.

⁵² The land Patina - previously read Hattina - was a late Hittite State of the Lower Orontes valley, J. D. Hawkins, "Hattin," RIA IV, 160-62. It is difficult to pinpoint when Patina became an Assyrian vassal. Shalm.III's reaction about the revolt of the land Hattina indicates that the latter already had a vassal relationship to Assyria. Presumably, the land Hattina became an Assyrian vassal in Asn.II's reign.

⁵³ RIMA III, A.O.102.14 69 154b-55a. Another case in Tigl.III's annals: m^{pa}-qaha šarrašunu [...]_{du}- Γx₁Γ - Γx₂Γ -ma m^{ausi}'i [ana šarūti i]na muhhišunu aškun "Peqah, their king [I/they killed] and I installed Hoshea [as king] over them," Tiglath-pileser III Summ 4 140 17b-18a; cf. 2 Ki 15:25.

⁵⁴ Sargons II 224-25 117-21. The chiefs of the Manneans rebelled against Azu whom Sar. enthroned over Mannaya and killed him putting Ullusunu in his place. Sar. campaigned against Ullusunu but forgave him when he was penitent. Sar. approved Ullusunu's kingship (see above), *ibid.*, 200-02 33-38. The same sort of description occurs in the Bible: Peqah was assassinated and people set Hosea on the throne. Tigl.III claimed that he installed Hosea as king over the Northern kingdom, 2 Ki 15:30; Tiglath-pileser III, Summ 4 141 17.

⁵⁵ MDOG 115 (1983), 74, 76 80-90.

However, the Assyrian kings would not bother if a usurper remained loyal to Assyria.⁵⁶ For instance, Sennacherib deported Sidqia, king of Ashkelon, along his royal family to Assyria; then he set the previous king over Ashkelon. That is to say, had Sidqia been faithful, Sennacherib would not have intervened in Ashkelon.⁵⁷

1.3.3 Protection of Loyal Vassal and Princes

If a vassal was loyal, the suzerain would maintain his throne. If the people rebelled against a loyal vassal, the suzerain took his vassal's side.⁵⁸ The example of Padī in Sennacherib's time illustrates this (see above).⁵⁹ Furthermore, the suzerain would shield political refugees and help them to keep the throne in order to maintain the vassal relationship with them.⁶⁰ Ashurbanipal gave asylum to sons of Urtaku, the former king of Elam, when they fled from Teumman and sought refuge under

⁵⁶ If some one conspired against the suzerain to become king he provoked the suzerain's disciplinary campaign. In other words, the succession of vassals to the throne must either be confirmed by the suzerain, or the suzerain personally must choose him. Iaubidi of Hamath conspired with the cities of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus and Samaria against Sar. to become king of Hamath. Sar. killed the rebel and restored peace in Hamath, Sargons II, 200-02 33-36.

⁵⁷ OIP II 30-31 ii 60b-65.

⁵⁸ In Hittite history, for example, Suppiluliuma I promised his protection for his vassal and sons: "and I, My Majesty, will benevolently protect you. Later, I will protect your sons, and my son will protect your sons," HDT, no. 3, 24 §5. Mursili II led a punitive campaign against a disloyal vassal of the land of Barga and appointed Abiradda as vassal king over Barga. Mursili II even approved Abiradda's son, Ir-Teshshup as successor on condition of loyalty: "And if Ir-Teshshup does not offend in any way against my Majesty and Hatti, then no brother or relative of his shall contest further with Ir-Teshshup in regard to the throne of kingship, his household, or his land. And if, while Abiradda is alive, his son Ir-Teshshup offends in some manner before his father Abiradda and seeks to harm his father, then the throne of kingship of Ir-Teshshup in Barga will tremble," *ibid.*, no. 30, 156, §6; he also assured his protection to Tuppi-Teshshup of Amurru for his crown prince, *ibid.*, 56 no. 8 §5. Mursili II prohibited enmity between co-vassals. If a vassal killed a co-vassal, he would continually make war on the killer, *ibid.*, no. 12, 79-80 §10-11. Mursili II assured his vassal about his throne, even if his people desired someone else as king, *ibid.*, no. 10, 66 §7. Muwattalli II promised Alaksandu of Wilusa he would protect whom Alaksandu designated as his successor when he was still a child, *ibid.*, no. 13, 83 §5. Mursili I made the royal family and the people swear an oath to his vassal, when he approved Tuppi-Teshshup of Amurru as vassal king: "because your father had spoken your name before me during his lifetime(?), I therefore took care of you. But you were sick and ailing. [And] although you were an invalid, I nonetheless installed you [in] place of your father. I made your [...] brothers and the land of Amurru swear an oath to you," *ibid.*, 55 no. §4.

⁵⁹ Also Sar. took military measures, when the vassal-land was involved in the quarrel of succession (fn. 51 above).

⁶⁰ Suppiluliuma I protected Shattiwaza of Mittanni who escaped from a conspiracy to Hatti and later set him over Mittanni, HDT, no. 6A § 6, 40.

his protection.⁶¹ Furthermore, having punished severely the rebel Teumman and his troops,⁶² Ashurbanipal restored the kingship:⁶³

mummanigaš mār murtāki šār mātelamma^{ki} šā lapān mteumman ana mātaššur^{ki} innabta iṣbata šēpēya ittiya ūbilšu ana mātelamma^{ki} ūšešibšu ina iškussi mteumman I tammaritu ahašu šalša ša ittišu innabta ina alhidalu aškunšu ana šarrūti

Ummanigash, son of Urtaku, king of Elam, who fled before Teumman to Assyria (and) seized my feet, I brought with me to Elam (and) set him on the throne of Teumman. Tammaritu, his third brother, who fled with him, I appointed him as king in Hidalu.

1.3.4 Food Supply in Famine

The suzerain would help if a vassal land suffered a natural disaster.⁶⁴ For example, when Elam suffered under a severe famine, Ashurbanipal claimed:⁶⁵

. . . ina mātelamma^{ki} sunqu iškunu ibbaš nebretu dnisaba balaṭ napišti^{tim} nišē ušēbilšuma ašbat qātēšu nišēšu ša lapān sunqi innabtūnimma ūšibū qereb mātaššur^{ki} adi zunnu ina mātišu iznunu ibbašū eburu nišē šātunu ša ina mātiya ibluṭū ušēbilšuma

When hard times arose in Elam and there was a famine I sent him grain to keep his people alive and I helped him. Those of his people who had fled before the hard time and settled in Assyria until rain fell in his land and there was a harvest - those people, who had kept themselves alive in my land I sent back to him.

So Ashurbanipal as the suzerain over Elam cared about the life of the people of his vassal state. In other words, a vassal treaty would relate both to a king and his people. Therefore, not only the vassal but the people, too, should be loyal to their suzerain.⁶⁶

1.4 The Vassals' Obligations

For the privilege of enjoying the overlord's protection, both to guarantee succession to the throne and security of the land from invasion by an enemy, the vassals have to fulfill their obligations towards their suzerain.

1.4.1 Payment of Annual Tribute

⁶¹ Assurbanipals Pr. B 97 iv 87-96; cf *ibid.*, cf. Pr. B iv 74-86. See also *ibid* Pr. A 26 ii 44-45, 48.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Pr. A 38 iii 36-43.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 38 iii 44-49.

⁶⁴ Suppiluliuma I provided Mittanni with cattle, when he heard of poverty of the land, HDT, no. 6a 40 §6.

⁶⁵ Assurbanipals, Pr. B 95 iv 20-26.

⁶⁶ See 1.5 below.

In most instances, the suzerain imposed annual tribute upon vassals.⁶⁷ Regarding the new vassals of Nairi, Tiglath-pileser I stated (v 19-21):⁶⁸ *1200 sišē 2000 alpē mādatṭa elišunu ukīn ana māṭātišunu umaššeršunūti* "I imposed upon them a tribute of 1,200 horses (and) 2,000 cattle. I allowed them to return to their lands."

The manner of tribute-collection varied. From Adad-nārāri II to Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian kings regularly led military expeditions to collect tribute.⁶⁹ At

⁶⁷ Not all the Hittite vassals were obliged to pay tribute. For example, Tudhaliya II freed Sunashshura of Kizzuwatna from the payment of tribute but obliged him to have an audience with his suzerain whenever it was required, *HDT*, no. 2, 15 §10.

⁶⁸ *RIMA* III, A.O.87.1 22. Tigl.I conquered the land of Amurru and received tribute from Arvad, Byblos and Sidon; he also imposed tax and tribute upon Ini-Tešub, king of Hatti (*ibid.*, A.O.87.10 53 28-35). Tn.II conquered the land of the Mušku which he turned to his vassal-land (*ibid.*, A.O.100.5 177 120b-26). Tn.II did not impose tribute upon Amme-ba'li of Bit-Zamāni, his penitent vassal (*ibid.* A.O.100.5 172 19, 23b-24a). Shalm.III claimed that he set his governors over all over the conquered lands and imposed tribute upon them after the campaign of his 16th palū (*RIMA* III, 41 iv 37-39). There, the term "governors (^{amēl}šaknutt)" is to be understood only from the Assyrian point of view since the vassals, who paid tribute to Shalm.III, were designated kings; for example, *šarrāni ša māṭhatti* "the kings of the land Hatti" (*ibid.*, A.O.102.6 36 II 24). The bilingual inscription of the statues of Tell Fakherye reveals that the term "governor" (of Guzanu) in Akkadian (*šakin māti āl guzāni*) was equal to king (*mlk*) in Aramaic, Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil and Millard, *Tell Fekherye*, 15, 23. Shalm.III imposed an annual tribute upon a new vassal (*RIMA* III, 70 168c-71a. Tigl.III received tribute from Kushtashpi of Kummuh, Rezin (Rahianu) of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibitti'il of Byblos, Urikki of Que, Pisisiris of Carchemish, Eni-il of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Melid, Dadi-ilu of Kaska, Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, Urimmi of Hubishna, Zabibe, queen of the Arabs, *Tiglath-pileser III* 68-70 Ann. 13 10b-Ann. 14 1-5a. Tigl.III imposed annual tribute on Iranzu of Mannaea, Dalta of Ellipi, the city rulers of Namri, of Singibutu and all the eastern mountains (Stele III A, 24-30). Also Marodach-Baladan paid tribute to Tigl.III when submitted to him (*ibid.*, 162-65 Summ 7 26c-28). Asb. imposed annual tribute upon the new vassal Natan of Nabayāti, *Assurbanipals*, Pr. B 116-17 viii 59-63.

⁶⁹ For example, Adn.II from Hanigalbat (*RIMA* II, 2 A.O.99.2 150 61) and from Qatnu (*ibid.*, 153 105-19); Tn.II from Hindānu (*ibid.*, A.O.100.5 175 79a); from Laqū, *ibid.*, 85b, 176 87a, 92a, 93a); from the city Usalā (*ibid.*, 101b; from Kūr-katlimmu, *ibid.*, 177 105b; from Qatnū and Laqū, *ibid.*, 177 109b. In these lines *nāmurtu* was used for "tribute". Since the nature of *nāmurtu* "gift" was compulsory, the suzerain did not tolerate his vassal who had failed to bring it (see *ibid.*, 120b-26). Thus, this term does denote tribute but not just an audience gift of vassals: 1) Tn.II's campaign made a tour for the purpose of collecting tribute from his vassals; 2) if a vassal neglected to bring *nāmurtu* he had to suffer his suzerain's discipline (see above); 3) a "governor" of Suhu who presented *nāmurtu* (*ibid.*, 175 68b-70a) was probably an Assyrian vassal, since a local king could be regarded as a governor by the Assyrian kings. In Asn.II's annals, furthermore, the vassal of Suhu is still called "a governor" who brought his tribute (*madattu*) to Niniveh. We see that *nāmurtu* and *madattu* are interchangeable. In Asn.II's campaigns *madattu* is used for the tribute which Assyrian vassals brought, e.g.: from Mounts Kurruru and Simesu, the lands of Simerra, Ulmania, Adauš, Hargaiia, Harmasaia, (*ibid.*, A.O.101.1 197 i 54b-56a), from Katmuhu (*ibid.*, 198 i 74), from Hindānu (*ibid.*, 200 i 96b-97a), from Gilzānu, Hubušku (*ibid.*, 197 i 56c-58a), and from the kings of the western sea coast (*ibid.*, 218-19 iii 84b-89, 92b-96a). The use of *madattu* for tribute continues in Shalm.III's annals. That is to say, *madattu* is used for tribute from Asn.II onwards. Among more than 30 instances in Shalm.III's time Assyrian vassals brought tribute during his expeditions; from Nairi (*RIMA* III A.O.102.6 37 ii 40); from Lalla, from Melidi (*ibid.*, 39-40 iii 55-56); from Barū, prince of Elipa (*ibid.*, 40 iv 21b-22a); from the kings of Hatti (*ibid.*, A.O.102.10 55 iv 16b-17a); from Tyre and Jehu, son of Omri (*ibid.*, 54-55 iv 10-12a); from the kings of Kaldu (*ibid.*, A.O.102.14 66 84); from Gilzānu, Manna, Gaburisu, Harrānia, Šašgānu, Andia, Lalla (*ibid.*, 70-71 180b-83a). Sometimes, a

times, they collected tribute in the course of their campaigns.⁷⁰ Vassals brought tribute to Assyria at other times.⁷¹

1.4.2 No Self-reliance

This was forbidden to the Assyrian vassals (see Tigl.I vi 22-30, 1.1.3 above; 1.4.9 below).

1.4.3 Supporting Military Campaign

Vassals were obliged to support their suzerain's military campaigns with troops⁷² as well as food.⁷³ In the Assyrian annals, vassals had to meet their suzerain with an audience-gift, when the overlord passed through their territories in the course of his campaigns. Ullusunu performed his vassal service in supplying food and wine for Sargon's troops and in paying an audience-gift, which obviously served as a reserve food supply and resource during the campaign:⁷⁴

m_ullusunu mā_tmannayū alak gerrīya išmema šū adi amē_lrabē šībī malikī zēr bīt abīšu šakkanakkī u redē muma'erūt mātišu ina ulluṣ libbi u hidūt pāni ultu qereb mātišu balu liṭi hitmuṭiš ūšamma ultu ā_lizirti ā_l šarrūtišu ana ā_lsinihini birti puluk mātišu adi mahriya illika madattašu sisē šindat niri adi tillišunu alpē u šēnē ublamma iššiq šepēya

loyal vassal would meet his suzerain joyfully, bringing tribute. When Shalm.III approached Gilzānu, Asānu, the king, met Shalm.III with his brothers and sons and presented tribute (*ibid.*, A.O.102.2 21 ii 60-62a).

⁷⁰ Tigl.III from Dalta of Ellipi, Namri (lands in vassal relationship since Shalm.III), Singibute and the Medes (Tiglath-pileser III, Stele I B 98 11b-14), from Bit-Dakkuri and Larak, *ibid.*, Summ 7 172 26a-b. Sar. from king of Nairi, Sargons II, 106 104.

⁷¹ Presumably, loyal vassals would have brought their tribute to Assyria, although not all the Assyrian kings explicitly mentioned it. For example, in Asn.II's time, governor of Suhu came with his brothers and sons (RIMA II A.O.101.1 200 i 99b-101a); in Shalm.III's time, Qalparunda of Patina (RIMA III A.O.102.2 18 21c-24a) and Haiānu (who lived) at the foot of the Amanus range (*ibid.*, 24b-27a).

⁷² See further HDT.

⁷³ Cf. HDT, no. 2, 20 §57.

⁷⁴ MDOG 115 (1983), 70 32-36 and 72 52-53. Although in Senn.'s annals, the contents of the audience gifts are not explicitly mentioned in our annals, we can deduce them from the annals of the other Assyrian kings that they would be horses, donkeys, cattle and sheep serving as means both for battle and transport and as food supply (OIP II, 30 ii 50-60). A vassal, who did not meet the overlord with an audience-gift was considered a treaty breaker. Therefore, Senn. dethroned a vassal who failed to fulfill this obligation (*ibid.*, 30-31 ii 60b--72). In the course of a campaign, Asn.II also took with him chariots, cavalry and infantry from his vassals (RIMA II, A.O.101.1 216-18 iii 58b, 60a-63a, 68b-69a, 77a; other times, he took hostages during his campaign (*ibid.*, 217-18 iii 69b-70a, 77a). In Tigl.III's annals, a vassal who did not meet the Assyrian king is described: [m_u]assurme kur_utabala + a ana epšet mā_t aššur_{ki} amaššilma adi mahrtya lā illika "Uassurme of Tabal acted as if he was the equal of Assyria and did not appear before me," Tiglath-pileser III, Summ 7 170 rev. 14-15.

Ullusunu, the Mannean, . . . , heard of my campaign's progress, and he, along with nobles, elders, counselors, offspring of his father's house, governors and superintendents, the rulers of his land, rose out of the midst of his land with bursting heart and joyful face, speedily without whips, and came from Izirtu, his royal city, to Sinihini at the border of his land before me. He brought his tribute: horses, harnessed to the yoke with their accessories, cattle and sheep and kissed my feet (32-36).

Ullusunu adi nišē mātišu ina tagmertu libbi ša ēpiš ardūti ina ʾalsirdakka birtišu ūqa'i gerrī kīma amēl-šūt-rēšēya amēl-bēl-pāhiti māt-aššur-ki qēmē karānē ana takulti ummanīya karē išpukma

Ullusunu, with people of his lands, awaited my advance in order to pay homage as a vassal in Sirdakka, his citadel, as if they were my chief officers (and) governors of Assyria; he heaped up flour and wine for the feeding of my troops (52-53).

1.4.4 Sending Messengers to Pay Homage

Some vassals sent messengers to the suzerain to pay tribute and to ask about the suzerain's well-being. Sennacherib claimed:⁷⁵ *ana nadan mandatte u epiš ardūti išpura rakbašu* "In order to pay the tribute and to do homage he (Hezekiah) sent his messenger."

1.4.5 Informing about Rebel Co-vassals' Conspiracy

Sending information to the suzerain about a conspiracy of a rebellious co-vassal was an expression of loyalty.⁷⁶

When Natan, king of Nabayati, informed Ashurbanipal about his conspiracy with his co-vassal, Yauta', who had sought refuge with him from Assyrian forces, Ashurbanipal treated him in a friendly way.⁷⁷

1.4.6 No Invading the Territory of Co-vassals

Vassals should not violate the border of their co-vassals.⁷⁸ Violation of this stipulation was a breach of treaty, leading the suzerain to march, e.g., in Sargon's annals:⁷⁹

⁷⁵ OIP II, 34 iii 48b-49. If inferior kings willingly submitted, they sent messengers to Nineveh to pay homage to the Assyrian king, *Assurbanipals*, Gyes, Pr. A 30-31 ii 95-102; *ibid.*, Natan, Pr. A 63 viii 56-64. A vassal rebelled against Assyria by ceasing to pay homage, e.g., Uaite' of Arabia, *ibid.*, Pr. A 61 vii 82-89 ff. Asn.II mentioned that the vassal of the land of Suhu himself came to Nineveh to pay homage, *RIMA* II A.0.101.1 200 i 99b-101a, see 1.9.3 fn. 139.

⁷⁶ This aspect occurs in all the Hittite vassal treaties, *HDT*.

⁷⁷ One of the punishments laid upon penitent vassals was increased annual payment; yet in this case, Asb. only re-enforced and did not increase tribute, *Assurbanipals*, Pr. C 116-17 x 70-86.

⁷⁸ Mursili II prohibited Abiradda and Ir-Teshshup in Barga, his vassals, from harming their co-vassals, Shummittara and Huya in Nuhashshi, to "engineer evil against them" and to "diminish them," and vice versa, *HDT*, no. 30 § 7-9, 156-57; also no. 12, 79 §8-10.

⁷⁹ *MDOG* 115 (1983), 76 92-95. In Asb.'s time, Taqū invaded his co-vassals' land and suffered the heavy military discipline of Asb., *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 17 i 56-59; *ibid.*, 18-20 66-74. In another instance, Yauta' king of Kedar plundered Amurru, his co-vassals' territory, and suffered from the military discipline of the Assyrian troops stationed in the land of Kedar, *ibid.*, Pr. B 113 vii 93-viii 1-9.

ellamu'a Iursa māturarṭayu la nāšir zikir d^aššur d^marduk la pālihu māmit bēl bēlē amēlšaddu'a zēr nerti ša tāšimtu la idū dabāb tušši nullāti tišpūra šaptāšu ša d^šamaš dikkugalli rabī ilāni zikiršu kabtu lā našruma šattišam ana lā egē eteti <qu> ušurtašu arki hiṭātešu mahrāte gullultu rabītu hepē mātišu u šumqu[t] nišēšu ēpušma

Before my arrival, Ursa, the Urartean, who did not keep the commands of Ashur (and) Marduk, who did not fear the curse of the lord of the lords, a mountain-dweller, a murderer, who had no sense, whose lips spoke evil words of meanness, who did not keep the important command of Shamash, the great judge of the gods, and had annually broken his bounds without any concern, after the previous sins he committed, did something worse, destroying his land (= Ullusunu's) and subduing his people.

Sargon's campaign was to punish Ursa for two different transgressions: one his invasion of his co-vassal's territory, the other his violation of the treaty with Sargon. The Assyrian king rescued his loyal vassal (Ullusunu and his people) while disciplining Ursa, his rebellious vassal.⁸⁰

Furthermore, Sennacherib would not tolerate vassals who harm a loyal vassal. One of Hezekiah's offenses was imprisoning Padi, his co-vassal, provoking Sennacherib to war.⁸¹

1.4.7 No Invading the Territory of the Suzerain

Vassals were not allowed to invade the suzerain's territory.⁸² In Adad-nārāri II's time presumably, the vassals of the Habhu lands had invaded Kummu belonging to Assyria.⁸³

ina arah^{simāni} ūmi 15 līme m^{inailū-ia-alak} ana nērate ša ā^lkumme lu ālik nīqē ana pān d^{adad} ša ā^lkumme bēliya lū ēpuš ālāni ša māt^{habhi} nakrūti ša ā^lkumme ina ištāti ašrup ešēdē mā[t-^t]i^{šu} lū ešidi bilta u tamarta udannin elišunu ukīn

In the month Sivan, the fifteenth day, eponymy of Ina-ilīia-allak, I marched to the assistance of the city Kummu. I made sacrifices before the god Adad of Kummu, my lord. I burnt the cities of the land Habhu, enemies of Kummu. I reaped the harvest of his land (and) imposed upon them stringent taxes and dues.

1.4.8 No Support for the Suzerain's Enemy

Vassals were not allowed to give military support to their suzerain's enemies.⁸⁴ If they did not follow this principle, they would suffer from the suzerain's military discipline. Although the precise circumstance of the Tukulti-

⁸⁰ Mayer, "Sargons Feldzug," *MDOG* 115 (1983), 80 123-26, 82 155.

⁸¹ *OIP* II 31 ii 73-77 (cf. 32 ii 14b-15).

⁸² See further *HDT*.

⁸³ *RIMA* II, A.0.99.2 152 91-93. The land of Habhu had been an Assyrian vassal in the time of Tigl.I, *ibid.*, A.0.87.10 17-20.

⁸⁴ This is one of the main stipulations in Hittite vassal treaties, *HDT*.

Ninurta II's campaign against Ammeba'alī is not known, the passage reveals that he was about to go to support Assyria's enemy:⁸⁵ *māmit aššur bēliya ina muhhi šalmi x [...] utammešu šumma attūnu sišē ana nakirya salmēya tadnūni d'adad <i>na(?) birqišu lemni mā[tika libriq]* "I had him take an oath by Aššur, my lord, before the statue of ... [...]: "If you give horses to my enemies (and) foes, may the god Adad [strike your] land with terrible lightning."

1.4.9 No Waging War against the Suzerain

It was not lawful for vassals to challenge their suzerain to war relying on their own strength and allies. If that happened, the Assyrian king disciplined them heavily. In Adad-nārāri II's time, a vassal of Hanigalbat broke his oath and challenged him to war, relying on his fortress and extensive troops and having an Aramean ally. His revolt resulted in defeat by Adad-nārāri II, and he along with his royal family was deported to Assyria.⁸⁶ When Hanigalbat challenged Adad-nārāri II's suzerainty, preparing war to throw off Assyrian hegemony, Adad-nārāri II besieged Nūr-Adad in the city Našibina and conquered it:⁸⁷

ina līme md'adad-dān^{an} ina šušmur iškakkēya dannūte 6-te-šu ana māthānigalbat lū ālik Inūr-d'adad mātemannaya ina al'našibina lū ēsiršu 7 ālāni battubattēšu lū addi maššur-dini-āmur amēl'tartānu ina libbi lūšēšib hirīša ina pana lā bašū kišir šadē dannī limētūšu lū ihruš 9 ina 1 ammatu lūrapiš ana šupāli dannāšu mē lūšikšidi dūru ina muhhi hirīši qurādēya kīma nabli hirīšašu ušalbi išašū elišu rigmu šerri kīma abūbi naspante dannī gišparri elišu [...] d'še'u luzamašu.

In the eponymy of Adad-dān, with the rage of my strong weapons I marched a sixth time to the land Hanigalbat. I confined Nūr-Adad, the Temannu, in the city Našibina (and) established seven *redoubts* around it. I stationed therein Aššur-dīni-amur, the commander-in-chief. He (Nūr-Adad) had dug a

⁸⁵ RIMA II, A.O.100.5 172 24b-25.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 150 49-60. In Asn.II's time, the land of Dagara had roused the inhabitants of the entire land of Zamua against their Assyrian suzerain; also the land Suhu rebelled, *ibid.*, A.O.101.1 213 iii 16b-24. Shalm.III led a punitive campaign against Ahuni Bīt-Adini who persistently rebelled, RIMA III A.O.102.2 19 ii 30b-35a. In Tigl.III's time, Mati'il king of Arpad and his ally called on other vassals to throw off the Assyrian yoke; so Tigl.III led a campaign against them, Tiglath-pileser III, Stele I B 100 21-31. There, the land of Kummuh did not participate in the revolt: it had been Assyria's loyal vassal since the ninth century. In Sar.'s, Merodach-Baladan, having refused to pay tribute, instigated all the Sutū tribes against Assyria, Sargons II, 135-36 255-57.

⁸⁷ RIMA II, A.O.99.2 150-51 62-68a; Našibina, belonging to Hanigalbat (cf. *ibid.*, A.O.99.2 149 42-44), was situated at the foot of Kašari, see K. Nashef, Répertoire Géographique V, 217. Našibina was near Katmuhu, which was annexed to Assyria, RIMA II, A.O.99.2 148 26-29. This means that Našibina was adjacent to the Assyrian border. Adn.II put his commander-in-chief (*tartānu*, *ibid.*, 151 64) there, probably, after his second campaign against Našibina (*ibid.*, 149 42-44). Furthermore, the land of Hanigalbat paid tribute during Adn.II's fifth campaign. Adn.II claimed to have received tribute from all of Hanigalbat: *madattu ša māthānigalbat eliš u šapliš lū amhur* "I received the tribute of the whole land of Hanigalbat" (*ibid.*, A.O.99.2 153 98b-99a). Našibina was therefore an Assyrian vassal. However, the entire land of Hanigalbat was annexed to Assyria (*ibid.*, 99b-100a), most likely, after the sixth campaign against the land of Hanigalbat, whereby Adn.II disciplined Nūr-Adad.

moat, which had not previously existed, in bedrock all around it (the city). He had made (it) nine cubits wide and had dug it down to water-level. The wall was next to the moat. I encircled his moat with my warriors like a flame (and) they (the enemy) screamed like children about it. [I laid] traps as strong as the destructive deluge for him [and] deprived him of grain."

1.4.10 No Plotting against the Suzerain

Azuru king of Ashdod conspired with other kings against Sargon: *ana šarrāni limitišu [zerāti mātaššur^{ki}] išpurma* "he sent [messengers] of hostility to the kings in his surroundings against Assyria."⁸⁸ Uttering evil words against the suzerain would lead to a revolt.⁸⁹ Shamash-shum-ukîn circulated false reports when he incited other vassals to throw off the Assyrian yoke:⁹⁰

u šu ^fdamiqtu annītu ēpušuš imšima ištēni'a lēmuttu eliš ina šaptēšu itammā tubbāti šaplānu libbašu kāšir nertu mārē bābili^{ki} ša ina eli mātaššur^{ki} amru ardāni dāgil pāniya iprusma dabab lā kitte idbuba ittišun

But he (Shamash-shum-ukîn) forgot this good which I did for him, and devised evil; he outwardly spoke friendly words with his lips, inwardly his heart planned murder. The inhabitants of Babylon, who were loyal to Assyria, servants, who were submissive to me, he deceived and he spoke false words with them.

1.4.11 No Bribery

Since Sargon's time, the vassals of Babylon had been conspiring with kings of Elam against Assyria by sending bribes. Merodach-Baladan had incited the kings of Elam: Shuturnahundu in Sargon's time⁹¹ and Umman-menanu in Sennacherib's time.⁹² Under Ashurbanipal, when Shamash-shum-ukîn fomented a rebellion against Assyria, he had taken away vassals from Assyria, while giving a bribe to his co-vassal:⁹³

⁸⁸ *Sargons II*, 132-33 242-43; consequently, Sar. dethroned him and enthroned his brother.

⁸⁹ See further, *HDT*.

⁹⁰ *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 39 iii 78-84. So *Asb.* designated him as "treacherous brother" (*ahu la kenu*) (*ibid.*, Pr. A 39 iii 70) likewise *Tammaritu* (*ibid.*, Pr. A 47-48 v 21-32) and *Teumman* (*ibid.*, Pr. B 99 v 23-26b), kings of Elam. In Sar.'s annals, although the content of the phrase *dabaab tušši nullāti tišpara šapīdāšu* "whose (=Ursa) lips spoke evil, mean words" (*MDOG* 115 (1983), 76 93) is not explicitly stated, we can assume that that phrase deals with an utterance against Sar. because the phrase is embedded in the language of treaty breaking, and because a governor of Ullusunu followed Ursa (*ibid.*, 74 80-82; also *ibid.*, 76 92-95). If vassals conspired against the suzerain and alienated other people, this would bring about the suzerain's disciplinary campaign. This happened when Merodach-Baladan agitated *Humbanigash* king of Elam and the (tribes of) *Ru'a*, *Hindaru*, *Iaturu*, *Pukudu*, all of the *Sutū*, desert folk against Sar., *Sargons II*, 135-37 255-59.

⁹¹ *Sargons II*, 152-53 305-09.

⁹² *OIP* II 42-43 v 39-41.

⁹³ *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 40 iii 96-105. Having received a bribe from *Shamash-shum-ukîn*, *Ummanigash*, king of Elam, supported him, but he was assassinated by *Tammaritu* (*ibid.*, Pr. A 41 iii 136-iv 2). Yet *Tammaritu* was not submissive to *Asb.* and was assassinated. Their death was considered as the result of their breach of treaty (see further Part III 2).

ù šū mšamaš-šum-ukīn ahu lā kēnu ša la iššuru adēya nišē mātakkadī^{ki} māt^{ki}kaldu māt^{ki}aramu māt^{ki}tāmtim lutu ālaqaba adi ālbābsalimeti ardāni dāgil panīya ušbalkit ina qātēya u m^{ki}ummanigaš mun-nabtu ša išbatu šēpā šarrūtiya ša qereb māt^{ki}elamma^{ki} aškūnuš ana šarrūti u šarrāni māt^{ki}guti^{ki} māt^{ki}amurri^{ki} māt^{ki}meluhhā^{ki} ša ina qibit d^{ki}aššur u d^{ki}bēlit ištakkana qātēya napharšunu ittiya ušamkirma

But he, Shamash-shum-ukīn, the treacherous brother, who did not keep the treaty made with me, took from my hands the inhabitants of Akkad, Kaldu, Aramu, the land of the sea from Aqaba to Bab-salimeti, servants who were submissive to me, and Ummanigash, the fugitive, who seized my royal feet, whom I set on the throne of Elam and kings of Gutī, Amurrū (and) Meluhhā, whom my hands had installed according to the command of Aššur and Belīt, he made all of them hostile to me. . .

1.4.12 No Participating in the Civil-War of the Assyrian People

The land Nirbu was involved in a domestic revolt led by Hulaya, ruler of the city Halziluha where Shalmaneser II settled Assyrian people, and it inevitably kindled Ashurnasirpal II's anger.⁹⁴

1.4.13 No Giving Refuge to a Rebel Vassal

The suzerain did not tolerate his vassals, both vassal kings and their people, harbouring a rebellious vassal. Thus, Sennacherib punished the people of Bīt-Yakin, who provided a refuge for Merodach-Baladan.⁹⁵

1.5 The Validity of a Vassal Treaty with People

A vassal treaty was established between stronger kings and weaker kings and included the people of the weaker kings. This is evident from the Assyrian kings' conduct towards disloyal vassals. Firstly, Assyrian kings mentioned that they imposed tribute on the vassal people. For example, having punished the citizens of Milidia in Hanigalbat, Tiglath-pileser I claimed that he imposed upon them one homer of lead ore as annual tribute.⁹⁶

Secondly, the suzerain's forgiveness for penitent vassal people (1.1.3 above) and his support in time of famine (1.3.4 above) indicate the validity of vassal treaties with people.

⁹⁴ *ina lme annima ina ā^{ki}ninua ušbaku tēmu utterāni mā amēla māt^{ki}aššuraya m^{ki}hulaya amēl^{ki}bel ališunu ša m^{ki}šulmanu-ašarēdu šar māt^{ki}aššur rubū ālik panīya ina ā^{ki}halziluha ušasbitušunūti itabalkul:ū ā^{ki}damdamusa āl šarrūtiya ana ašbāte illikā ina qibit aššur d^{ki}šamaš u d^{ki}adad ilāni tikliya iš^{ki}narkabāt ummānātiya adki* "In the same eponymy, while I was in Nineveh, a report was brought back to me saying men of Assyria (and) Hulāya, their city ruler - whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had settled in the city Halziluha - had rebelled; they had come to capture the city Damdamusa, my royal city. By the command of Aššur, the gods Šamaš and Adad, the gods who help me, I mustered my chariotry (and) troops," *RIMA* II, A.0.101.1 200 i 101b-04a and see further *ibid.*, 201 i 111b-ii 2a.

⁹⁵ *OIP* II 34-35 iii 50-70a (cf. 24 i 20-35a).

⁹⁶ *RIMA* II A.0.87.1 23 v 40-41; *Adn.*II A.0.99.2 149 32 (the people of Alzu); *Tn.*II A.0.100.5 178 126 (the people of Mušku); *Asn.*II A.0.101.1 202 10b-11 (the people of Nirbu); *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 45 iv 108-09 (the people of Akkad, Kaldu, Aramu and the land of the sea).

Thirdly, the suzerain would campaign against rebels. This would affect both vassals and people. For instance, Tiglath-pileser I punished the inhabitants of Kat-muhu because they withheld tribute.⁹⁷ On the other hand, if disloyal vassals repented of their revolt, the Assyrian kings' would stop punishing them. Sometimes, the king re-imposed tribute. For example, Ashurbanipal imposed annual tribute upon the submissive vassal Mugallu of Tabal⁹⁸ - Tabal had become a vassal under Shalmaneser III (see 1.1.4.2). If people assassinated an Assyrian vassal and enthroned someone, they were regarded as rebels, for example, when the people of Sūru killed Hammataya and set Ahi-iababa on the throne. This rebellion provoked Ashurnasirpal II to a military expedition.⁹⁹ At times, even if a vassal rebelled against Assyria, the people remained loyal to the suzerain. Merodach-Baladan tried to throw off Assyrian suzerainty by refusing to pay tribute, but the people remained loyal to Sargon.¹⁰⁰

Sennacherib disciplined the people of Bīt-Yakin, because they had broken the treaty relationship with Assyria by giving refuge to Merodach-Baladan instead of delivering him to Sennacherib (see 1.4.13 above). Therefore, when people of the cities of the vassals heard about Ashurbanipal's plan of campaign against Elam they came to Niniveh and expressed their loyalty,¹⁰¹ but the people of a vassal city who did not show their loyalty to him in the course of his campaign were severely punished.¹⁰²

1.6 The Purpose of the Suzerain's Disciplinary Measure

The purposes of Assyrian kings' military expeditions to punish the disloyal vassals varied.

1.6.1 Humiliation

Sometimes the Assyrian kings reduced the territory of rebellious vassals to lessen their power (see 2.1.16 below), diminishing their prestige.

1.6.2 Restoration

⁹⁷ RIMA II A.0.87.1 14 i 89-ii 35.

⁹⁸ Assurbanipals, Pr. A 29 ii 73-74.

⁹⁹ RIMA II A.0.101.1 198-99 i 74b-83a. Also in Shalm.III's time the people of the land of Patina killed Lubarna and appointed Surri as king. Shalm.III sent Dayān-Aššur with troops to the land of Patina to discipline the rebels. Having punished them, Dayan-Aššur enthroned a submissive man, RIMA III, A.0.102.14 69 146b-56a.

¹⁰⁰ Sargons II, 154 311-13.

¹⁰¹ Assurbanipals Pr. A 46 iv 116-23.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, iv 132b-37.

Suzerain's discipline of his disloyal vassals was intended to bring them back to their vassal status. For example, when the vassal of the city Urraṭinaš repented of his participation in a revolt of the land Katmuhu¹⁰³ and submitted in the course of Tiglath-pileser I's campaign, he took the royal family as hostages and imposed a heavier tribute on him.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, vassals formerly disciplined would pay tribute to the suzerain. Sargon claimed:

amēl bēl-ālāni ša māt namri māt sangibūti māt betabdadani u māt madaae dannūti ālak gerrīya išmūma šuhrib mātātišunu ša ina šattīya mahrīti ina uznīšunu ibšima šahurratu ittabik muhhišun madattašunu kābittu ultu qereb mātātišunu iššūnimma ina māt parsuaš ušadgilū paniya

The princes of the cities of Namri, Sangibutu, Bēt-Abdadāni and the strong land of Media heard march of my campaign. The destruction of their lands in my previous year was in their memory, and deadly silence overcame them. They carried their heavy tribute from their lands and presented (it) to me in Parsuš.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, Ullusunū's ready performance of his duties as a vassal was the result of Sargon's earlier action against him (see 1.1.4.3 above).

To engrave the consequences of revolt on the minds of people, Sennacherib hung the corpses of the rebel prefects and princes of Ekron on towers all around the city.¹⁰⁶

1.6.3 To Induce Other Vassals

¹⁰³ RIMA II A.0.87.1 14-15 i 89 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 15 i 47-48. Tigl.I also took hostages from the rebel city Milidia of Hanigalbat, *ibid.*, A.0.87.1 22 v 33-41. Adn.II campaigned against the cities of Sikkur and Sappānu, whereby the validity of the vassal-treaty was shown, *ibid.*, A.0.99.2 152 84b-89a. That is, the vassal-relationship was restored, *ibid.*, 89b-90. Tn.II campaigned against Ammeba'alī, who probably supported an Assyrian enemy. Yet the former was lenient to the latter and let him take an oath not to support the Assyrian enemy, *ibid.*, A.0.100.5 171-72 16-18, 172 24b-25. The city of Hubuškia was already an Assyrian vassal under Asn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.101.1 197 57. Shalm.III's military discipline indicates that meanwhile Hubuškia tried to throw off the Assyrian suzerainty. When Hubuškia submitted to Shalm.III, re-imposed tribute upon it, RIMA III A.0.102.2 14 i 20a-23a. Although Tigl.III did not specify the rebellious behaviour of the vassals of the Medes, the result of his campaign implies that they neglected to pay the (annual) tribute, Tiglath-pileser III, Stele II B. 25-29. Sar.'s punishment of Urartu should be a lesson for the future for unfaithful vassals: *liti daššur bēltya ana ami šati eli māturartī aškunma pulhassu ana la mašē eziba ahrataš* "I set the power of Aššur, may lord, over Urartu for the future and left him in unforgettable fear for all time," Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 82 152.

¹⁰⁵ Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 70, 72 39-41.

¹⁰⁶ OIP II 32 iii 7-11.

Ashurnasirpal II's vigorous military expeditions against unruly vassals induced other vassals to pay tribute willingly, e. g. Lubarna.¹⁰⁷

1.6.4 To Induce Other Kings to Submit

The campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I persuaded the people of Aduš to surrender willingly, so he made them vassals of Assyria.¹⁰⁸

The Assyrian military expeditions induced another king not to protect an Assyrian fugitive vassal. When Yamanî, king of Ashdod, escaped from Sargon's disciplinary campaign he took refuge in Nubia. But the king of Nubia handed him over to Assyria because he was afraid of Sargon's campaign.¹⁰⁹

Moreover, Sargon's campaign against Samaria had an impact on Egypt. As a result of it, the king of Egypt opened trade with Assyria:¹¹⁰

nišē māt mušur u nišē arābi šalummat aššur [bē]liya ušashipma ana zikir[šu]mea libbūšun itrukū irmā idāšun [ka]rri māt mušur kangu aptēma [nišē] māt aššur u māt mušur [itti] ahāmeš ablla [ušēp]iša mahīru

The Egyptians and the Arabians - I overwhelmed them with the glory of Assur, my lord. At the mention of my name their hearts trembled, became powerless. I opened the sealed [harbo]ur of Egypt. The Assyrians and the Egyptians I mingled [to]gether and I made them trade [with each other].

¹⁰⁷ RIMA II A.0.101.1 217 iii 72b-76a. Shalm.III's punishment of Ahuni of Bit-Adini and his conquest of Sazabû, a fortified city of Sangara (RIMA III A.0.102.2 18 ii 16b-20a), induced the kings of Hatti, Assyrian vassals, to be submissive to Assyria (*ibid.*, ii 20b-24a). Tigl.III's campaign against the lands of Namri and Bit-Singibuti affected the king of Mannaea, bringing gifts (Tiglath-pileser III Stele I B 98-101 15-20) - the ruler of Mannaea had been an Assyrian vassal since Shalm.III, RIMA III A.0.102.14 71 181. Asb.'s campaign against Tyre affected a vassal who had planned hostility against Asb.'s predecessors, so that he voluntarily submitted to the yoke of Asb., Assurbanipals, Pr. A 29 ii 68-72. Asb.'s formidable campaign against a rebellious king, for example, Ahšeri Mannai, father of the new king, motivated the new king to submit to Asb. (*ibid.*, Pr. A 35-36 iii 11-20).

¹⁰⁸ RIMA II A.0.87.1 18 iii 66-72. Shalm.III's military expedition against the land Lamena persuaded the inhabitants of Tarsus to submit, RIMA III A.0.102.14 68-69 135b-40a. Merodach-baladan of Bit-Yakin submitted to Tigl.III through being overwhelmed by the awesomeness of Aššur and brought tribute to him, Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 162, 164 obv. 26c-27. Furthermore, Tigl.III's military discipline upon queen Samsi of the Arabs led other Arab tribes to submit to Assyria. They are Masa, Tema, Saba, Hayappa, Badanu, Hatte, Idiba'ilu, who dwelled on the border of the western lands, *ibid.*, Excursus 5 229. Sar.'s campaigns in Chaldea and the Hatti land induced the kings of Cyprus (Sargons II, 232-33 145-48) and governors of the land Gizilbundi (Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 74 64-73) to submit to Assyria. The kings of the Medes submitted to Senn., bringing a heavy audience-gift (OIP II 29 ii 33-36). In Abs.,'s time, Gyges, king of Lydia willingly became a vassal (see 1.1.2.1 above).

¹⁰⁹ Sargons II, 221-22 109-11.

¹¹⁰ Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), 35 42-49. Tadmor dates the event in 716 B.C., "when Sargon organized an Assyrian province in Palestine"; Šilkanni, king of Egypt sent a present (12 big horses of Egypt) to Sargon, Tadmor, *ibid.*, 78. Under Sargon Assyria began direct trade with Egypt, H. W. F. Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon, 242-43.

1.6.5 To Prevent Domestic Political Intrigue

Ashurbanipal decapitated and cut off the lips of the people living in Bīt-Imbi who did not submit to him. Then he brought the severed parts to Assyria in order to exhibit them;¹¹¹ this can be considered a political move to hinder any political conspiracy among his loyal family and his people.

1.7 The Theocentric Features of Disciplinary Measures

The discipline of the Assyrian kings against a vassal who had broken the treaty corresponded to the function of curses in the treaty. As soon as a vassal entered into treaty relationship with Assyria, curses were imposed upon them; these two aspects coincided. Furthermore, treaty making was juridical due to the witness of the gods, and, the gods were the performers of the curses. At the same time, the kings were the representatives of the gods, and they inevitably campaigned against vassals who had transgressed a treaty in order to soothe the anger of the gods. Therefore, all Assyrian kings undertook military expeditions against rebel vassals in the name of the gods. For example, through enabling of the gods, Tiglath-pileser I could boast of the distinctiveness of his kingly status among other kings and of his priestly position:¹¹²

Itukulti^{ti}-apil-e-šar-ra šarru dannu šar kiššati lā šānan šarru kibrat 4-i šarru kāli malki bēl bēlē utullu šar šarrāni išippu na'du ša ina siqir dšamaš i^šhaṭṭu ellūtu nadnātašuma nišē ba'ulat d^eenlil ultašpiru gimirta re'u kēnu ša siqiršu eli mālikī nebū šatammu šīru ša d^aaššur kakkēšu ušahiluma ana mu'urut kibrat 4-i šumšu ana dāriš išquru šābit pulūgī nesūte ša pāṭe eliš u šapliš . . .

Tiglath-pileser, strong king, unrivalled king of the universe, king of the four quarters, king of all princes, lord of lords, chief herdsman, king of kings, attentive purification priest, to whom by command of the god Šamaš the holy sceptre was given and who had complete authority over the people, subjects of the god Enlil, faithful shepherd, whose name was called over the princes, exalted bishop, whose weapons the god Aššur has sharpened and whose name he has pronounced eternally for control of the four quarters, capturer of distant districts to borders above and below . . .

Since the suzerainty was granted to the Assyrian kings by the gods, and since their weapons was sharpened by Aššur, they would lead a military expedition against rebel vassals and could subdue them because of the support of the gods.¹¹³ They carried away the booty from rebel vassals in accordance with the command of Aššur

¹¹¹ Assurbanipals, Pr. A 46 iv 123b-37.

¹¹² RIMA II A.0.87.1 13 i 28-40a..

¹¹³ Aššur was the pre-eminent god in the pantheon of Assyria. He shows his superiority over the other gods in his tasks of administration among the gods and maintaining the lordship of Tiglath-pileser I, RIMA II A.0.87.1 12 i 1-2. Nonetheless, the other gods are equally acknowledged as authors of efficient campaigns and the superior power of the king, *ibid.*, 13 i 46-51; And.II, *ibid.*, A.0.99.2 147 5-10; Asn.II, *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 195 i 17b-23a; OIP II 23-24 i 10-19; Assurbanipals, Pr. A 52 v 123-29; *ibid.*, Pr. A 72-73 x 57-69; cf. Tiglath-pileser III Stele I B 98 15-16.

and other gods.¹¹⁴ According to Ashurnasirpal II, the punishment was of disloyal vassals, establishing *pulhi melamme aššur bēliya* "awe of the radiance of Aššur, my lord."¹¹⁵ Thus, the Assyrian king's function in military expeditions was both as priest and conqueror.¹¹⁶ Therefore, the fact that Assyrian kings dedicated gifts from the booty captured during campaigns indicates that they attributed their victories to the gods.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the Assyrian kings' military accomplishments where their vassals are concerned are exclusively to be understood in the light of the lawful treaty relationship, since they never campaigned against their vassals randomly.¹¹⁸ Then, they are justifiable, however pitiless they may appear.

1.8 The Sanction of the Vassal Treaty

The language of a vassal treaty (see below) shows that the vassal treaties were established in the presence of the gods. For example, in Tiglath-pileser I's annals, the phrase *pan^daššur bēliya ušadgilšunūti*,¹¹⁹ which can be translated literally "I made them see the face of Aššur, my lord," in parallel with *ntri bēlūtiya kabta elišunu ukin* "I imposed the heavy yoke of my rule on them" reflects the ceremony of treaty making. Furthermore, making the lesser kings Assyrian vassals coincides with making them subjects of Aššur: *itti dāgil pān^daššur bēliya amnušunūti* "I regarded them as vassals of Aššur, my lord,"¹²⁰ or, *māmit aššur bēliya . . . utam-mešu* "I had him take an oath by Aššur, my lord . . ." ¹²¹ In Ashurbanipal's annals the same idea is expressed: *šu[m] ilāni rabūti uša[z]kiršu* "I (Asb.) made him (Yauta³) pronounce the oath of the great gods." Thus, for example, if a vassal

¹¹⁴ RIMA II, Adn.II a.0.99.2 151 68b-72; Asb., Assurbanipals, Pr. A 58 vi 125-28. According to the command of the gods, Asb. destroyed the cities of rebel vassals (*ibid.*, Pr. A 59 vii 13-15a), carried out humiliating punishment of rebel vassals (*ibid.*, Pr. A 62 viii 27-20 and put a rebel vassal to death (*ibid.*, Pr. A 63 viii 30-34).

¹¹⁵ RIMA II A.0.101.1, 216 iii 54.

¹¹⁶ RIMA III A.0.102.2 15 i 25b-29a..

¹¹⁷ For example, RIMA II, Tigl.I A.0.87.1 16 ii 58-62; *ibid.*, Adn.II A.0.99.2 151 73-78a; *ibid.*, Tn.II A.0.100.5 172 27b-29, Asb., Assurbanipals, 71 x 17-39.

¹¹⁸ Sar. claimed his loyalty in keeping the treaties made with vassals, when he campaigned against Urartu, Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 80 123-26. That is, not only vassals had had to keep treaties but the suzerain had not abused his status to take advantage at the cost of the vassals.

¹¹⁹ RIMA II A.0.87.1 19 iii 86b-87; also *ibid.*, iii 89b-91.

¹²⁰ RIMA II A.0.87.1 20 iv 30b-31.

¹²¹ RIMA II, A.0.100.5 172 lines 24c-25a. Also Asb., Assurbanipals, Pr. B 113 vii 97.

broke a treaty, *māmit ilāni rabūti ʔtiqma* "he broke the oath of the great gods."¹²²

1.9 The duration of the vassal treaties

We can perceive the perpetual characteristic of a vassal treaty both in the suzerain's treatment of his disloyal vassals and in the suzerain's collection of tribute from vassals. Moreover, the suzerain's favour towards the successor displays the lasting validity of a treaty.¹²³

1.9.1 Lasting Validity

The vassal treaty was regarded as perpetual from the suzerain's point of view (see Tigl.I v 8b-16 in 1.1.1 above and 1.9.2 below).

1.9.2 Payment of Tribute

Once weaker kings entered into vassal relationship with Assyria, they were expected to pay tribute continuously, for example: Katmuhu (Tigl.I);¹²⁴ Laqu

¹²² RIMA II, Adn.II A.O.99.2 150 50a. See further the language of treaties below. We do not have expressions about the sanction of the vassal treaties in Senn.'s annals, yet, we may deduce them from the context. When Senn. calls himself *mtgir ilāni rabūti* "the favourite of the great gods" and *nāšir kitti rā'im mišāri* "who maintains the right (and) who loves justice" (OIP II 23 4-5A) then he must not be unjust in his dealings with his vassals; should he be unjust in the treaty relationship, the gods would not listen to his prayer (*ibid.*, 44 v 62-67); furthermore, should he be unjust in respect of his military discipline, his troops could not be the weapon of Aššur (*ibid.*, 30 ii 45). That is to say that the sanction of the vassal treaties is mutually related to the prime purpose of Senn.'s campaigns (see above): to glorify the gods, even though praise of Assyrian power is included. If so, the treaties must come into existence lawfully before the gods. Aššur would also command him to take revenge against the rebellious vassals (*ibid.*, 45 v 76-80). Thus, Senn.'s victory over the cities of Sidon is phrased as *ālāntišū dannūti bti dārāni . . . rāšubbat kakki ḏaššur bēltya ishupušunātima iknušū šēpēya* "the fearfulness of the weapon of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed . . . his strong, walled cities, and they submitted to me (*ibid.*, 30 ii 44-46). Further, Senn. could not represent the gods, should he not be just in his campaigns; for instance, Luli, the disloyal vassal of Sidon fled far: *pulhi mēlamme bēlāttya ishupušuma* "whom the fearful splendour of my [Sennacherib] lordship overwhelmed" (*ibid.*, 29 ii 38-39). In short: even though there is no specific notion about the sanction of vassal treaties in Senn.'s annals, we have enough criteria for the lawful sanction of vassal treaties: they were made before the gods.

¹²³ The lasting validity of vassal treaties also occurs in Hittite history, e.g. Amurru became a vassal to Hatti under Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350 B.C.) and this vassal relationship continued under Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1250 B.C.), HDT, no. 5 32 ff., no. 54 ff., no. 16 95 ff., no. 17 98 ff.

¹²⁴ RIMA II A.O.87.1 14 i 89-91a. Katmuhu had paid tribute at the time of Tigl.I; yet when it continuously rebelled, Tigl.I annexed it to Assyria (*ibid.*, 18 iii 30-31). Katmuhu must have rebelled again before the time of Adn.II, since he stated that he became lord over the entire land of Katmuhu and brought (it) into the boundaries of his land (*ibid.*, A.O.99.2 148 26a). Obviously, at the time of Asn.II Katmuhu became vassal to Assyria and paid tribute (*ibid.*, A.O.101.1 198 i 74, 208 ii 87).

(Adn.II,¹²⁵ Tn.II,¹²⁶ Asn.II¹²⁷); Habhu (Tigl.I,¹²⁸ Adn.II,¹²⁹ Asn.II¹³⁰); Hanigalbat (Tigl.I,¹³¹ Adn.II,¹³² Asn.II¹³³); kings from the sea coast (Byblos, Sidon and Arvad (Tigl.I),¹³⁴ Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Arvad (Asn.II),¹³⁵ Tyre including Jehu (Shalm.III),¹³⁶ Tyre, Byblos, Menahem of Samaria (Tigl.III),¹³⁷ Sidon, Arvad, including Hezekiah (Senn.),¹³⁸ Tyre, Arvad (Asb.).¹³⁹ Since the vassalship had a lasting validity, Ashurbanipal stated after he imposed tribute upon the people of Akkad, Kaldu, Aramu and the land of the sea who had joined Shamash-shum-ukîn's revolt: *biltu mandattu bēlātiya šattišamma la naparkā ʔemissunūti* "I imposed upon them annual tribute, payment for my sovereignty for ever."¹⁴⁰

1.9.3 Discipline

The suzerain's military discipline and his subsequent imposition of tribute upon his vassals denote the lasting character of vassal treaties. For example, Tiglath-pileser I's expedition against Alzu and Purulumzu, which had been vassals before Tiglath-pileser I's accession,¹⁴¹ when they had withheld the annual tribute

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, A.O.99.2 153-54 117b-18a.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, A.O.100.5 175-76 85b ff.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, A.O.101.1 200 i 94.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, A.O.87.10 52 18b-20.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, A.O.99.2 152 91-93.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, A.O.101.1 209 ii 92.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, A.O.87.1, 22 v 33-41.

¹³² *Ibid.*, A.O.99.2 150 61.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, A.O.101.1 203 ii 21b-23a.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, A.O.87.3 37 20-21a.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, A.O.101, 219 iii 85b-86.

¹³⁶ *RIMA III* A.O.102.10 54-55 iv 10b-12a.

¹³⁷ *Tiglath-pileser III Ann.* 13 68 10b-12.

¹³⁸ *OIP II* 30 ii 50-60, 34 iii 49.

¹³⁹ *Assurbanipals Pr.* A 28-29 ii 49-57, 63-67. The kings of Tyre and Arvad re-submitted to Asb. after their disloyalty. Other examples: the cities, which had been vassals under Shalm.III's predecessors, paid tribute to Shalm.III; Gilzanu, which became vassal to Asn.II (*RIMA III* A.O.102.14 70-71 180b-83b). Hubušku paid tribute in Shalm.III's 30th (*ibid.*, 161b-62a) and 31th palû (*ibid.*, 177); Tyre in his 18th (*ibid.*, A.O.102.10 54-55 iv 10b-12a) and his 21th palû (*ibid.*, A.O.102.14 67 103b-04a).

¹⁴⁰ *Assurbanipals Pr.* A 45 iv 108-09.

¹⁴¹ *RIMA II* A.O.87.1 14 i 62-66.

payment:¹⁴²

*māt*šubarī šapšūte lā māgiri akšud *māt*alzi u *māt*purulumzi ša bilatsunu u madatašunu ušamsikuni nīr bēlūtiya kabta elišunu ukīn šattišamma bilta u madatte ana āliya d^aāššur ana mahriya litarrūni

I conquered the rebellious and unsubmitive Šubaru. I imposed the heavy yoke of my dominion upon the lands Alzu and Purulumzu which had abandoned (the practice of paying) tribute and tax so that they send tribute and tax into my presence at my city Aššur annually.

1.10 The Language of Vassal Treaties

1.10.1 Treaty-Making¹⁴³

The Assyrian annals express four stereotyped ideas for treaty-making:

1) Stronger kings would spare weaker kings during their expeditions and make treaties with them: *māmit ilāniya rabūti ana arkat ūmē ana ūm šāte ana ardūte utammīšunūti* "I made them swear by my great gods an oath of eternal vassaldom."¹⁴⁴

2) Assyrian acknowledgment of submissive weaker kings as Assyrian vassals, or their enthronement of submissive individuals over their lands (see 1.1 above).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² RIMA II, A.0.87.1 17 ii 89-96a. There are other cases. Adn.II led a punitive campaign against Qumānu which had been an Assyrian vassal in Tigl.I's time (RIMA II, v 67-81; vi 22-38). Adn.II captured the king of Qumānu and put his brothers to death. Yet he was lenient to the penitent (see *ibid.*, A.0.99.1 143-44 10-19). He also marched against Sikkur and Sappānu which withdrew tribute - they had paid tribute to Tn.I. In Tn.II's annals, we find city names including references to the regions which brought *nāmartu*; most of these cities belonged to Laqū (*ibid.*, A.0.100.5 175-77 85b, 87a, 88b, 101b, 109b). Sirqu (*ibid.*, 176 90-95a) and Hindānu brought *nāmartu* to Tn.II (*ibid.*, 175 79a) - Laqū, Sirqu and Hindānu paid tribute (*madattu*) to Adn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.99.2 153-54 115-19). Here, we see the continuous force of vassal treaties. Furthermore, Tn.II claimed to have received tribute from Šubru, Gilzānu and Nairi - Gilzānu and Nairi were conquered by Adn.II (*ibid.*, 148-49, 30-33). After Tigl.I's conquest (*ibid.*, A.0.87.4 43 41), Suhu paid tribute to Tn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.100.5 175 70). Asn.II said that the governor of Suhu who had not come to Assyria at the time of his predecessors, came to Nineveh to present tribute (*ibid.*, A.0.101.1 200 i 99b-101a), yet later he rebelled. In other cases, Asn.II punished Laqū, Hindānu and Suhu (*ibid.*, 214 iii 31b-44a). The suzerain's punishment of vassals because of the withdrawal of tribute has an antecedent in Hittite treaties, HDT.

¹⁴³ Although the phrases concerning agreement of vassals in establishing a treaty does not occur in the Assyrian annals, the mutual support between the Assyrian kings and their vassals indicates that there were mutual agreements, cf. SAA II, xv.

¹⁴⁴ RIMA II, Tigl.I A.0.87.1 22 v 14b-16. This similar phrase appears, when Tn.II renewed a treaty with a penitent vassal: *māmit aššur bēltya ina eli šalmi(?) x [...] utammešu* "I had him take an oath by Aššur, my lord, before the statue of . . . [..]" (*ibid.*, Tn.II A.0.100.5 172 24b-25). In Asb.'s annals, the infinitive phrases *ēpeš adē niš ilāni* "to make a treaty sworn before the gods (Assurbanipals, Pr. A 15 i 21; cf. *ibid.*, Pr. B 113 vii 97) and *ušašqiršunūti* "to make them swear (*ibid.*, Pr. A 16 i 22) are synonymous in treaty contexts as are preterite *udannina rikšate* (*ibid.*) from the same semantic field. In another case, making a treaty occurs with its goal: to serve the overlord; *adē ana ēpeš ardūtiya ittišu aškun* "I (Asb.) made an oath-bound treaty with him (Abiate) that he should serve me" (*ibid.*, Pr. B 114 viii 34).

¹⁴⁵ For example, Shalm.III replaced the king of the land of Namri by Ianzū of Bīt-Hanban, RIMA III A.0.102 14 93b-95.

3) The establishment of a treaty is described from a submissive inferior king's viewpoint: *unaššiqa šepēya* "He kissed my feet."¹⁴⁶ Establishing a vassal treaty also denotes establishing a friendly relationship between a vassal and a sovereign and vassalage: . . . *ana šakan adê sulummê*¹⁴⁷ *ēpeš arduṭya* ". . . to establish an oath-bound covenant of brotherhood (and) the performance of my service."¹⁴⁸

4) A common phrase for a consequence of the vassal agreeing to accept "the yoke of Aššur" occurs in the annals from Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurbanipal: *bilta u madata elišunu ukīn* "I imposed upon them tribute and impost."¹⁴⁹ Another synonymous phrase concerning the imposition of tribute is expressed with the act of imposing Assyrian suzerainty upon the inferior kings which parallels making them vassals of the god Aššur: *nīr bēlūtiya kabta elišunu ukīn pān ḏaššur bēliya ušadgilšunūti* "I imposed the heavy yoke of my lordship upon them (and) made them vassals of the god Aššur, my lord."¹⁵⁰

1.10.2 Treaty-Breaking

Any act which broke a vassal's obligation amounted to a breach of treaty, although not all Assyrian kings used the same expressions for that. A common stereotyped phrase throughout is "to withhold tribute." Added to that, there are various *termini technici* for treaty breaking. Tiglath-pileser I says about a rebel vassal: *ša ana ḏaššur bēliya lā kanšu* "who had not been submissive to the god Aššur."¹⁵¹ In Adad-nārāri II's annals, *māmit ilāni rabūti ʔtiqma* "he broke the oath of the great

¹⁴⁶ Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 obv. 164 27c. The same phrase occurs in Sar.'s annals, where seven kings of Ia', a district of Jадnana, submitted to Sar., *Sargon II*, 233 148-49a. The identical idea occurs in Ashurbanipal's annals: *iknuša ana iṣnīrtiya* "he submitted to my yoke," *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 29 ii 64.

¹⁴⁷ In the context of conspiracy, the same expression refers to breaking treaty: *ana šakan adê u saltme* "to make a treaty and a friendship," *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 22 i 124).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Pr. B 116 viii 59-60.

¹⁴⁹ *RIMA II*, A.0.87.1 18 iii 72. Adn.II (bilta omitted, *ibid.*, A.0.99.2 153 104b), Tn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.100.5 178 126), Asn. II (bilta omitted, A.0.101.1 217 64a), Shalm.III (*RIMA III* A.0.102.14 70 171a), Senn (*OIP II* 30 ii 47-49), Asb. (*Assurbanipals* Pr. C 117 x 86). The same concept occurs in Asb.'s annals: *urakksa rikṣāte* "I (Asb.) bound the obligation" (Pr. A 21 i 115-16a). Sometimes, the content of tribute is described, relating to treaty-making, e.g., Tigl.III's annals (Tiglath-pileser Stele III A 108 20-30), also *RIMA II*, Asn.II, A.0.101.1 205 47b; *Sargons II*, 93 71b.

¹⁵⁰ *RIMA II* A.0.87.1 19 iii 85b-87. The second phrase parallels that of imposing tribute in the same annals (*ibid.*, iii 89b-91). The same idea is expressed in Asn.II annals (*ibid.*, A.0.101.1 205 ii 47b): *mātu gabbi ša pā iṣtēn ušāškin* "I put all of the land under one authority" and in Senn.'s annals: *ana nīri bēlūtiya ušaknišunūti* "to the yoke of my lordship I made them submit," *OIP II* 29 ii 36.

¹⁵¹ *RIMA II* A.0.87.1 22 v 23. The similar idea appears in Asb.'s annals: *igbuš libbu* "his heart was obstinate," *Assurbanipals* Pr. A 31 ii 113.

gods"¹⁵² corresponds to *ittiya ibbalkit* "he rebelled against me."¹⁵³ Sargon said a disloyal vassal: *nīr dāššur iṣluma* "had cast off the yoke of Aššur."¹⁵⁴ Breach of treaty relates to failure to keep the command of the gods.¹⁵⁵ It also is expressed by *ēpiš anni u gillati* "he sinned"¹⁵⁶ which parallels *ētiq māmit ilāni* "transgressed the oath (made before) the gods."¹⁵⁷

In Shalmaneser III's annals, breaking a treaty occurred when allied vassals challenged the suzerain:¹⁵⁸ *ana reṣūt ahamiṣ itaklūma* "they trusted in each other's help."¹⁵⁹ Another example is:¹⁶⁰ *ṭābat ēpussunūti imšūma* "they forgot the goodness which I had bestowed on them." The phrase *iprusa ahūtu* "he dissolved the

¹⁵² RIMA II A.0.99.2 150 50a; also Tigl.III (Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 obv. 162 19b; *ibid.*, Ann. 23 78 18). In Sar.'s annals, the phrase *lā nāšer zikir dāššur dmarduk*, "who did not keep the command of Ashur (and) Marduk" parallels *lā pālihu māmit bēl bēlē*, "who did not fear the oath of the lord of the lords," Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 76 92. Added to that, the parallel occurrence of the phrases *ša itē dšamši dmarduk ētiquma* "who crossed over the border of Shamash (and) Marduk" (*ibid.*, 82 148) and *ša dāššur . . . lā ukabbidu māmitsu* "who had not revered the oath of Ashur, the king . . ." (*ibid.*, 150b) denotes that the rebellious attitude of a vassal and his rebellious deed was coincidental; here *māmitu* as *pars pro toto* refers to the treaty; cf., Sar. praised himself for faithfully keeping the treaty (*ibid.*, 84 156); *anaku šarrukēn, nāšer kitti lā etiq itē dāššur dšamši šahtu lā muparkū pālih dnabū dmarduk* "I, Sharru-kēn, the guardian of truth, who had not stepped over the border of Ashur (and) Shamash, who humbly reveres Nabū (and) Marduk constantly, . . ." See further phrases for treaty-breaking in Sar.'s annals in Part I 2.2.1.8 fn. 96.

¹⁵³ RIMA II A.0.99.2 150 51b. The parallel phrases (Adn.II 50a, 51b) also occur in Sar.'s annals: "who violated (sinned) a pact" and "he did not submit to my lordship, Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 98 309-310; see further Part I 2.2.1.8 fn. 96. The same idea of the second phrase (Adn.II 51b) occurs in Tigl.III' (Tiglath-pileser III Stele I B 100 21b-22a), Sar.' (Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 98 310) and Senn.'s annals (OIP II 41 v 17). In Asn.II's annals, breaking treaty was indicated by insubordinate behaviour (RIMA II A.0.101.1 201 i 115a): *šepēya lā iṣbutū* "they did not submit to me"; *lā iknuṣu ana nirtya* "he did not submit to my yoke" (OIP II 30 ii 61-62a; *ibid.*, 32 iii 19); *lā iṣmū zikir šaptēya* "he did not obey my speech" (Assurbanipals Pr. A 28 ii 51); *lā pālih bēlantiya* "who did not fear my suzerainty" (*ibid.*, Pr. A 35 iii 4); *ša iṣlū nīr bēlantiya* "who had cast off the yoke of my lordship" (*ibid.*, Pr. B 106 vi 60).

¹⁵⁴ This phrase parallels withdrawal of tribute, Sargons II, 198-99 28.

¹⁵⁵ MDOG 115 (1983), 76 92; see further Part I 2.2.1.8 fn. 96.

¹⁵⁶ The same idea occurs in Senn.'s annals: *ša hittu ušabšū* "who had committed the crime" (OIP II 32 iii 8b-9a); also in Asb.'s annals. A conspiracy to throw off the yoke of the overlord is a breach of treaty: *ištēni'ū amat ltmutti* "they planned evil" (Assurbanipals, Pr. A 22 i 128); an executed evil plan is (*ibid.*, Pr. A 44 iv 55): *ipšētu annitu lemātu ēpuṣu* "(who) did these evil deeds."

¹⁵⁷ MDOG 115 (1983), 98 309.

¹⁵⁸ RIMA III, A.0.102.2 16 ii 43a.

¹⁵⁹ The same principle of breaking a treaty occurred in Asb.'s annals, when a vassal challenged his co-vassals to war: *ittakil ana emūq ramānišu* "he relied on his own strength," Assurbanipals, Pr. A 17 i 57.

¹⁶⁰ Assurbanipals, Pr. A i 21 119b. A similar expression parallels two other phrases in this same context: 1) *ina adēya ihtū* "they sinned against the treaty" (*ibid.*, 118); 2) *lā iṣsurā māmit ilāni rabūti* "they did not keep the oath done before the great gods," *ibid.*, 119a; cf. *ibid.*, Pr. B 108-09 vii 5-6. In other instance, the phrase of failure to remember the sovereign's good deed parallels throwing off his yoke, *ibid.*, Pr. A 61 vii 86-87.

brotherhood."¹⁶¹ refers to breaking the particular treaty between Ashurbanipal and his brother Shamsh-shum-ukîn.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 40 iii 108.

1.11 Synopsis and Conclusions

The political frontiers of Assyria offered no natural barriers and so were exceedingly vulnerable to attack. Geographically, Assyria was located on the cross-roads of extensive E-W and N-S trade routes. The north (e.g., Nairi (Urartu)) and east (e.g, Mannāja) regions were easily reached by the Tigris' tributaries. Especially the Upper and the Lower Zabs were a gateway to the east. The south-east regions, e.g., Mādāja and Elippi, were open by the south-eastern Tigris tributaries. Furthermore, the plain to the west of the Tigris, as far as the Habur river, offers easy access to the core of Assyria from the Syrian desert and the north-west.¹ So geographically, the heartland of Assyria was easily accessed from all directions. Therefore, in order to secure the borders Assyria extensively employed vassal treaties with inferior kings.

1.11.1 Suzerain's Benevolence

The main concern of the Assyrians was to encourage the defeated kings or vassals to remain loyal to Assyria. The maintenance of the vassals' kingship was, therefore, significant for Assyria.

1.11.1.1 Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC)

In Tiglath-pileser I's reign Assyria faced a growing power in the north.² He was challenged by a coalition of 23 kings of the land Nairi, which became later Urartu. Having defeated them, he showed them mercy. That is, Tiglath-pileser I let them retain to their thrones after having made the treaty with them. Furthermore, to protect the northwest Tiglath-pileser I maintained the vassal relationship with Hanigalbat, which had rebelled, showing mercy to the penitent inhabitants of his vassal (1.1.3). In order to prevent any growing power in that region, he disciplined the vassal of the land Qumānu, and the vassal was pardoned (1.1.3).

1.11.1.2 Adad-nārārī II (911-891 BC)

Even though Adad-nārārī II led more frequent and greater campaigns than his predecessor he basically strengthened the northwest entrances to Assyria. Furthermore, Adad-nārārī II's campaign against the land Qumānu and his mercy to the submissive people in settling them peacefully (1.1.3 fn. 21) would reflect the Assyrians' endeavour to maintain the vassal-relationship with that land in the mountainous northern region. His disciplinary campaign against Sikkur and Sappānu followed by

¹ Cf. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 35-40.

² According to Tadmor, in Tigl.I's reign Assyria faced two new fronts: "against the migrating Anatolian peoples in the northwest and against the Arameans in the west and southwest, "The Decline of Empires," in Symposia, 11.

his leniency to the submissive people was to re-enforce their loyalty (1.1.3 fn. 25). Since these lands were located in the region of the border between Assyria and Babylonia,³ Adad-nārāri II was concerned to strengthen the southern border of Assyria.

1.11.1.3 Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 BC)

Tukulti-Ninurta II continued his predecessor's policy to control the northwest approach to Assyria. In order to maintain this, he treated the rebel vassal of Bīt-Zamāni leniently (1.1.3 fn. 22).

1.11.1.4 Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC)

Strengthening the northeast entrance to Assyria, Ashurnasirpal II spared the submissive inhabitants of the rebellious vassal of Nirbu (1.1.3 fn. 23), which was probably located northeast of Assyria.⁴ In the east he let the kings of Zamua rule their lands, although he could have replaced them (1.1.3). By contrast, Ashurnasirpal II does not record such policies in the west.⁵

1.11.1.5 Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC)

Shalmaneser III enthroned a brother of the Assyrian vassal king of Que in Tarsus, in order to secure the frontier in the far northwest (1.1.2.2). In this way any possible agitation in the north and northwest of Assyria could be checked. It was also his predecessors' concern to keep the vassal-relationship with the lands in the northwest of Assyria.

When Shalmaneser III conquered Namri, south of Assyria,⁶ he appointed Yanzu on throne (1.1.1 fn. 12). This southeast region was, furthermore, strengthened when Shalmaneser III enthroned a submissive conquered king as vassal over the city Masašuru.⁷ This could have been a defense against Elam.

³ Cf. Nashef, *Répertoire Géographique*, 229-30.

⁴ Asn.II received tribute from Bīt-Zamānu, Šubrû and Nairi while being in the land Nirbu. Therefore, it must be located northeast of Assyria; furthermore, when Asn.II made a new vassal-relationship with the city of Matiatu, which was situated in the land of Katmuhu, the northeast path to Assyria was secured, *RIMA* II A.0.101.1 209 ii 90-91a.

⁵ Kings in the west paid tribute (see Part III 1.9.2). When some kings rebelled, Asn.II annexed their territory (Sūru, Part III 2.1.18 fn. 74 and 2.3.2 below) and severely punished them (Laqû, Hindānu, Suhu, Part III 1.9.3 fn. 142).

⁶ "From the Assyrian standpoint, Namri lay to the south, across the Lower Zab," L. D. Levine, "Geographical Studies," *Iran* 11 (1973), 16.

⁷ The city Masašuru must be located in the neighbourhood of the city Paddira and the land Parsua (*RIMA* II a.0.102.14 70 171b-74a); also see Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, "Paddira," 271 and "Parsua," 274.

The region of the Orontes valley in Syria stood in vassal-relationship to Assyria (1.3.2 fn. 52). When the Assyrian vassal of the land Patina was assassinated Shalmaneser III enthroned a king who was submissive to Assyria (*ibid.*).

1.11.1.6 Tiglath-pileser III

Tiglath-pileser III further strengthened the northern entrance. When the land Gurgum submitted, he ceased destroying it further (1.1.3 fn. 25). Added to that, he paved the way to Egypt by restoring the kingship of the penitent vassal in Gaza (1.1.3) and enthroning a submissive one in Israel (1.1.1 fn. 12).

1.11.1.7 Sargon (721-705 BC)

Assyria extended vassalship in the lands to the south, southeast and north in Sargon's reign. His benevolence toward the vassals in those regions was intended to motivate them to remain loyal.

In the north Sargon encouraged the vassal of Tabal through marrying his daughter to him and extending his territory (1.1.4.2). To the south he interfered in a quarrel over the succession in Ellipi and enthroned a prince, who was loyal to Assyria (1.1.1 fn. 12). In his fifteenth year Sargon faced a revolt in the north and northeast. His vassal of Tabal⁸ conspired with Ursâ of Urartu and Mitâ of Muski. Ullusunu of Mannea also plotted with Ursâ, but when he was penitent, he was forgiven (1.1.4.3). His policy of vassalship towards the northeast was mirrored in his kindness to the penitent Ullusunu through maintaining his kingship and returning the fortresses, with which Ullusunu bribed Ursâ. For the purpose of encouraging him to remain loyal Sargon gave a banquet to Ullusunu when he joyfully met him in his eighth campaign (1.1.4.1).

1.11.1.8 Sennacherib (704-681 BC)

Assyria consolidated her suzerainty on the coast of the Levant in Sennacherib's reign. In the course of his third campaign against Sidon and Ashkelon Sennacherib enthroned the son of the disloyal vassal over the former (1.1.1 fn. 12) and the previous king over the latter in lieu of disloyal vassals (1.3.2 fn. 51). Added to that, he rewarded Padî, king of Ekron, for his loyalty while quelling the revolt and enthroning him again (1.3.2). In this way he secured the road to Egypt for his successors.

1.11.1.9 Ashurbanipal (668-627 BC)

⁸ See further Part III 2.1.18 fn. 83

Assyria reached its zenith under Ashurbanipal. He ruled over Babylonia, Elam, Asia Minor, Levant and Egypt. In order to maintain control over the vassal states in these lands, Ashurbanipal tried to consolidate their relationship with Assyria through benevolent deeds. Ashurbanipal selected a king over Arvad among the princes who were loyal to Assyria (1.1.1), and even allowed one of the rebellious vassals of Egypt to continue on the throne (1.1.1 fn. 12). In addition to that Ashurbanipal honoured the chosen vassals, other princes and the ambassadors of his brother through dressing them with colourful clothes and adorning them with golden decorations (1.1.4.1). By such means Ashurbanipal encouraged the vassals to remain loyal and the princes to support their brother whom he had chosen as vassal king. Thus, Ashurbanipal encouraged both the vassals and their relatives who were possible rivals to sustain their vassalship.

In order to enhance this relationship, Ashurbanipal granted military support to his brother, vassal of Babylon, and to Niqû, vassal of Egypt, chosen from the rebel-vassals (1.1.2.1 & fn. 17). When a king submitted to Assyria, Ashurbanipal gave military support to conquer the king's enemy (1.1.2.1). As had his predecessors, Ashurbanipal showed clemency to his penitent vassals (of Elam and Arabia) who had supported the revolt of Babylon (1.1.3 fn. 24) and plotted against Assyria, or who had made himself king without the suzerain's approval (Mannai). In these ways, too, Ashurbanipal hoped to help his vassals to remain loyal.

To sum up, the foundation of the Neo-Assyrian empire was established in the time of Tiglath-pileser I. Even though it declined during the following century and a half, a dark-age, Assyria slowly arose to dominate the Near East. During this period of growth the Assyrian kings down to Ashurnasirpal II fostered the relationship with their vassals and exonerated penitent vassals from their responsibility for revolt. There was one aspect of the suzerain's benevolence which ran throughout Assyrian history: clemency to defeated kings and to penitent vassals - when the defeated kings submitted, the Assyrian kings let them continue to reign. The Assyrian kings also granted clemency to repentant vassal people. By all these acts towards vassals the Assyrian kings consolidated the northwest approaches to Assyria from Tiglath-pileser I down to Sargon. From Adad-nārārī II's reign Assyria strengthened the southern border. The northeast border was secured from the time of Ashurnasirpal II, and the southeast from that of Shalmaneser III. All these borders together with the southern border were again strengthened in Sargon's reign. Faced with Babylonia's ceaseless rebellion Sennacherib enthroned his son there, and Ashurbanipal his brother, but the consolidation of the southern border was short-lived due to the continuous rebellion of Babylon and Elam. In addition, Ashur-

banipal inherited a strongly consolidated Assyrian Empire. He displayed benevolence to the vassals fostered the vassal-relationship with their vassal-lands, thereby attempting to maintain the supremacy of Assyria.

1.11.2 The Suzerain's Reinforcement of the Vassals' Loyalty

To consolidate the loyalty of vassals in Nairi Tiglath-pileser I took their sons as hostages to Assyria. This same purpose probably lay behind his taking hostages from Hanigalbat which frequently rebelled. In this way Tiglath-pileser I may have weakened the growing power in the west. Through consolidating the vassalship of Hanigalbat, the northwest entrance was secured for Assyria. Tiglath-pileser I may have intended to create a buffer to hold back the growing power of Mušku in the north-west with this policy.

Adad-nārāri II took hostages from Habhu, Natbu and Alzu northeast of Assyria.⁹

The passages of Tukulti-Ninurta II's annals which could have included the suzerain's taking hostages from rebellious vassals are fragmentary, but there is no reason why he would not have done so.

The lands from which Ashurnasirpal II took hostages lay northeast of Assyria - Nirbu, the city Madara¹⁰ - and west - Bīt-Adini, the city Tīl-abni¹¹ (1.1.4.3 fn. 39). He may have intended to strengthen the northeast and northwest borders of Assyria. Shalmaneser III supported his vassal of Que while reinforcing the loyalty of the ruler of Tanakun through taking hostages from him. In this way the north-west frontier of Assyria which offered easy access from the west to Assyria was secured. Ashurbanipal deported the royal family of a disloyal vassal in Elam. He may have intended to secure Assyrian hegemony in the south-east.

1.11.3 The Suzerain's Obligations

The responsibility of Assyrian kings towards loyal vassals can be categorized as maintaining their security of the territories and their thrones. Even though the Assyrians protected the vassal-lands, their primary goal was to secure the boundary and economy of Assyria. The northeast border of Assyria was secured through the vassal-land of Kadmuḫu in Tiglath-pileser's reign. When five kings of the Mušku

⁹ These lands occur in relation to the land of Nairi. Thus, their location must be adjacent to Nairi.

¹⁰ The vassal of Madara was son of Ṭupusu, who paid tribute to Asn.II, *RIMA II* A.0.101.1 202 ii 12-14. According to this passage, he was from Šubria. He and another vassal of Bīt-Zamāni brought tribute to Asn.II while he was in the city Tušha. Thus, Madara may be located in the region adjacent to Tušha.

¹¹ Tīl-abni must be in the neighbourhood of Bīt-Adini.

invaded Kadmuḫu, Tiglath-pileser I campaigned against them and liberated his vassal-land (1.3.1). Furthermore, the northeast entrance to Assyria was shielded by the vassal-land of Šubartu. When this land suffered from the invasion of the troops of Hatti, Tiglath-pileser I came to his vassal's aid (1.3.1 fn. 46).

From the reign of Ashurnasirpal II onwards a major Assyrian concern was protection of the loyal vassals' kingship. In his reign the nobles of Bīt-Zamāni rebelled against Assyria by killing their ruler, an Assyrian vassal. When Ashurnasirpal II came to avenge his vassal they lavished gifts on him (1.3.2 fn. 51). That is, it was crucial for the Assyrians that the vassal-lands were ruled by loyal kings. As long as this principle was carried on they did not interfere in the life of the vassal-lands.

Sennacherib quelled a revolt in the southern Levant and re-enthroned Paḏī (1.3.2.). Ashurbanipal granted asylum to the princes of Urtaku, when they fled from Teumman who rebelled against their father (1.3.3). Added to that, he led a military expedition against Teumman and enthroned them over Elam and Hidalu, respectively. He also provided food for the Elamites in famine (1.3.4). Ashurbanipal came to his vassals' aid (Egypt and Amurru) when they were invaded by a co-vassal (Tarqû) or foreign king (Kedar, 1.3.1). So Ashurbanipal sustained his vassals in the west and south.

To sum up, the significant matter for the Assyrian king was to protect the vassals who were loyal to Assyria, thereby preventing any potential revolt in the neighbour-lands. This was revealed in the intervention of Assyrians with respect to the annihilation of enemies from the vassals' territory and with respect to the assurance of the kingship of vassals and their descendants. That is, the Assyrians were satisfied as long as the vassal-lands were ruled by kings who were loyal to Assyria.

1.11.4 The Vassals' Obligations

The vassals were under the suzerain's protection. In return, the vassals had to fulfill some obligations towards the suzerain.

The payment of tribute was one of the crucial duties of vassals from the time Tiglath-pileser I down to Ashurbanipal. This payment relates to vassals' kingship, since the vassals' kingship was the gift of the Assyrian kings. The vassals paid rent (*biltu*) for their realms. Added to that, once a defeated king entered into the vassal relationship with Assyria he was bound perpetually and had, therefore, to bring tribute, regardless of the succession to the vassal's throne or the suzerain's. So, for vassals to bring tribute was the sign of their loyalty to Assyria. If the vassals

refused to pay tribute it meant breaking the link with Assyria, and so the suzerain's land might become defenseless in face of an enemy invasion. Tiglath-pileser I chastised his vassal-lands which functioned as the northeastern and northern fences of Assyria, such as Hanigalbat and Kadmuhi when they rebelled, and brought them back to their original status. Under Tiglath-pileser III Assyria received tribute from all four directions: in the east Medes, north-east Mannaea, south from the Chaldeans, north Urartu, Kummuh, Gurgum, Tabal, Que, west the city-states at the seashore, Arpad, Hamath, Damascus, Gaza, Israel, and the Arabs. However, having inherited the majority of vassal-lands from his predecessor, Tiglath-pileser III was concerned to consolidate the dependent status of those lands. Thus, if they rebelled, he annexed them to Assyria (see 2.1.18 below). During his reign, only a few kings entered into vassalship to Assyria, e.g., the queen of the Arabs and Merodach-baladan of Bit-Yakin.

Vassals sometimes supported the suzerain's military campaigns, especially in the eras when Assyria took campaigns far from Assyrian central territory or marched into difficult mountainous regions. Ashurnasirpal II took armies from vassals for his successive military expeditions when he campaigned successively towards the north-east and northwest. Sargon was provided with food and animals which probably served for food supply and transport by vassals in the course of his eighth campaign. In Ashurbanipal's reign, vassals of the sea coast joined his campaign against Tarqu in Egypt. In order to pay homage to the suzerain, vassals either sent messengers to Niniveh (1.4.4), or they went themselves to Assyria (1.4.4 fn. 75). Another duty of vassals was to inform about any conspiracy against the suzerain (1.4.5).

Furthermore, Assyrian vassals were forbidden from undertaking anything harmful to the suzerain and the co-vassals. From the time of Tiglath-pileser I down to Ashurbanipal,¹² Assyrian kings heavily punished any vassal who challenged them to war, whether by supporting Assyrian enemies, or by fortifying the city,¹³ or by participating in a conspiracy of other vassals, whether by receiving a bribe from or by sending a bribe to other co-vassals, or by trusting in their own military power, or by invading the suzerain's territory, or taking part in battle against the suzerain. The invasion of territories of co-vassals was prohibited in the times of Tiglath-pileser I, Sargon and Ashurbanipal. In the time of Ashurnasirpal II vassals were forbidden to participate in an Assyrian civil-war. Vassals were not permitted to provide rebel vassals with shelter, or detain a co-vassal in prison.

¹² Except the time of Sargon.

¹³ This was regarded as preparation for war.

To sum up, the obligations of vassals contributed to the power of the suzerain's empire. The payment of tribute was essential for the establishment and development of the empire. As it grew, from Ashurnasirpal II's reign onwards, vassals came to the suzerain's aid in the course of campaigns. In the time of the zenith of Assyria, Ashurbanipal's annals explicitly mention that the vassals were obliged to prevent any political intrigue against the suzerain, for instance, by dispatching conspiracy. Nonetheless, this prohibition must have occurred throughout the Assyrian history. All resulted in the glorification of the Assyrian king, the suzerain, enhancing the reputation of Assyria in the ancient Near East.

1.11.5 Vassal Treaties with the People of Vassals

One of the characteristics of vassal treaties from the second millennium B.C. was that the people of the vassal were included. Therefore, the people always suffered the suzerain's punitive campaigns when the vassal king violated the treaty (see Part III 2). The suzerain forgave the penitent and supported them in time of famine (Asb).

1.11.6 The purpose of the suzerain's disciplinary measures

The principle of the suzerain's discipline of vassals was one of the principal elements of the Neo-Assyrian empire, which coloured its history in foreign affairs. By making treaties with weaker kings the Assyrian kings could strengthen and maintain the land in prosperity. When vassals violated treaties, the Assyrian kings took disciplinary measures against them. Here, treaty-curses came into effect (see Part III 2). The purpose was: 1) to weaken the power of rebel vassals (humiliation); 2) to restore the original vassal relationship; 3) to warn other vassals to remain loyal; 4) to induce other weaker kings to submit to Assyria. However, when vassals persistently rebelled, the Assyrian kings either deported rebel people or annexed their countries (see Part III 2.1.14, 18). This policy brought changes in Assyrian territory.

1.11.7 Theocentric Features of the Campaigns

According to the Assyrian texts, the Assyrian king saw himself both as the representative of the people to the gods and as that of the gods to the people. This intermingled nature of kingship is to be seen in the concept of campaigns, which were carried out for the disciplinary purposes against disloyal vassals. Moreover, the theocentric nature of vassal treaties, sworn before the gods by vassals, made the Assyrian move against the rebel vassals. That is, the Assyrians would never campaign randomly. They undertook disciplinary campaigns according to the com-

mands of the gods. Thus, their punitive campaigns against rebel vassals were lawful from the Assyrian point of view.

Therefore, the impetus of Assyrian campaigns was theological from the 12th century. B.C. onwards. Aššur, the pre-eminent god in the Assyrian pantheon, and the other gods were praised for their maintenance of Assyrian supremacy over all other lands. The Assyrians recognized that the gods were the driving force for the military expeditions intended to discipline disloyal vassals, so such campaigns allowed them to perform their role as suzerains successfully. Accordingly, the Assyrian kings brought sacrifices to the gods after their victories.

To sum up, the double nature of Assyrian kingship, the king representing the gods toward the people and, as priest, the people toward the gods, was reflected in the disciplinary measures the kings took against disloyal vassals. In addition, the theocentric nature of vassal treaties, where the weaker kings swore oaths before the gods, would entitle the disciplinary expeditions of Assyrian kings to be considered holy war from the 12th down to the 7th century. B.C.

1.11.8 The Sanction of Vassal Treaties

The Assyrian kings' annals reveal to us that vassal treaties were effected by the weaker kings taking oaths before the gods.

1.11.9 The Duration of Vassal Treaties

The suzerain's punitive campaigns against rebel vassals mirror the perpetual force of treaties; they served to rectify vassals' wrong intentions and to restore their prime status. In other words, if defeated or submissive kings accepted vassalship with Assyria there was no way to throw it off, except by revolt. This linkage continued from the 12th until the 7th century. B.C., through successive kings on the thrones in the vassal-lands and in the suzerain-land (1.9). The Assyrian kings thus secured the kingship for vassals friendly to Assyria. Added to that, the suzerain's interest in the well-being of the vassal land through providing food in famine would strengthen the perpetual bond of vassalship. This concern of suzerain was also reflected in his support when vassals were invaded during the campaigns.

To sum up, the suzerain's disciplinary measures would reinforce the enduring aspect of the vassal treaties and ran throughout Assyrian history from the end of the 12th century. As the empire expanded considerably from Shalmaneser III's reign, the goodwill of the suzerain would foster the relationship between Assyria and the subject-land. This could be seen when vassals willingly paid tribute to Assyria (1.4.1).

1.11.10 The Language of Vassal Treaties

1.11.10.1 Treaty-Making

There are four stereotyped phrases for treaty-making throughout Assyrian history: 1) the imposition of tribute; 2) the imposition of the heavy yoke of lordship (of the Assyrian kings); 3) swearing an oath of eternal vassaldom; 4) the enthronement of submissive weaker kings.

1.11.10.2 Treaty-Breaking

The stereotyped concepts of treaty-breaking from the 12th to the 7th centuries B.C. are counterparts to those of treaty-making above: 1) to withdraw tribute; 2) to rebel against the Assyrian kings; 3) the breach the oath of the great gods or to throw off the yoke of Aššur; 4) all these three ideas are summarized in the expression "to sin."

To sum up, although the explicit phrase concerning an agreement between suzerain and vassal in establishing a treaty does not occur in Assyrian annals, the mutual support between the Assyrian kings and their vassals indicate that there was the mutual agreement between them.¹⁴ So vassal treaties were established by the agreement of two parties, the one, the weaker submitting to the more powerful and the other, the suzerain, imposing obligations upon the vassal. Yet the act of the stronger king, "imposition of tribute", referred to the vassal treaty itself as *pars pro toto* throughout Assyrian history. Added to that, treaty-making is phrased with "to swear expressed as an oath by the subject before the gods." Even though treaty breaking was sometimes indicated by the rebellious acts of vassals, there were two specific categories indicating a breach of treaty. One reveals the relationship between the suzerain and vassals; thus, phrases "having withheld tribute," or "having rebelled against (the suzerain)," or "having forgotten the goodness of (the suzerain)," or "not having kept (the suzerain's) command" were expressions of treaty-breaking. The other was related to the ceremony of treaty making: "having broken" or "not having feared the oath of the great gods" Since, by this oath, the agreement was set up between two parties, it was also described as "not having kept the command of Šamaš." Furthermore, the rebel vassal was accused for "having violated (or sinned against)" that pact. In the light of our analysis, the scholarly premise about the existence of Assyrian vassal treaties prior to the 9th century B.C. is substantiated (Part I 3).

¹⁴ Cf. SAA II, xv.

Chapter 2

TREATY-CURSES FULFILLED IN THE ASSYRIAN ANNALS

2.0 Introduction

Since the vassal treaties were established before the gods by weaker kings taking oaths, they had juridical characteristics. Thus, if a vassal violated a treaty, he suffered the lawful punishment, namely the suzerain's disciplinary campaign.¹ At the same time, the suzerain could carry out a punitive military campaign because he maintained the treaties with his vassals:² that is to say that the suzerain would never lead campaigns against vassals without good cause. When vassals broke treaties, the vassal relationship turned to enmity. In other words, disloyal vassals became enemies to their suzerain. F. M. Fales crystallized five descriptions of the enemy (*nakrātu*) in the Assyrian annals. The enemy is one who: 1) "violates the oaths/pacts;" 2) "is forgetful of past kindness;" 3) "is insubmissive . . .; he trusts in human or natural factors to oppose Assyria victoriously;" 4) "speaks words of suspicion, hostility" and "plots against Assyria;" 5) "is wicked; hostile; rebellious; . . ., especially in relation to his actions."³ All these characteristics correspond to those of disloyal vassals in the Assyrian annals. In view of this, the action of the suzerain against a disloyal vassal may be the same as the action of an enemy, so the expression "enemy" in the Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses is applicable both to the Assyrian suzerain and to the enemy of the vassals. This chapter deals with the fulfilment of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses in Assyrian annals.⁴

2.1 Curses Performed by the Suzerain

The performance of the curses in treaties is both the consequence of the transgression of the vassals and the fulfilment of the suzerain's duties. We explore curses fulfilled in the Neo-Assyrian annals in the light of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses.⁵

When vassals rebelled, the suzerain campaigned against them. The suzerains' military campaigns were depicted in a general way, apart from some curses in VTE.

¹ In Hittite history, Tudhaliya II campaigned against the land of Isuwa, when it broke the treaty with Hatti, *HDT*, 14-15, no. 2 §3. When Tette, who had become a vassal of Suppiluliuma, rebelled against Mursili II, the latter successfully campaigned against him, *ibid.*, 156, no. 30 § 2, 5.

² See Mayer, "Sargons Feldzug," *MDOG* 115 (1983), 80 123 and Part III fn. 149.

³ Frederick M. Fales, "The Enemy in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, 428-29.

⁴ The references to Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses in Appendix II are given in parentheses.

⁵ As noticed in Part I 3, Assyrian kings established vassal treaties from the second millennium B.C. onwards.

For example, there is no curse of a siege, or a curse of re-payment of tribute as a result of a siege.

2.1.1 Siege

The suzerain would besiege cities of rebel vassals until they surrendered,⁶ with the following results:

2.1.1.1 Payment of Tribute

For example, Ashurnasirpal II claimed:⁷

Ḫemti-ili māṭlaqâ ina âlišu êsiršu ina ištukulti aššur bêliya issu mahar iškakkêa dannâte tâhâzia šitmûri emûqa gitmalâti iplahma makkûra ekallišu kaspa hurâša annâke sipârrê diqâru siparru šubâtu lûbulti birme šallâssu kabta amhurma biltu madattu eli ša pâni ušâter elišunu aškun

I confined Hemti-ili of Laqû, in his city. With the support of Aššur, my lord, he took fright in face of my mighty weapons, my fierce battle, (and) my perfect power (and) I received the property of his palace, silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze vessels, garments with multi-coloured trim, his valuable booty. In addition, I imposed upon them more tribute (and) tax than ever before.

2.1.1.2 Conquest

If a rebel vassal-people maintained themselves in a fortified city and did not submit to the Assyrians, they would conquer the city and then punish the people severely. There was, furthermore, no fortified city which the Assyrians could not conquer. Adad-nârârî II confined the rebel vassal Nûr-Adad in Našibina and established seven redoubts around it, in which he stationed his troops. Adad-nârârî II

⁶ The Assyrian kings commonly employed siege during their punitive campaigns (see below). If a vassal planned to rebel against his overlord, he might build a water system to supply enough water for the citizens. In Adn.II's time, Nûr-Adad, vassal king of the land of Hanigalbat, challenged Adad-nârârî II to war. He prepared for the Assyrian punitive campaign; he dug a moat in bedrock around the city of Našibina and the wall next to the moat, *RIMA* II A.O.99.2 151 65-66a (see 2.1.1.2 below). Hezekiah made a tunnel (534m in length) to divert water from the Gihon spring outside the city-wall to the western hill (2 Chr 32:30), so that the citizens of Jerusalem would have secure access to the water without going out of the city-gate.

⁷ *RIMA* II A.O.101.1 215 iii 46b-48a; *ibid.*, 209 ii 98b-100a; *ibid.*, 216 iii 55-56a. Asn.II's successors also used siege to discipline rebels, e.g., the land of Šubria (*RIMA* III A.O.102.6 36 ii 18), the city of Tanakun in the land of Qûe (*ibid.*, A.O.102.14 68 132-5a), Aduni of Bît-Adini (*ibid.*, A.O.102.14 65 45-50a) and Marduk-bêl-usâte (*ibid.*, A.O.102.5 30 v 2b-3a) by Shalm.III; the city of Mušasir by Sar. (*Sargons II*, 114-15 153-55); Hezekiah by Senn. (*OIP* II 32-33 iii 18-30). Through siege, Asb. prevented food supplies and controlled the routes to Tyre, an island at that time, to bring the disloyal vassal to submission. When he submitted, Ashurbanipal opened the way to the main land, *Assurbanipals* Pr. B 25 ii 62-65; cf. *ibid.*, Pr. A 28 ii 56-61.

defeated Nūr-Adad, although he was well prepared for an Assyrian punitive campaign.⁸

2.1.1.3 Preventing Food Supplies

We read in Ashurbanipal's annals:⁹

ina šalši ginriya eli mba'li šar māšurri āšib qabal tāmtim lū allik ša āmat šarrūtiya lā iṣšuru lā iṣmū u zikir šaptēya alhalsū elišu ūrakkis ina tāmtim u nābali girrētīšu ušabbīt napšatsūnu ūsiq ukarri ana iṣnīriya ušaknissunnūti

On my third campaign I went against Baal, king of Tyre, who lived in the midst of the sea, because he did not keep the command of my kingship (and) he did not obey the speech of my lips. I put watch-towers around him, I took control of his routes by sea and land. I made their life harsh, cut it short (and) caused them to submit to my yoke.

This hardship is comparable to the malediction of depriving the accursed of food and drink (§51.no.22; cf. 2.1.1.4).¹⁰

2.1.1.4 Famine and Cannibalism

Uaite³, king of the Arabia, and those who had escaped from Ashurbanipal's onslaught, suffered from thirst and hunger since Ashurbanipal surrounded the mountain, where they had taken refuge, with his troops (Pr. A ix 25-40):¹¹ he diverted springs flowing to the mountain (lines 31-34) and, probably, also the route for food supply, so that they lost their lives because of deprivation (line 35); consequently, those who survived the famine kept themselves alive by drinking camel's blood and urine (lines 36-37).¹² Furthermore, famine would break out in the time of the suzerain's siege and create cannibalism in the land, e.g.,¹³

⁸ See RIMA II A.0.99.2 150-51 62-68a (Part III 1.4.9). Other examples are: e.g., Asn.II claimed: *al astbi ina pilši iṣaptte u nepēše ālu akšud^{ud} 1400 [...] ummānāti [...] šunu ina iṣkakkē ušamqīt 780 amēlummānāti balṭāti ina qāti ušabit 3000 šallāsunu ušēšia . . . annūte Ināšunu unapil* "I besieged the city (and) conquered it by means of tunnels, siege-towers, (and) battering-rams. I felled with the sword 1,400 [...] of their [fighting] men. I captured 780 soldiers alive. I brought out 3,000 captives from them. I gouged out the eyes of some . . .," *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 220 iii 111b-12a+c; Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 obv. 162 20b-21b.

⁹ Assurbanipals Pr. A 28 ii 49-55. Furthermore, animals suffered from famine (*ibid.*, Pr. A 67 ix 65-67). Tigl.III enclosed a rebel vassal in his royal city and then destroyed the cities together with the food resource. Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 obv. 162 23b-25a. He further besieged Rezin of Damascus like a bird in a cage, destroyed his gardens, orchards, and 591 cities of the 16 districts of Damascus, and carried off people and their possessions, *ibid.*, Ann. 23 78,80 9c-17.

¹⁰ Also SAA II 27 EB iv 16a.

¹¹ Assurbanipals, 66-67.

¹² Eventually the survivors were captured and carried off to Assyria (see below Pr. A ix 66-67 41-43 2.1.14 fn. 53; also Pr. A 37-38 iii 128-35).

¹³ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 63 viii 35-41; cf. *ibid.*, Pr. A 67 ix 53-67.

sittūti ša qēreb bāb-ili^{ki} erubū ina sunqi hušahhi ekulū šēra ahāmeš ana šūzub nāpišti^{lim}sunu ultu qēreb bāb-ili^{ki} ušūnimma amēl emūqiya ša ina mšamaš-šum-ukīn šaknū šāniyanu abiktašu iškunūma

The rest who entered into Babylon ate each others flesh because of hunger. To save their lives, they came out of Babylon. But my troops, who were stationed against Shamash-shumukin, defeated them a second time.

Furthermore, some fugitives caught in Ashurbanipal's siege lost their lives through starvation, and others were captured (Pr. A ix 25-40).

In this event some treaty-curses were realized: 1) no hiding place and deprivation of food in VTE (§51.nos.21-22); 2) a malediction of drinking animal urine (§51.no.26) and AM (§49.no.8); 3) losing lives through thirst (cf. VTE 652-55);¹⁴ 4) the destruction of people through famine in ŠM (§48.no.1) AM (§49.no.5);¹⁵ 5) cannibalism in AM (§49.no.6) and VTE (§51.nos.13-14),¹⁶ which also occur individually in the same order in ceremonial curses of VTE 567-69.¹⁷

2.1.2 Destruction

2.1.2.1 Cities

The Assyrian kings devastated towns of rebellious vassals, if they did not submit, e.g., in Tiglath-pileser I's annals¹⁸ *ina šitmur qardūtuya 2-teia ana mātkatmūhi lū allik naphar ālānišunu akšud . . . ālānišunu ina ištati ašrup appul aqqur* "With

¹⁴ See further fn. 6 above and Part II 3.2.1.

¹⁵ The malediction of famine in VTE 440-45a, 446b-48a occurs in the context of natural disaster.

¹⁶ The malediction of cannibalism in VTE appears in famine which would be caused by natural disaster. See further Part II 3.3.1.

¹⁷ See Part II 3.2.8, 3.3.1.

¹⁸ RIMA II A.0.87.1 17 iii 7-12a. The suzerain's devastation of cities always accompanied taking booty (*ibid.*, iii 9b-10); *šallāsunu bušāšunu namkuršunu ana lā mina ašlul* "I carried off their booty, possessions, (and) property without number"; also *ibid.*, A.0.87.1 14 i 93-ii 1; other examples, the land of Alzu by Adn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.99.2 149 31b-32a); the city of Patiškun by Tn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.100.5 171 16-18); the city of Hudun along with 30 cities by Asn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.101.1 206 ii 56 ff); the city of Lutibu and other cities of Haiyānu, the Sam'alite by Shalm.III (RIMA III A.0.102.2 16 i 41b-48); Ušqaya together her surrounding cities of Urartu by Sar. (MDOG 115 (1983), 86 178-83); Elam under Senn. (OIP II 40 iv 76-81a). Tigl.III's annals do not report why Tigl.III destroyed cities of Bit-Shilani, impaled the ruler of Bit-Shilani, exposed him before his people and took captive his family, Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 obv 160, 62 16-17. Yet the manner in which Tigl.III's disciplined them indicates their vassal-relationship to Assyria, since the Assyrians never deported the people of defeated lands. They usually devastated cities of rebel vassals or those of conquered lands, who did not submit. Probably, Bit-Shilani had become an Assyrian vassal under Shalm.III. The kings of Chaldea paid tribute first to Shalm.III (RIMA III A.0.102.14 66 84a). Although Shalm.III does not list the kings of Kaldu, the king of Bit-Shilani may have been included in those kings. In Asb.'s annals, a complete destruction of the dwelling-place of the Arab people was followed by Asb.'s revenge, because they plundered an Assyrian province at the instigation of Uaite' (Assurbanipals Pr.A 61 vii 84-86) who had broken his treaty with Assyria, *ibid.*, Pr. A vii 102-22.

my valorous onslaught I marched a second time to the land Katmuhu. I conquered all their cities . . . I burnt, razed, (and) destroyed their cities."

2.1.2.2 Temple

Ashurbanipal did not generally destroy the temples of his disloyal vassals. He even purified the temple in Babylon and put things in order with respect to the temple and pacified the gods.¹⁹ However, Ashurbanipal destroyed the temples in Susa, when Elam continuously rebelled: *ziqqūrat ālšūšan ša ina agurri abanukni šūpūšat ubbit ukappira qarnē ša plitiq eri namri* "I destroyed the Ziggurat of Susa which was made of lapis lazuli bricks. I broke off the horns which were made of shining bronze."²⁰ Ashurbanipal further destroyed the temples in Elam, smashed the gods and let them be blown away by the wind.²¹

2.1.2.3 Destruction of Ancestral Tombs

Ashurbanipal utterly condemned a vassal of Elam who obstinately rebelled, destroying the tombs of his ancestors and carrying their remains off to Niniveh:²²

kimāhi šarrānišunu mahrūti arkūti lā pālihūti dāššur u dīštar bēlēya munarrīṭū šarrāni abbēya appul aqqr ukallim dšamšišī ešmātišunu alqā ana mātaššurki eṭemmēšunu lā šalālu emid kispi nāq mē uzammēšunūti

I destroyed, ruined (and) let the tombs of their ancient (and) more recent kings, who did not fear Aššur and Ištar, my lords, (and) who had made my royal predecessors tremble (in fear) lie open to the sun. I carried off their bones to Assyria. I imposed restlessness upon their manes; I denied them food offering for the dead (and) libation.

The curse occurs in the campaigns throughout the Assyrian annals. It relates to curses of war, which occur in EB (§50.no.2a), in AM (§49.no.10) and VTE (§51.no.29).²³

A curse of complete destruction of a country appears in AM (§49.no.1). Furthermore, the Assyrian kings' destruction of towns fulfilled the curse of decline of a land (see Part II 3.3.3).

2.1.3 Burning People

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 56 vi 86-91.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 53 vi 27-29.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 55 vi 58-64.

²² *Ibid.*, Pr. A 55 vi 70-76.

²³ The malediction in ŠM e 18c-19a, *māss[u] [lihalliḳ]* "[may he (Marduk) destroy] his land," could be caused by war and natural disasters.

None of a rebel vassal's people could escape from the suzerain's severe punishment, e.g., in his campaign against Hudun Ashurnasirpal II claimed: *m̄batulūšunu ʔbatulātišunu ana qilte aqli* "I burnt their adolescent boys (and) girls."²⁴

The same malediction occurs in VTE 608-11 (see Part II 2.4.8).

2.1.4 Depriving the Vassals of their Possessions

Plundering the possessions of the rebel vassals was commonly practiced, when Assyrian kings disciplined rebels from Tiglath-pileser I down to Ashurbanipal. For example, Adad-nārāri II claimed:²⁵

ana āl-sīkur āl-sapāni ša ištu tarši m̄tukulti-d̄ninurta šar āl-aššur mār d̄sulmanu-ašarēdu šar āl-aššurma rubu ālik pāniya biltu madattu ana aššur bēliya iklū lū ālik āl-sīkur āl-sapānu lū almi ittīšunu amdāhiši diktāšunu ma'atu lū āduk šallāsunu bušēšunu makkūrēšunu alpēšunu immeru-šēnišunu ušēšia ana āliya aššur ubla ālāni ša pāhat āl-sīkur āl-sapāni ana sihirtīšu akšud

I marched to the cities Sikkur (and) Sappānu which since the time of Tukultī-Ninurta (I), king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser (I) (who was) also king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had withheld tax (and) tribute from Aššur, my lord. I surrounded the cities Sikkur (and) Sappānu (and) fought with them. I inflicted a major defeat upon them. I brought forth their booty, possessions, property, herds, (and) flocks (and) brought (them) to my city Aššur. I conquered all the cities in the district of the cities Sikkur (and) Sappānu.

The curse of deprivation of vassals' possessions occurs in VTE (§51.no.8).²⁶ Presumably, conquerors would also have taken wives of defeated people.²⁷

2.1.5 Massacre of Disloyal Vassals' Troops

The suzerain would not show mercy upon the fugitives of disloyal vassals who withheld payment of tribute. The massacre of disloyal vassals' troops occurs from Tiglath-pileser I down to Ashurbanipal. For example, Tiglath-pileser I slaughtered the fugitive troops from Kadmuḫu:²⁸ *šābē muqtablīšunu ina qereb*

²⁴ RIMA II A.0.101.1 206 ii 57b-58a. Hudun was located near Ammali, ruled by Araštua who withheld tribute (*ibid.*, 205 ii 50). Thus, it was one of Araštua's important cities. Tigl.III also burnt an officer of an unfaithful queen together with her possessions and tents, Tiglath-pileser III Summ 9 188 20; see *ibid.*, *Excursus* 5 228.

²⁵ RIMA II A.0.99.2 152 84b-89a. Also Senn. plundered and destroyed the cities of Sidqa, who failed to bring the audience gift, OIP II 31 ii 68-72.

²⁶ Also EB iv 19b.

²⁷ See further Part II 2.4.9.

²⁸ RIMA II A.0.87.1 15 ii 13-16. When the land of Kadmuḫu persistently rebelled, the fugitive troops suffered the same punishment (*ibid.*, A.0.87.1 17 iii 25-26); other examples, e.g., Adn.II, *ibid.*, A.0.99.2 149 42-43; Tn.II, *ibid.*, A.0.100.5 171 16-18; Asn.II, *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 205 ii 54b-56a; Shalm.III, RIMA III A.0.102.2 19-20 ii 41-44; Tigl.III, Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 168 48; Sar., MDOG 115 (1983), 80 134-36; Senn., OIP II 25-26 i 57b-60; *ibid.*, 46 vi 6-10; Asb., Assurbanipals Pr. A 38 iii 38-43.

tamhāri kīma sermāši lūmēši dāmēšunu hurri u bamāte ša šadī lūšerdi . . . "I spread out like grain heaps (the corpses of) their men-at-arms in the battle. I made their blood flow in the hollows and plains of the mountains . . . "

The curse of dyeing the battle fields red with blood is mentioned in VTE (§51.nos.6, 32).²⁹

2.1.6 Mutilation

Sometimes, the Assyrian kings cut off arms, noses, lips and hands³⁰ and gouged out eyes.³¹ In some cases the troops of rebel vassals were beheaded. This practice occurs in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II,³² Sargon,³³ Sennacherib³⁴ and Ashurbanipal.³⁵

In AM (§49.no.3)³⁶ the same curse is expressed in a simile about the severance of the shoulders of a vassal of his sons and his people just like the shoulder of a lamb. Furthermore, a curse of decapitation occurs in the same treaty (i 25-27a), illustrated by beheading a lamb (see Part II 4.3.1.3).

2.1.7 Impaling and Piercing People Alive

The people of rebel vassals were impaled and pierced alive. For example, Ashurnasirpal II claimed:³⁷ *amēlummānāte balṭūti ina babatūbatte ša ālišu ana išziqpi lū uzaqipi* "I impaled the live soldiers on stakes around about his city.

²⁹ Also S 6 (SAA II 73).

³⁰ OIP II 46 vi 12; Assurbanipals Pr. A 46 iv 135. The soldiers of rebel Medes suffered the severance of parts of the body. Tiglath-pileser III said: *lūmunhahšēšunu rittšunu ānakkisma ina qirib māttšunu āmaššir* "I cut off the hands of the rest of their warriors, and I set them free in their own land," Tiglath-pileser III, Ann.11 48 7b.

³¹ RIMA II Asn.II A.0.101.1 201 i 117.

³² RIMA II A.0.101.17 244 ii 60-61.

³³ Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 80 136.

³⁴ OIP II 45 vi 2.

³⁵ Assurbanipals Pr. A 46 iv 135. Asb. cut off the head of a disloyal dead vassal and bound it at the neck of another disloyal vassal. The former's body was scattered and not buried in dignity, and the latter lost his dignity by carrying a human head around his neck (Pr. A vii 16-50).

³⁶ See also Part II 4.1.2.3.

³⁷ RIMA II A.0.101.1 220 iii 108b. Asn.II's punitive campaign against the city of Damdamusa of Bīt-Zamāni resulted from his disloyalty, although there is no reference to treaty breaking (*ibid.*, A.0.101.1 220 iii 105-09b), since Amme-ba'li, ruler of Bīt-Zamāni, paid tribute to Asn.II before (*ibid.*, 202 ii 12b-14). Shalm.III nailed the rebels of Patina on stakes, RIMA III A.0.102 14 147-154a. Tigl.III impaled chief ministers alive, Tiglath-pileser III Ann. 23 79 9b-10b. In Asb.'s annals, the corpses of inhabitants who joined the conspiracy of disloyal vassals were impaled and hung on the city wall, Assurbanipals Pr. A 22-23 i 134-ii 1-7.

Ashurbanipal deported a rebel vassal to Assyria and pierced his jaw, then he put a rope on his jaw and treated him like a dog.³⁸

The practice of "piercing people alive" was sanctioned in VTE 594-98.³⁹

2.1.8 Relentless Pursuit

Assyrian kings claimed there was no secret place where the suzerain was unable to penetrate. (For exceptions see Part II 3.7.5 fn. 78). For example, Tiglath-pileser I pursued the fugitive troops of his rebellious vassals to death:⁴⁰

sītet ummanātēšunu ša ina pān kakkēya ezzūte iplahūma tīb tāhāziya danna edurū ana šūzub napšātešunu gab'āni dannūte ša šadē^e eq̄la marša lū iṣbatū ana šikkat huršāni šāqūti u gisalli šadiⁱ pašqāte ša ana kibis amēli lā naṭū arkišunu lu eli

The remainder of their troops, which had taken fright at my fierce weapons and had been cowed by my strong and belligerent attack, took to secure heights in rough mountainous terrain in order to save their lives. I climbed up after them to the peaks of high mountains and perilous mountain ledges where a man could not walk.

This curse is attested in VTE (§51.no.21).⁴¹

2.1.9 Corpses as Food for Animals and No Burial

If troops or disloyal vassals lost their lives in war, wild animals would eat their corpses. Ashurbanipal did not permit rebels a resting place even in death, and their corpses were defiled by animals which fed on them during his punitive campaign against Shamash-shumukīn and his allies:⁴²

šērēšunu nukkūsūti ušākil kalbē šahē zībī našrē iṣsurāte šamē nūnē apšē ulu epšēti annāti ētippušu unihhu libbi^{bi} ilāni rabūti bēlēya nišē ša derra ušamqitu u ša ina sunqī bubūti iškunu napištu rihēt ūkulti kalbē šahē ša sūqē purrukū malū rebāti ešmetišunūti ulu qēreb bāb-ili^{ki} kūta^{ki} sippar^{ki} ūšēšima attaaddi ana kamāti

I let dogs, pigs, jackals, eagles, birds of heavens (and) fresh water fish eat their chopped bodies. After I carried out these deeds (and) pacified the heart of the great gods, my lords, the corpses of the

³⁸ Esar.'s stele from Zinjirli illustrates such treatment, Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures, no. 447, 154.

³⁹ See Part II 3.7.6.

⁴⁰ RIMA II A.0.87.1 17 iii 12b-21a; *ibid.*, *ibid.*, Tn.II A.0.100.5 177 120b-06; the fugitives from Zamua under Asn.II (*ibid.*, A.0.101.1 206-07 ii 61b-72a); Ahuni of Bit-Adini with his troops under Shalm.III (RIMA III A.0.102.2 21-22 ii 70b-75a); other cases under Shalm.III, Ianzu, RIMA III 67-68 110b-9a and Marduk-bēl-usāte, *ibid.*, iv 5b- v 3a. Sar. chased and punished a governor of Ullusunū who participated in Ursa's revolt (Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 74, 76 lines 80-86). Senn. chased fugitives from Bit-Yakin until he captured them, OIP II 38 iv 32-37: 40-44). Asb. pursued inhabitants who had joined the revolt of his disloyal vassal until they submitted to him, Assurbanipals Pr. A 60-61 vii 58-81; ix 25-40 (2.1.1.4 above).

⁴¹ See further Part II 3.7.5.

⁴² Assurbanipals Pr. A 44-45 iv 74-85. This curse would have occurred throughout Assyrian history, when Assyrian kings put to death great numbers of disloyal vassals and their troops.

people whom Erra cast down and who died through hunger, I let dogs (and) pigs eat the rest, which blocked up the streets (and) filled the squares. I brought out their bones from Babylon, Kutha, Sippar and threw (them) outside.

The malediction that wild animals eat corpses in VTE was realized, namely: eagles and vultures (§51.no.7),⁴³ dogs and swine (451b).⁴⁴ This malediction also relates to that of no burial (§51.no.24), or a burial place in dogs' and pigs' bellies (484b).⁴⁵

2.1.10 No Libations

This curse would have occurred when people were deported to Assyria and re-settled in other countries (see 2.1.14 below). Added to that, Ashurbanipal destroyed the tombs of a disloyal vassal's ancestors and carried off their bones to Niniveh (see above). In another instance, he took the bones of the dead, once the animals had eaten the corpse which had been cast into the field (Pr. A iv 77-85). In these ways, the disloyal vassals' ancestors were deprived of libation offerings.

VTE (§51.nos.15, 20) shows a curse of deprivation of libations.⁴⁶

2.1.11 Lamentation

Having experienced Sargon's severe punishment, the people of Mušāšir climbed up on the roofs of their houses and cried bitterly.⁴⁷ In Ashurbanipal's annals the rebel people of Arabia acknowledged Ashurbanipal's severe punishment and a famine caused cannibalism as a consequence of their breach of treaty.⁴⁸

A malediction of lament for the devastation caused by Assyrian kings' campaigns was put into effect because of the destructive consequence of a revolt in AM (§49.no.11).

2.1.12 Expropriation of the Harvest

At times, the Assyrian kings would expropriate the harvest of a rebel vassal's land. For example, Adad-nārāri II claimed:⁴⁹

⁴³ Also VTE 519-20.

⁴⁴ See further Part II 3.1.10.2.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Also AB 67 r. 13-14.

⁴⁷ Mayer, *MDOG* 115 (1983), 102 343-44.

⁴⁸ *Assurbanipals* Pr. A 67-68 ix 68-74.

⁴⁹ *RIMA* II A.0.99.2 152 91-93. Also Tn.II, *ibid.*, A.0.100.5 177 120b-06; Asn.II, *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 220 iii 109b; *Tiglath-pileser III* Summ 7 obv. 162 23b-24); Shalm.III uprooted the harvest and the orchards while campaigning against Ahuni from Bīt-Adini, *RIMA* III A.0.102.5 29-30 iii 3b-6. Shalm.III also besieged Marduk-bēl-usāte in Gannanāte, and then carried off the harvest from his fields and cut down his orchards in order to bring Marduk-bēl-usāte to his knees, Balāwāt inscription, *ibid.*, iv 4e-5a.

ina arhi^{simani} ūmi 15 līme m^{ina-iliia}-alak ana nērārutte ša āl^{kumme} lū ālik nīqē ana pān d^{adad} ša āl^{kumme} bēliya lū ēpuš ālāni ša mā^{habhi} nakrūti ša āl^{kumme} ina išāti ašrup ešēdu mā[t]išu lū ešidi bilta u tāmarta udannin elišunu ūkin

In the month Sivan, the fifteenth day, eponymy of Ina-iliia-allak, I marched to the assistance of the city Kummu. I made sacrifices before the god Adad of the city Kummu, my lord. I burnt the cities of the land Habhu, enemies of the city Kummu. I reaped the harvest of his land (and) imposed upon them stringent taxes and dues.

All Assyrian military expeditions against disloyal vassals would have resulted in expropriation of crops since, presumably, the Assyrian kings would feed them to the Assyrian army. For example, Sargon confiscated the growing crops, and let his troops enjoy abundant food in the course of his campaign against Urartu.⁵⁰

The expropriation of the harvest and the devastation of land occurred during Assyrian campaigns would have resulted in disappearance of the work song.⁵¹

2.1.13 Curses on the Ground

Sometimes, the Assyrian kings cursed the soil of a city belonging to disloyal vassals by making it infertile. For example, having successfully campaigned against the rebel land of Qumānu, Tiglath-pileser I destroyed the city Hunusu (fortress of Qumanu) and spread salt over it: *špa ina muhhišu azru* "I spread šīpu-stones over it."⁵²

2.1.14 Deportation

To prevent a further revolt, the Assyrian kings would deport rebels. For example, Tiglath-pileser I spared penitent rebels and added them to the Assyrians. They were the troops of Hatti who had seized the cities of Šubartu.⁵³

⁵⁰ Mayer, *MDOG* 115 (1983), 86 186-87.

⁵¹ This curse would also be connected with natural disaster (AM, §49.no.9), see further Part II 3.1.3 and 4.1.3.2

⁵² *RIMA* II A.0.87.1 24 vi 14b-15a. Asb. also spread salt and weeds in Elam to make the soil infertile, *Assurbanipals* Pr. A 55-56 vi 77-80. This practice shares a common tradition, see Part II 4.1.1.5.

⁵³ *RIMA* II A.0.87.1 17 iii 2b-6. Also troops of Qumānu, *ibid.*, 34 30-36; people from Suhu, *ibid.*, 53 41-44. Hanigalbat again rebelled under Adn.II, and he deported Muquru, rebel vassal, together with his brother to Assyria (59b-60); also lines 80-81. In Asn.II's annals, Udu was the fortified city of Labturu, who had paid tribute to Asn.II, *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 202 ii 12b-15a. But Labturu rebelled later. Even though our text does not tell us explicitly, the imposition of Asn.II's discipline, in the context of his campaign for the purpose of collection of tribute, lets us deduce that Labturu had refused to bring tribute, *ibid.*, 220 iii 110b-112a. Then, Asn.II deported the remainder of Labturu to Assyria, *ibid.*, 220-21 iii 112b-13a. Shalm.III deported the rebels from Parsua to Assyria (*RIMA* III A.0.101.14 70 173-74a). In his fourth palū, Shalm.III deported Ahunu of Bit-Adini together with his 22,000 soldiers to Aššur (*ibid.*, A.0.102.16 74 20b-24a). Tigl.III deported Israel's army and people to Assyria: *kurbitumria [...ti]llut lū[šabēšu...] puhurnišēšu [...ana] māt aššur urā* "The land of Bit-Humria (Israel), [... its] 'auxiliary army', [...] all of its people, [...] I carried off [to] Assyria," *Tiglath-pileser III*, *Summ* 4 140 15b-17a); rebel vassals with their families and their gods from Bit-Shilani (*ibid.*, *Summ* 7 obv. 160 16d-17a) and nobles from Bit-Sha'alli (*ibid.* 162 19c-20b). Sar. also let Urzana watch his royal family and people being deported to Assyria

mēlam qardūtiya usēhipsunūtima tāhaza ēdurū šēpēya iṣbatū adi nakurrīšunu u 2 šūši iṣnarkabāti simitti nīrīšunu alqāšunūtima ana nišē mātiya amnušunūti

The splendour of my valour overwhelmed them and, fearing battle, they submitted to me. I took them, together with their property and 120 chariots (and) harnessed horses, and regarded them as people of my land.

The suzerain campaigned against the disloyal people who attempted to have a vassal-relationship with another king. He not only deported them but deprived them of their political independence. When the Northern Kingdom of Israel threw off the Assyrian yoke and made alliance with another king, Sargon deported them to Assyria, populated the city with the deportees from other lands, and deprived it of political independence, annexing the land to Assyria.⁵⁴

[amēl.āl Sa]merinā ša itti šar [amēl.nakr]ia ana la ēpeš ardūti [u la na]šē bilti [ahame]š igmelūma ēpušū tahāzi [in]a emūq ilāni rabūti [bēlē]ya [it]tišunu amdahi[šma] [2]7 lim 2 me 80 nišē adi iṣnar[kabātētšunu] u ilāni tiklišunu šallā[tiš] amnu 2 me iṣnarkabāte kišir šar[rūtiya] ina libbišunu akšurma sittātišunu ina qereb māt aššur ušašbit āl samarina ūtirma eli ša pāni ušeme nišē mātāti kišitti qātēya ina libbi ušērib amli šutrēšiya amēl bēl pahāti elišunu aškunma itti nišē māt aššur amnušunūti

[The Sa]marians who agreed with [(another) hostile] king not to continue their servitude [and not to de]liver tribute and who started hostility, in the strength of the great gods, my lords, I fought them [and] [2]7, 280 people who lived therein, with [their] chari[ots] and the gods they trusted I counted as sp[oil]. 200 chariots for my ro[yal] bodyguard I mustered from among them, and the rest of them I settled in the midst of Assyria (=Assyria proper). The city of Samaria I resettled and made it greater than before. People of the lands I had conquered I brought there. My courtier I placed over them as a governor and I counted them as Assyrians."

If the vassals succeeded in throwing off the overlord's rule for some years, the overlord's successor could campaign against them to subdue them again.⁵⁵ As a result of their former rebellion and also to prevent a further revolt, the suzerain would deport the people from their land and settle captives there to remove the spirit of nationalism. Sennacherib campaigned in southern Babylonia to recover the for-

(Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 102 lines 346-48). Asb. deported the fugitive Kedareans (Assur-banipals, Pr. A 66-67 ix 41-43) and people of a disloyal vassal in Elam (*ibid.*, Pr. A 56 vi 84-95).

⁵⁴ Nimrud Prism, Tadmor, "The Campaign of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study," JCS 12 (1958), 34, D IV, ii 25-41; according to 2 Kings 17:3 ff., it was Shalmaneser (V) who captured Samaria and deported the Israelites to Assyria. But he died before he re-organized Samaria as an Assyrian province. Later Samaria participated in the rebellion of Arpad and Hamath, precipitating Sargon's campaign, and he re-organized Samaria, see further T. C. Mitchell, "Israel and Judah," CAH III/2, 338-44; J. D. Hawkins, "The Neo-Hittite States," CAH III/1, 416-17.

⁵⁵ Here we see the enduring validity of vassal treaties.

mer Assyrian control,⁵⁶ which currently enjoyed freedom. Prior to devastating the cities, he took the inhabitants and animals captive; afterwards he settled deportees there and put them under an Assyrian governor.⁵⁷ Sennacherib further captured the people who escaped from his sword and deported them to Assyria along with the people who had provided a refuge to those fugitives.⁵⁸ He deported a rebel who made himself king.⁵⁹ Ashurbanipal reported in detail deportation and the life of the disloyal vassals in exile. Disloyal vassals were bound with iron chains and deported to Niniveh⁶⁰ were humiliated by being treated like dogs.⁶¹ In other instances, the exiled vassals pulled the wagon of Ashurbanipal to the gate of the temple to praise his gods for granting him victory over his rebel vassals.⁶²

Although the Assyrian kings did not describe the life of the deportees, the common people settled down in the new cities (2 Ki 18:31-32a). Ashurbanipal mentioned that he integrated the important and talented people in his governmental services: warriors in his forces⁶³ and artists in the temple service and under his politicians.⁶⁴

These practices correspond to the curse of deportation in AM (§49.no.2) and EB (§50.no.2b).⁶⁵

2.1.15 The Suzerain's Mercy

Tiglath-pileser I was lenient to Sēni, king of the land Daiēnu, who participated in a coalition to wage war against Assyria.⁶⁶ Having campaigned successfully, Tiglath-pileser I brought Sēni to Aššur. He claimed: *rēma aršašuma lištu ālia*

⁵⁶ OIP II 26 i 65-68a: *ina 2-e girrtya d^aaššur bēlt utakkilannima ana māt kašši u māt yasubigallāyi ša ultu ulla ana šarrānt abbtya lā kinūšu lā allik* "in my second campaign Ashur, my lord, encouraged me, and I marched against the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallai, who from of old had not been submissive to kings, my fathers."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 26-27 i 72-ii 7a; also *ibid.*, 28-29 ii 10b-32 (Ellipi). In his first campaign against Merodach-Baladan, Senn. said that he that he deported the Arabs, Arameans, and Chaldeans who were in Erech, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkamma, Kutha and Sippar together with the citizens, to Assyria, *ibid.*, 25 i 39-42.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 38 iv 37-44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 38-39 iv 46-51.

⁶⁰ *Assurbanipals* Pr. A i 22 129b-33.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 62 viii 27-29; *ibid.*, 68-69 ix 97-111.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Pr. A 71 x 24-39.

⁶³ Also Pr. A viii 79-81).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 58-59 vii 2-8.

⁶⁵ Cf. VTE 53-54 579-81.

⁶⁶ *RIMA* II A.0.87.1 20-22 iv 43-100. This war was organized by the kings of Nairi. Tigl.I defeated them and they became Assyrian vassals, see 1.1.1 above.

*d*aššur *dalil ilāni rabūti ana dalāli ana napišti umaššeršu* "I had mercy on him and let him leave my city Aššur alive in order to proclaim the glory of the great gods."⁶⁷

Tilgath-pileser I's mercy corresponds to the treaty-curse of lonely survival in AM (see also Part II 2.7).

2.1.16 Reduction of Territory

The suzerain would take cities from rebel vassals and give them to loyal vassals.⁶⁸ For example, during the campaign against Hezekiah, Sennacherib claimed:⁶⁹

*ālānišu ša ašlula ultu qereb māssu abtuqma ana mmitinti šar āl¹asdudi m¹padī šar āl¹amqarruna u I¹šil-
d¹bēl šar āl¹hazīti addinma ušahhir māssu*

His cities which I had plundered I severed from his land and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Sillibel, king of Gaza. So I reduced his land.

If a vassal was persistently rebellious, the suzerain would take away a strategic area from him and give it to a loyal vassal for the purpose of better control. For example, Sargon gave a mountain district of Ursâ the Mannean, a rebellious vassal, to Ullusunu the Mannean.⁷⁰

The idea of territorial reduction is comparable to curses expressed vividly in AM i 5-7a (in Part II 3.3.3).⁷¹

2.1.17 Disapproval of Kingship/Dethronement

The suzerain would replace the disloyal vassals with those who would swear loyalty to him. Tiglath-pileser III dethroned Uassurme king of Tabal and enthroned Hulli.⁷² The treaty gods also intervened according to the Assyrian kings' prayer to annul the kingship of disloyal vassals (see 2.2 below). In addition to that, the curse

⁶⁷ RIMA II A.0.87.1 22 v 25b-29a. Although his annals do not inform us when the land of Daiēnu became an Assyrian vassal, Tigl.I's claim indicates that Sēni was a vassal.

⁶⁸ A similar practice occurs in Hittite history. Mursili II defeated Arzawa, the land of his adversary, and divided "into its component parts," and "concluded treaties with vassal kings he himself had installed," HDT, no. 10, 64. Mursili II gave Mira-Kuwaliya from this territorial division to Mashuiluwa and established a vassal treaty with him, *ibid.*, no. 11, 69 §3.

⁶⁹ OIP II 33 iii 30b-34. Sar. also took the royal city of Kiaki and gave it to Mati of Atuna, Sargons II, 92-93 lines 68-71.

⁷⁰ Sargons II, 111-12 136-37a.

⁷¹ The same concept occurs in VTE 527 (Part II 3.3.3). The imprecation of territorial reduction occurs in an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the diminution of the border is invoked in the name of Aššur: *mišrestšu lāšehir* "May he (Aššur) diminish his borders!," RIMA II A.0.78.22 271 64b. See further Part II 3.1.12.

⁷² Tiglath-pileser III Summ 7 rev. 170 14-15; Sidqa, king of Ashkelon, by Senn., OIP II 30-31 ii 60-62, 65-67.

of rejection of kingship would operate when vassals were deported (2.1.14 above) and the country was annexed to Assyria (2.1.18 below).

The malediction of dethronement occurs in ŠM (§.48.nos.3, 7).⁷³

2.1.18 Annexation of Territory

Having led a punitive campaign against vassals who persistently rebelled, the suzerain would annex their territories to Assyria, so they would lose their national independence. Tiglath-pileser I said: *māt katmuhi ana paṭ gimriša apēlma ana mišir mātiya ūter* "I became lord of the entire land of Katmuhu and added (it) to the borders of my land."⁷⁴ The annexation of rebel vassals' lands culminated in Tiglath-pileser III's time. Tiglath-pileser III campaigned against the lands of Namri⁷⁵ and Bit-Singubuti⁷⁶ because of a breach of treaty. Then, he annexed the lands of Bīt-Hamban and Parsua to Assyria.⁷⁷ When Urartu was anti-Assyrian and instigated a revolt, Tiglath-pileser III annexed the fortresses of Urartu, which were next to the eastern border of Assyria, and made their principal city the headquarters of the Assyrian governor.⁷⁸ He annexed the cities of Medes which were situated near to the border of Babylon and Assyria along with other Median cities.⁷⁹ He further

⁷³ Cf. SAA II VTE 58 659.

⁷⁴ RIMA II A.O.87.1 18 iii 30-31. Also the land Hanigalbat under Adn.II (*ibid.*, a.O.99.2 153 98b-1001). The nobles of Sūru which belonged to Bīt-Halupe killed Hamatāya "their governor" and enthroned Ahi-yababa without Asn.II's approval. Asn.II led a punitive expedition against Sūru (*ibid.*, A.O.101.1 198-200 i 75-93) and claimed: *māzi-ili amēl šaknu ša rāmanīya elišunu aškun* "I appointed Azi-ili as my own governor over them" (A.O.101.1 199 i 89b). So Sūru became an Assyrian province. Shalm.III campaigned against Ahuni of Bīt-Adini, his rebellious vassal. Ahuni escaped, but Shalm.III took Ahuni's fortress together with other cities and re-organized and annexed them to Assyria, RIMA III A.O.102.2 19 ii 30b-35a.

⁷⁵ The land of Namri had been an Assyrian vassal since Shalm.III's time, RIMA III A.O.102.14 67 93b-95. There, Shalm.III enthroned Janzu, a man from Bīt-Hanban over the land of Namri, south-east from the Assyrian heart-land. Then, conjointly, Bīt-Hanban could have entered the vassal-relationship with Assyria. If Bīt-Hanban is to be identified with the land of Bīt-Hamban, the latter belonged to the land of Namri, E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung*, 47.

⁷⁶ L. D. Levine locates Bīt-Singuguti, the same as Bit-Sangi, in a south-easterly area along the route to Media, whereas he places it in a northeastern area, near the Urartian border, in Sar.'s annals, "Sargon's Eighth Campaign," in *Mountains and Lowland*, 142, 145. Also see M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas*, 179.

⁷⁷ Tiglath-pileser III Stele I B 98 5-11a. The land of Parsua entered the vassal-relationship under Shalm.III, RIMA III A.O.102.14 70 172-74a. Tigl.III also annexed the land of Halziatbar to Assyria, *Tiglath-pileser III*, 114 23-45.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Summ 1 124, 126 25c-29. Ulluba was some 100 km north of Nineveh and was divided from Assyria by Mount Nal, A. K. Grayson, "Assyria," *CAH* III/2, 75. Tigl.III summarizes it as follows: *māt ullauba māthabhu aš[lul] māt nala(sic) [a]na gimirtišu [ak]šud ana mišir [māt Aššur]ki utirra^{ra}* "The lands of Ulluba (and) Habhu I despoiled, (and) Mount Nala in its entirety I conquered, I annexed to [Assyria]," *Tiglath-pileser III* Summ 3 134 27-28a.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Summ 3 132 4b-10; Summ 7 164, 166 34b-36.

annexed the territories of rebel vassals in Chaldea,⁸⁰ the land of Bit-Agusi, to Assyria⁸¹ and other lands in Northern Syria because of rebellion by the principal vassal-lands.⁸² Sargon also annexed the vassal lands which persistently rebelled. When Ashdod persistently attempted to throw off the Assyrian yoke, Sargon weakened its power of Ashdod by deporting people with the gods and the treasury of the land. Then he re-organized Ashdod through resettlement of deportees from other lands and appointed an Assyrian official as governor.⁸³ If a vassal-land on the Assyrian border allied with an enemy of Assyria, the suzerain added it to Assyria. When Carchemish rebelled, allying itself with the land of Muški, Sargon sent a disciplinary campaign against Carchemish and annexed them to Assyria.⁸⁴

Sometimes, the rebel-country was cut off and annexed to Assyrian territory after the suzerain's punishment and plundering. When Sennacherib took a campaign against the lands of the Kassites and the Yasubigallai, which had broken treaty, at the same time he marched on the land of Ellipi.⁸⁵ After a heavy punishment he annexed cities in the land of Bīt-Barrû to Assyria.⁸⁶

Territorial annexation is not mentioned as a treaty-curse in Neo-Assyrian treaties, although it may be alluded to in the treaty-curses of dethronement, by which the dynasty of a rebel vassal came to an end (see 2.1.17 above).

2.2 Curses Performed by Divine Intervention

The death of the rebel-vassals through divine intervention was regarded as punishment for violation of the treaty. A usurper could die mysteriously. For

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Summ 7 160, 162 13b-23a. Puqudu on the border of Elam, Bit-Shilani, Tarbašu and Yaballu, Bit-Sha'alli.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Summ 9 obv. 186 24-25a.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Stele II B 102 104 4-15a. Bit-Agusi (See Summ 9 24-25a above), Damascus (See below Ann. 23 9b-10b below) and Til-karme which was presumably located on the southern border of Gurgum, near to Bit-Agusi, since the Assyrians ceased destroying the cities of Gurgum because of the repentance of the king together with his nobles, *ibid.*, Stele I B 102 38-42a; Stele I B 100 21-31).

⁸³ Sargons II, 132-35 241-54; also the land of Harhar (*ibid.*, 103-04 96-97); Bīt-Burish (*ibid.*, 125 201-04); the land of Mušašir (*ibid.*, 116 163-64); Gurgum (*ibid.*, 132 239-41); the land of Kammanu (*ibid.*, 127 213-13); 6 provinces of Gambulu (*ibid.*, 143 279-81a); Tabal (*ibid.*, 200 31-32); the land of Kummuhu (*ibid.*, 233-24 115-16); Bīt-Yakin, north and south, and the cities on the Elamite border, Sam'una, Bāb-Telitum, Bubē, and Til-humba, are given to the Assyrian governors of Babylon and Gambulu (*ibid.*, 229-30 137-39).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 93-94 72-76a.

⁸⁵ The land of Ellipi had a vassal-relationship with Assyria since the times of Shalm. III, RIMA III A.O.102 6 40-41 21b-22; Sargons II 224 117b-18.

⁸⁶ OIP II 28 ii 22b-32. Senn. also annexed the cities of Bīt-Kilamazah, Hardishpi and Bīt-Kubatti, which were located in the land of the Kassites, *ibid.*, 26-27 i 72-ii 6. Asb. only re-annexed the formerly Assyrian cities which the Mannaeans had seized, Assurbanipals, 34 72-81; 35 72-81.

example, according to Shalmaneser III, *msurri la bēl iskussē pulhi mēlamme ša aššur bēltya ishupušuma mut šmtišu illik* "Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, Surri, a non-royal person, departed his life."⁸⁷ If a rebel vassal escaped from the suzerain's army, the gods invoked in the treaty would be expected to intervene to punish him. Sennacherib claimed that Kudur-nahundu, the Elamite king died prematurely *ina qibit daššur bēltya* "at the command of Aššur."⁸⁸ Even before the suzerain reached his disloyal vassal's military camp, the gods could go before him and intervene. Ashurbanipal claimed: "The gods who went before him (*ina mahrtya illikā*) killed my enemy, Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, who fought against me, and threw him in burning falling fire and ended his life."⁸⁹ Ashurbanipal mentioned that the defeat of a disloyal vassal (Gyges) by his enemy was brought about by divine intervention in respond to his prayer.⁹⁰

A rebel vassal, who escaped from the suzerain's punitive campaign might eventually die through illness, e.g., Sargon claimed:⁹¹

kī tābik dāmi āl^āṭūrušpā āl šarrūtīšu umašširma kī munnabti šayadi emidda šāhat šadišú kīma ḥarišti inaⁱšerši innadima aklu u mē ina pišu iprusma mūruš lā tibē^e emid rāmanšu

Like a murderer he (Ursa) abandoned Ṭurushpa, his royal residence, and like a roaming fugitive he took refuge in the nook of his mountain. Like a woman in labour he was thrown into bed and he refused to take food and water, and he inflicted a fatal sickness upon himself.

Here, the treaty-curses of illness (VTE, §51.no.3) and short life (ŠM, §48.no.2; VTE, §51.no.1) were realized.

Natural disasters would be considered as divine intervention. In his annals, Sargon stated hero rebellious people who fled before his army, died through natural disaster: a violent hailstorm.⁹² A natural disaster as a treaty-curse occurs in EB iv 10-13 (see Part II 3.5.1).

⁸⁷ RIMA III A.O.102.14 69 151b-52b.

⁸⁸ OIP II 41 v 11b-13.

⁸⁹ Assurbanipals Pr. A 43-44 iv 46-52.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Pr. A 32 ii 117b-20a. Aššur went with Sargon in a campaign accompanied against Ursa, rebel vassal, since he did not break the treaty with his vassal, and thus, appropriately Aššur heard his prayer, Mayer, MDOG 115 (1983), 80 123-26.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 82 150-51.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 82 146-47.

The treaty-gods brought about famine both among the fugitives and animals (see Part II 4.1.3.1),⁹³ and its consequence, cannibalism (see 2.1.1.4 above). We read in Ashurbanipal's annals:⁹⁴

m^uaite' adi amēl^{um}mānāte{šu} ša adēya lā iššū{ru} ša lapān iškakki d^aššur bēli{ya} ipparšidū innabtūni mahar ušamqitsunūti d^ggirra qardu sunqu ina birīšunu iššakinma ana burrišunu ekulū šir mārēšunu

The mighty Gira felled Uaite' along with his troops who did not keep my treaty (and) who fled before the weapons of Aššur, my lord, and ran away from them. Famine broke out among them; they ate the flesh of their children because of their hunger!

A successful revolt against a (rebel-)vassal, who enthroned himself without the suzerain's approval, was regarded as intervention of the treaty-gods (Pr. A iv 1-12).⁹⁵ Rebellion as a treaty-curse does not occur in Neo-Assyrian treaties. However, it relates to the treaty-curse of dethronement (see 2.1.17 above).

2.3 Conclusions

2.3.1 Neo-Assyrian Treaty-Curses Fulfilled in the Assyrian Annals

The action of Assyrian kings which correspond to treaty-curses from the time of Tiglath-pileser I to the time of Ashurbanipal are not always identical. Some of them appear throughout the Neo-Assyrian period, others only occur in certain eras. That is, the Assyrian kings disciplined disloyal vassals according to the circumstances.

The curses which are fulfilled throughout the Neo-Assyrian kings' annals appear in all the Neo-Assyrian treaties. But in spite of the long tradition of military discipline of the Assyrians, some of the curses were sanctioned in the vassal treaties in later times. On the other hand, there are curses sanctioned in the earlier treaties which were fulfilled in the later kings' annals. Furthermore, there are treaty-curses

⁹³ The Hebrew history reports that animals suffered famine in Ahab's time (1 Ki 18:5).

⁹⁴ *Assurbanipals* Pr. A 67 ix 53-59; lines 68-73 (*ibid.*, 67-68) show the reaction of the inhabitants of Arabia about Asb.'s heavy punishment and a famine caused cannibalism. They acknowledged all those calamities as the results of their breach of treaty.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 41-42. Tammaritu usurped the throne of Ummanigaš who became disloyal to Assyria by participating in Shamash-sham-ukin's revolt. Yet the former also joined the latter. Upon Asb.'s prayer, Aššur and Ištar intervened. So Tammaritu was killed by an official. In another instance, the troops of Uaite' rose against their king (Pr. A ix 90-96). The same situation occurs in a Hittite treaty between Mursili II and Manapa-Tarhunta of the land of the Seha River. When his father died, Manapa-Tarhunta was a child. One of his brothers plotted to kill him, but he escaped. Mursili II stated about the usurper: "[But when Ura-Tarhunta proceeded [to transgress] the oath, [the oath] gods seized him, and the men [of the land of the Seha River] drove him [out]," *HDT* no. 12 78 §2. The imprecation of revolt against the king is attested in CH (Appendix II §13.nos.4, 30). In the same text Ištar is invoked to create confusion and rebellion for a king who alters the law, *ibid.*, §13.no.30.

which were carried out by the succeeding suzerain. We can draw this conclusion from existing texts. Since ancient documents are still to be discovered, it is possible that the curses executed in the Assyrian annals could have been sanctioned earlier than the treaties which are available to us. The divine agents may be both suzerain and enemy to the vassals.

2.3.1.1 Curses Fulfilled in Assyrian kings' Campaigns against Rebel Vassals Appear in the Later Treaties.

(1) The curse of the massacre of disloyal vassals' troops appeared from the 12th down to the 7th century B.C in the annals but is sanctioned in the treaties of the 7th century (VTE, S). The curse of devastation of vassal-lands was fulfilled throughout the Neo-Assyrian period. Another policy which appeared in all Neo-Assyrian kings' annals was the deportation of rebel vassals and their people with their belongings, sanctioned in treaties from the 8th and the 7th centuries (AM, VTE, EB). All the above curses, except for the last two would also cause absence libations for the ancestors of rebels and a short life for rebellious vassals.

(2) Annexation of the vassal's territory, described in the Assyrian annals from the 12th to the 7th century B.C., is not spelled out as a curse in any Neo-Assyrian treaty. Presumably, this malediction is included in the curses regarding the rejection of kingship (ŠM; VTE) and the end of vassal's dynasty (VTE).

(3) Unrelenting pursuit of fugitives occurs frequently as a curse it is spelled out in VTE.

(4) From the end of the 10th down to the 8th century B.C. the Assyrians deprived unfaithful vassals of food, destroying the agriculture. This, in turn, would have brought about the curse of no work song, sanctioned in AM and VTE. This treaty curse would have been inflicted on rebel lands by the suzerain's punitive campaigns throughout Assyrian history

(5) The suzerains disciplined disloyal vassals severely. Thus actions complementing curses found in the seventh century VTE alone occur from Ashurnasirpal II down to Ashurbanipal's time. Burning of people was carried out in the 9th (Asn.II) and the 8th (Tigl.III) as well as piercing rebels alive (also Asb.).

Military discipline from Adad-nārārī II's down to Ashurbanipal's times involved siege which made it impossible for disloyal vassals to escape. The curse of impossibility of escape is sanctioned in VTE.

Ashurnasirpal II, Sargon and Ashurbanipal cut off parts of disloyal vassals' bodies. This curse appears in a treaty of the middle 8th century (AM).

(6) The treaty-curse that there be a survivor for the purpose of glorifying the suzerain was realized in the suzerain's mercy to a rebel vassal. It is attested once in Tiglath-pileser I's annals and recurs in a treaty of the 8th century B.C. (AM).

(7) Making the soil infertile by sowing salt and weeds occurred in Tiglath-pileser I's annals and recurred in Ashurbanipal's annals. As a treaty-curse it appears in AM.

2.3.1.2 Curses which Appear in Earlier Treaties and in Later Treaties, Fulfilled in the Later Periods.

A curse of dethronement of rebel vassals, whose dynasty was continued, stands in treaties of the second part of the 9th century (ŠM) and carried on into the seventh century (VTE). An actual case took place later in the 8th century (Sar.'s annals). The curse of diminution of the vassal-lands occurs in treaties of the middle of the 8th century (AM) and the first part of the 7th century (VTE). It was fulfilled under Sennacherib.

Ashurbanipal reports incidents of donkey's urine as drink and cannibalism which also occur in the treaties of the 8th and 7th centuries (AM, VTE).

2.3.1.3 A Curse In a Mid 8th Century Treaty Fulfilled Under the Next Suzerain and Later King.

The curse of lamentation due to the suzerain's heavy punishment was pronounced in a treaty of the middle of the eighth century (AM). This bitter reaction of the cursed ones appears in Sargon' and Ashurbanipal's annals.

2.3.1.4 Some Curses of the Seventh Century were Fulfilled by the Next Suzerain.

That is, some curses of VTE only occur in Ashurbanipal's annals.

(1) The curses of disloyal vassals' being defeated by enemies - which could have resulted in dispossession of belongings, no inheritance for vassals' offspring, vassals' wives taken, and bloodshed, famine for the fugitives in the course of flight, no burial place, the belly of animals and birds as burial places, and denial of libations - all in the context of war. They were common practices in the course of military campaigns. Thus, although treaties prior to VTE and kings' annals prior to Ashurbanipal's keep silent about those curses, the Assyrians would have employed them when punishing rebel vassals.

(2) The ad hoc curses: Destruction of disloyal vassal's temple and his gods.

2.3.1.5 Curses Fulfilled by Divine Intervention

There are three curses which were brought on disloyal vassals by divine intervention: early death, loss of kingship, and cannibalism. The maledictions of a short life and dethronement that happened to rebel vassals by divine intervention were invoked in treaties of the late part of the 9th century (ŠM) and again in those of the early part of the 7th century (VTE; EI). The curse regarding cannibalism among the vassals' people was sanctioned in a treaty of the middle of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (AM & VTE). All these curses were fulfilled in Ashurbanipal's time.

2.3.2 Some Concluding Aspects in the Light of Neo-Assyrian History

The Assyrian kings' concern to secure their frontiers in all directions was realized. Deportation of rebel people was part of the process. They also resettled those countries with deportees from other countries and with Assyrian people.

Tiglath-pileser I deported the troops of Hatti and Qumānu, when they persistently rebelled. So his policy to consolidate the northwest approach to Assyria was settled (cf. 1.11.1.1). In the following eras Assyria carried on more or less Tiglath-pileser's foreign policy to secure the northwest entrance to Assyria down to the time of Ashurnasirpal II. Under Adad-nārāri II rebel vassals and troops of Hanigalbat were deported to Assyria. Deportation of the inhabitants of a rebellious vassal-land first occurred, so far as the texts used here tell us, in Tukulti-Ninurta II's reign, and then it was carried out by the successive Assyrian kings. Tukulti-Ninurta II carried off the people of Bīt-Zamāni. Obviously Tukulti-Ninurta II's strategy was to weaken his vassal-land in order to maintain it under Assyrian suzerainty and strengthen the northwest border of Assyria. This concern can be perceived when Ashurnasirpal II deported people of the city Udu,¹ the fortified place of Labṭuru.

In Shalmaneser III's reign Assyria began to expand towards the east. Shalmaneser III quenched the nationalistic spirit of Parsua through the deportation of its people. In this way, he secured the east and southeast borders of Assyria. In the later eras his successors, Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon and Sennacherib consolidated the Assyrian border from *tâmtu ša kaldi* to *tâmtu rabītu*.

Tiglath-pileser III deported rebel vassals and their families from Bit-Shilani and Bit-Sha'alli and people from Israel. Thus, he made the southern and the western entrances to Assyria more secure. Sargon deported the people and the loyal family of the disloyal vassal (*Urzana*) of the city of Muṣaṣir of the land Urartu. The location of the city Muṣaṣir was near to Assyria. Thus, if the city Muṣaṣir would ally with Urartu they could have easily invaded Assyria.² Sargon also deported the people of Samaria after a revolt, joined by other kings of the Levant and Egypt (Part III 2.1.14 fn. 54). In Sennacherib's reign Ekron and Judah called on the Egyptians and faced the Assyrian army in the vicinity of Eltekeh. Sennacherib's deportation of people of cities in Kassite territory and the land of Yasubugallai was aimed at preventing a further revolt in Babylonia. Elamites who participated in the revolt of the people of Bīt-Yakin while providing them refuge were also carried off. In order to quell the ceaseless revolt in Babylonia Sennacherib deported a rebel king whose

¹ Shalmaneser III mentioned his campaign against Udu in the geographical relation to Mount Kašīiri, in the northwest from Assyria.

² Louis D. Levine, "Geographical Studies," *Iran* 11 (1973), 15 fig. 3.

kingship he had not approved. In the west, when Sidqa, vassal-king of Ashkelon, rebelled, Sennacherib deported him together with his family and his brothers to Assyria.

Assyria could strengthen her frontier by the territorial annexation of rebel vassals. Not all Neo-Assyrian kings deprived vassals of their political independence if they persistently rebelled. This varying policy has to be illustrated from the historical background, which was distinctive for each era.

Assyria was challenged by the northeastern Anatolian tribes to defend the northeast entrance to Assyria in Tiglath-pilser I's reign. Geographically, the vassal-land of Kadmuhi functioned as a northeast gate to Assyria. When the land of Kadmuhi constantly rebelled Tiglath-pileser I annexed it to Assyria. So, he may have intended to prevent any intrusion from the northeast.³

Adad-nārāri II fortified further the northwest entrance to Assyria while annexing the land of Hanigalbat which had continuously been in rebellion.

In Ashurnasirpal II's reign the city Sūru,⁴ which belonged to Bīt-Halupe, killed their ruler, an Assyrian vassal. He deprived Sūru of her political independence and appointed his governor over Sūru. By this Ashurnasirpal II attempted to hinder the growing power of the Arameans, which was a threat to Assyria. Shalmaneser III carried on his predecessor's policy towards the northwest. When Bīt-Adini constantly resisted the vassal-policy of Assyria, Shalmaneser integrated it into Assyria.

The foreign policy in Tiglath-pileser III's time involved annexation of rebel vassals' territories. In this way he would have maintained the security of Assyria's borders, which lacked natural defenses. Tiglath-pileser III annexed the territories of rebel vassals located near Assyria: Some Chaldeans in the south, Medes in the south-east, cities of Urartu located near to the eastern border of Assyria and cities of northern and central Syria in the west. Unfaithful vassals were mercilessly punished, the lawful military acts of the stronger king, sanctioned in a mutual agreement between him and the weaker king.⁵ Now, Assyria controlled territory to the south, east and west through Assyrian governors.

³ The northeastern Anatolian tribes were advancing towards Assyria. 20,000 Mushki had been occupying Alzu and Purulumzi, Assyrian vassal-lands, for fifty years. When Tigl. came to the throne he liberated those lands. Yet the Mushki were constantly threatening the northeast front. Thus, the geographical position of the land of Kadmuhi was crucial for Assyria to secure the northeast border; cf. H. Tadmor, "The Decline of Empires," 11.

⁴ It was west of Assyria.

⁵ Yet Tigl. III did not annex the territory of Samsi, but installed an inspector over her, since her territory further distant from Assyria.

Sargon eliminated further unruly elements in the Levant. He annexed Carchemish, Ashdod, and Samaria to Assyria. With this, the path to Egypt was cleared. He applied territorial annexation extensively in his foreign policy regarding disloyal vassals: in the north he incorporated,⁶ Tabal, Bīt-Burutash, Gurgum, Kammanu, Kummuh; in the east, Urartu; in the south, Bīt-Yakin, Gambulu, the cities on the Elamite border; in the southeast, Harhar. With the annexation of these districts, Assyria had considerable buffers against invasion from all directions.

Sennacherib further strengthened the southeast entrance to Assyria while settling conquered people in Bīt-Kilamzah and the fugitives of the land Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallai in Hardishpi and Bīt-Kubatti places which he gave those cities to the governor of Arrapha. Further south of Arrapha, he took cities of the disloyal vassal of Elippi and put them under the authority of the governor of Harhar. So, Sennecherib extended Assyria and at the same time, possible invasion from the southeast could be checked.

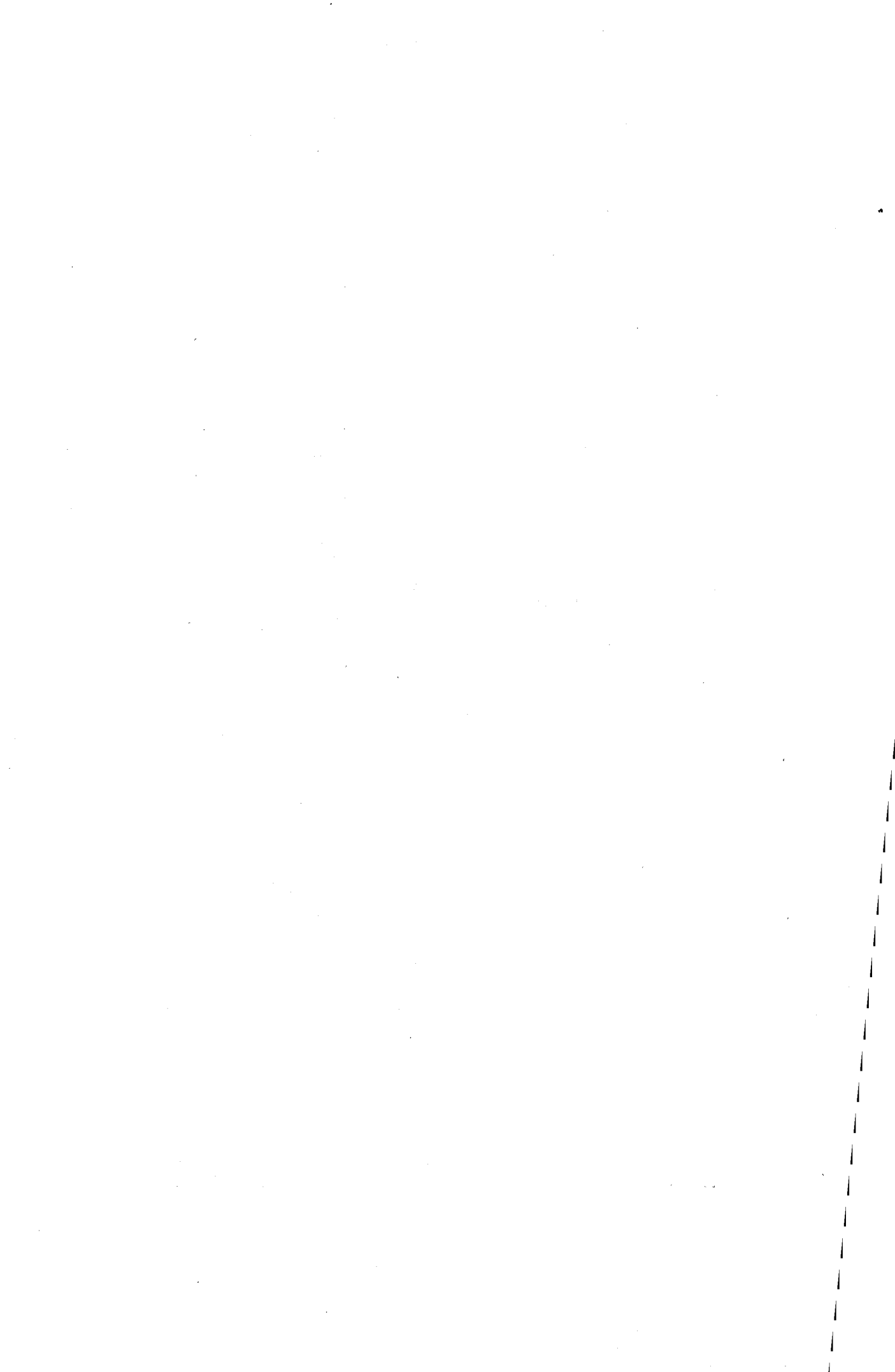
When all lands surrounding Assyria were added to Assyria, Ashurbanipal could extend his political influence through the vassal-relationship to the farther lands, namely to Elam in the southeast, to Egypt in the west, to Arabia in the south and to Lydia in the north.

To sum up, deportation of rebels and annexation of rebel vassals' lands helped to consolidate weaker frontiers, which brought, at the same time, changes in Assyrian borders. However, the Assyrian kings only took these steps when they faced persistent rebellions from their vassals.

⁶ The lands of Kammanu and Bīt-Burutash should be located north of Assyria, since they occur together with other lands in the north, see Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 79, 194.

PART IV

**THE COVENANT-CURSES IN THE HEBREW BOOKS
FROM JOSHUA TO 2 KINGS**



Chapter 1

THE PRE-MONARCHY PERIOD

1.0 Introduction

Noth's view about Israel's history during the pre-monarchy period is widely accepted. According to him, the Dtr added his theological interpretations to "a self-contained and detailed account, already existing in a fixed literary form."¹ Noth claimed that the account of total conquest (Josh 11:16-20a) was already available for Dtr who added his own observation (11:20b) about Joshua's complete destruction of the Land, as the Lord commanded Moses.² So Noth ascribed the divine encouragement³ together with divine assurance of help (Josh 1:5-6) to Dtr.⁴ In addition, Noth considered intertribal support in time of war (Josh 4:12) as a dtr emphasis.⁵ Noth's view about Josh 23 as one of the dtr speeches of leading personages composed to interpret the course of events is widely accepted.⁶ Since Josh 24:1-28 "shows no knowledge" of the traditional version of the conquest in Josh. 2ff., "this passage was apparently unknown to Dtr. It was subsequently revised [after Josh 23] extensively in the style of Dtr."⁷ For Noth, the accounts about Yahweh's intervention and about intertribal support in Israel's conquest are products of dtr editorial work. Noth's view about Joshua is widely accepted.⁸ However, some scholars

¹ The Deuteronomistic History, 60.

² *Ibid.*, 65.

³ Also 8:1a; 10:25, *ibid.*, 63, 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 62; "Verses 7-9 are later," *Ibid.*, fn. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁶ Trent C. Butler considered Josh 23:1-16 as deuteronomistic theological interpretation, Joshua; J. Alberto Soggin, Introduction, 187. Following Cross, R. G. Boling and G. E. Wright categorized Josh 23 in one of the deuteronomistic speeches and continued that "the original speech of Joshua 23 as Dtr 1 was at last overwritten in Dtr 2, under the influence of the account now found in chap. 24," Joshua, 508, 526.

⁷ The Deuteronomistic History, 23 fn. 1. Nicholson saw a clue in Israel's worship of Yahweh alone for the exilic origin of Josh 24. He understands "the gods beyond river" (v. 14) as "indigenous Mesopotamian gods" which "some exiles began to adopt," God and His People, 160 ff. McCarthy, on the other hand, understood Josh 24 as pre- or proto-Deuteronomistic, Treaty and Covenant, 241. According to Hoffmann, Josh 24 is a literary summary (*Konzeption*) of the dtr school, Reform und Reformen, 306. With this chapter the deuteronomist created the bridge between the tradition and his special theme, *ibid.*, 301. For Hoffmann, Josh 24 is the prologue of dtr cult-historiography (*Kultgeschichtsschreibung*), *ibid.*, 306.

⁸ Following Noth, for example, T. Butler claimed that "holy war theology" "is the common bond holding the traditions together;" this was the theological interpretation of "the Deuteronomistic school," Trent C. Butler, Joshua, xxii, xxiv. Concerning the unified work of DtrH and the exilic origin of the emphasis of the law in Joshua, R. Polzin is in line with Smend: "taking to heart God's words to Joshua, 'This book of the law must be ever on your lips' (1:18), the Deuteronomist keeps it ever before his pen, so that *his account of the occupation* is nothing but a continual meditation upon the meaning of the book of the law, and even upon the meaning of interpretation itself" (emphasis added), Moses and the Deuteronomist, 124. For Polzin, the account of the occupation is a literary

attribute the texts concerning law and admonitions in Joshua to the exilic nomistic Dtr.⁹

In Judges, Noth attributed Israel's repeated apostasy, e.g., worship of Canaanite deities (Judg 2:11 ff)¹⁰ and the consequent subjection to her enemies to Dtr.¹¹ He further considered the Abimelech story, Yahweh's forgiveness and restoration of Israel by Judges as dtr interpretation,¹² and divine intervention/support (Judg 4:7, 23-24; 1 Sam 7) to stem from Dtr.¹³ In addition, Noth detached Judg 17-21 from the main body of Judges and stated that they were not subject to dtr redaction but added later.¹⁴

To sum up, following Noth, the theological passages in Joshua-Judges are the dtr interpretations of the existing texts in Exile. So various themes in Joshua-Judges were artificial, made up by Dtr(s). This commonly accepted view implies a gradual expansion of Israel's historiography.

The purpose of these two chapters is to explore how various themes in Joshua-1 Samuel 7 are co-related.¹⁵ This will, in turn, contribute to an understanding of

product of Dtr who lived in the Exile, "functioning in an authorial or editorial role, and responsible for the final form of the Deuteronomistic History," *ibid.* 18.

⁹ With Smend and his followers, O'Brien identified a number of the texts attributed by Noth to the exilic Dtr as a later exilic redaction. For example, the reference to transgression of the covenant in Josh 7:11, 15 is from the nomistic redaction, A Reassessment, 70, 283. O'Brien excludes Josh 23 from DtrH and attributes it to the nomistic redactor, because of: 1) the occurrence of "nations" instead of "enemies", [an expression of the Josianic Dtr]; 2) the nomistic language of this chapter (*ibid.*, 82; also Judg 2:12-13, 17, 20-21, 23a; 3:5-6, *ibid.*, 87, 282); 3) the basis of vv. 2-8 on 21:43-45, *ibid.*, 75-76.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 76. According to Noth, "for his account of the 'judges' period up to Samuel, Dtr used and combined" "a series of stories about various tribal heroes and their victories" and "a list of 'minor judges,'" Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, 69-70. This view is widely accepted, Cross, CMHE, 274; Soggin stated that Dtr edited the theological introductions into "the ancient narratives about the saviours" (Judg 2:6-16:31), (Introduction, 200), to explain the disastrous end of the two kingdoms, Judges, 7. R. G. Boling presented a slightly modified view of Noth's about the date of editorial work; according to him, a historian of the eighth century B.C. updated the old epic [Judg 2:6-15:20] to "serve his own theological and political purposes, Judges, 30.

¹¹ The Deuteronomistic History, 72-76.

¹² *Ibid.*, 74.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 77, fn. 2. Noth said in Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels: "Die beiden Anhänge zum Richterbuch, nicht nur Ri. 19-21, sondern auch Ri. 17. 18, unterscheiden sich in ihrem Inhalt wesentlich von Ri. 2, 6-16, 31, und es ist kein Zufall, daß sie in dem deuteronomistisch umrahmten Buche der Richter geschichten keinen Platz gehabt haben, sondern erst nachträglich sehr lose angefügt worden sind," 168. Following Noth, scholars regarded Judg 17-21 as an appendix, e.g., Otto Kaiser, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 146; Soggin, Introduction, 203. Boling considered Judg 16-18 to belong to the dtr edition of the 7th century and chapters 19-21 to that of the 6th, Judges, 30.

¹⁵ 1 Samuel 7 in relation to the subject of the monarchy is treated in the introduction to the Monarchy period (2.0. below).

Israel's history in the pre-monarchy period. To reach our goal we employ the same vassalship concept applied in the Assyrian annals and explore the events of the pre-monarchy period following the textual sequence in the light of Biblical covenant-curses, as we studied the events of Assyrian history in the context of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses.¹⁶

1.1 COVENANT-CURSES AS AN INTEGRAL COMPONENT IN THE CONCEPT OF DIVINE HUMAN VASSALSHIP IN JOSHUA-1 SAM 7

1.1.1 The Divine Suzerain's Benevolence

1.1.1.1. Support

Having promised the possession of a home-land and his support to his vassal people (Josh 1:1-5),¹⁷ Yahweh then eliminated a great obstacle to the conquest of the land by stopping the flow of the River Jordan (3:14-17):¹⁸

ויהי בנסע העם מאהליהם לעבר את-הירדן והכהנים נשאי הארון הברית לפני העם וכבוא נשאי הארון ער-הירדן ורגלי הכהנים נשאי הארון נטבלו בקצה המים הירדן מלא על-כל-גדותיו כל ימי קציר ויעמד המים הירדים מלמעלה כמו נר-אחד הרחק מאר באדם העיר אשר מצד צרתן והירדים על ים הערבה ים-המלח תמו נכרתו והעם עברו נגד יריחו ויעמדו הכהנים נשאי הארון ברית-יהוה בחרבה בתוך הירדן הכן וכל-ישראל עברים בחרבה ער אשר-תמו כל-הגוי לעבר את-הירדן

Now when the people broke camp to cross the Jordan, the priests carrying the ark of the covenant went ahead of them. When the priests who carried the ark reached the Jordan and their feet touched the water's edge, - the Jordan is in flood throughout harvest - the water from upstream stopped flowing. It piled up in a heap a great distance away, at a town called Adam in the vicinity of Zarethan, while the water flowing down to the Sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, was completely cut off. Thus, the people crossed over opposite Jericho. The priests who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord stood firm on dry ground in the middle of the Jordan until the whole nation had finished crossing on dry ground.

Yahweh also gave instructions to Joshua on how to overcome the next obstacle, Jericho (Josh 6:2-5):

ויאמר יהוה אל-יהושע ראה נתתי בידך את-יריחו ואת-מלכה גבורי החיל וסבתם את-העיר כל-אנשי המלחמה הקיף את-העיר פעם אחת כה תעשה ששת ימים ושבעה כהנים ישאו שבעה שופרות היובלים לפני הארון וביום

¹⁶ The terms "divine human vassalship" and "covenant" refer to the same thing in our studies.

¹⁷ Yahweh's provision of a home-land is unique to Israel.

¹⁸ The ark is "an intimate symbol of the Lord's indwelling (cf. Num. 10:35)," and in v. 13 ארון יהוה (the ark of the Lord) stands in parallel to ארון כל-הארץ (the Lord of the world). Thus, it was not the priests but the Lord, who is sovereign over the earth, and at the same time Israel's suzerain, who interrupted the flowing Jordan. The rise of the Jordan happens at the time of harvest in April-May due to water from the melted snow on Hermon. During this period it is not possible to cross the river even through its shallowest fords; it is ten or twelve feet deep in the neighbourhood of Jericho. C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth*, 45-46. Cf. Josh 21:43-45.

השביעי תסבו את-העיר שבע פעמים והכהנים יתקעו בשופרות והיה במשך בקרן היובל בשמעכם את-קול השופר יריעו כל-העם תרועה גדולה ונפלה חומת העיר תחתיה ועלו העם איש נגדו

The Lord said to Joshua, 'See I have delivered Jericho together with its king (and) the mighty warriors into your hands. So you shall march around the city once with all the armed men. You shall do this for six days. Seven priests shall carry trumpets of rams horns in front of the ark. On the seventh day, you shall march around the city seven times, and then the priests shall blow the trumpets. When they make a long blast with the horn, and when you hear the sound of the trumpet, all people shall shout loudly. Then the wall of the city will collapse and the people will go up, every man straight in.'

Later, having forgiven the penitent Israelites, the divine suzerain strengthened his agent, Gideon, who felt impotent to rescue Israel from the Midianites, through the promise of his presence with him (Judg 6:15-16). He further confirmed through signs that Gideon would be victorious when the enemies challenged Israel. Those signs were given at Gideon's request (Judg 6:36-40) and through a Midianite soldier's dream (Judg 7:13-14).

Under Debora, Yahweh encouraged the penitent vassals to challenge Jabin king of Hazor to war (Judg 4:12) and then intervened to support Barak's army. Deborah's call to Barak *יֵצֵא לְפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה הֲלֹא יְהוָה יֵצֵא לְפָנֶיךָ* "has not the Lord gone ahead of you?" (Judg 4:14aβ) means Yahweh's intervention. It is to be understood in relation to 5:19-22. Verse 19 says that the Canaanite kings fought at Taanach by the waters of Megiddo. Verse 21 depicts the flood of the Kishon which swept them away. According to verse 7, Yahweh himself lured Sisera, along with his nine hundred iron chariots and soldiers, to the river Kishon in the Jezreel Plain.

Under Samuel, Yahweh rescued the disloyal Israelites, when they were penitent about their request for a king, from the Philistines' invasion. He intervened in answer to Samuel's prayer (1 Sam 7:9-11; see further 1.1.2.2 below).

1.1.1.2 Forgiveness

The divine suzerain would not only forgive the penitent people for their sins but also restore their status by intervening to deliver them.

The period of settlement was characterized by a cycle of Israel's apostasy, Yahweh's punishment, Israel's dependence and Yahweh's intervention by his agents. Whenever Israel was penitent for breaking covenant, Yahweh would forgive her and restore her vassal status by raising up judges who would rescue her from other nations' suzerainty and then lead her. For example, because of Israel's disloyalty, Yahweh delivered her to the Midianites. Under this severe oppression the people doubted Yahweh's presence with them (Judg 6:13), since Israel's prosperity in the land was promised by her divine-suzerain. Yet they should have known from their experience that impoverishment would be the inevitable consequence of their

apostasy. Nonetheless, Yahweh showed benevolence by explaining the reason for Israel's humiliation through his prophet, when they became penitent (Judg 6:8b-10):¹⁹

ויאמר להם כה-אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל אנכי העליתי אתכם ממצרים ואציא אתכם מבית עבדים ואצל אתכם מיד מצרים ומיד כל-לחציכם ואגרש אותם מפניכם ואתנה לכם את-ארצם ואמרה לכם אני יהוה אלהיכם לא תיראו את-אלהי האמרי אשר אתם יושבים בארצם ולא שמעתם בקולי

He said to them: 'So the Lord, God of Israel, has said: I brought you up out of Egypt and brought you out from the house of slavery, and from the power of all your oppressors. I drove them before you and gave you their land and said to you: I am the Lord, your God; you shall not revere the gods of the Amorites in whose land you live. But you have not obeyed me.'

1.1.1.3 Kindness

Yahweh raised up Samson to deliver the disloyal Israelites from the Philistines, although they were not penitent (Judg 15:20).²⁰

1.1.2 The Divine Suzerain's Obligations

1.1.2.1 Military Support

The divine suzerain came to the vassal's aid when he was challenged to war by enemies. Having heard of the success of Joshua's campaign in the south, Jabin, king of Hazor,²¹ formed a coalition against Joshua (Josh 11:1-5). Yahweh, Israel's suzerain, promised his support to Joshua and instructed him what to do after the victory (Josh 11:6):²²

ויאמר יהוה אל-יהושע אל-תירא מפניהם כי-מחר כעת הזאת אנכי נתן את-כלם חללים לפני ישראל את-סוסיהם תעקר ואת-מרכבתיהם תשרף באש

The Lord said to Joshua: 'Do not be afraid of them, because tomorrow at this time tomorrow I will hand all of them over to Israel as dead men. You shall hamstring their horses and burn their chariots.

¹⁹ This explanation was necessary, since Gideon's doubt about the loyalty of the Lord shows that some among the Israelites had been perplexed, thinking that the Lord had abandoned his people (Judg 6:13). Therefore, the divine suzerain's explanation for Israel's miserable state mirrors his kindness to his vassal, since He was not obliged to clarify those circumstances. By contrast, the Hittite gods remained silent in a similar situation, when the whole nation suffered a nationwide plague for twenty years, as a result of a breach of the treaty made between Hatti and Egypt, see Albrecht Goetze, "Plague Prayers of Mursilis," *ANET*, 394-396, cf. A. Malamat, "Doctrines of Causality," *VT* 5 (1955), 1-12.

²⁰ Samson was already chosen as a deliverer before he was conceived and his life as a Nazirite was predestined (Judg 13:3-5). Samson's chain-vengeance on the Philistines because of his wife led the Philistines to challenge Judah to war. At this time, the Philistines ruled Judah (Judg 15:11). Moreover, there is no mention of the Israelites' repentance from their sin. Yet the divine-suzerain gave a deliverer to his vassal.

²¹ See the supremacy of Hazor, Abraham Malamat, "Hazor 'The Head of All Those Kingdoms,'" *JBL* 79 (1960) 12-19.

²² Having defeated the enemy, Israel destroyed the horses and chariots according to Yahweh's command (Josh 11:9).

1.1.2.2 Protection of the Vassal's Land from Invasion²³

The divine suzerain restrained the Philistines from invading the loyal vassal land (1 Sam 7:13).

1.1.3 The Vassals' Obligations

1.1.3.1 Keeping the Stipulations

The security of the vassal-land was to rely exclusively on the divine-suzerain's protection and support.²⁴ Therefore, it was crucial to keep the covenant stipulations. Just before crossing the Jordan river, the divine suzerain encouraged Joshua to observe the whole Torah in order to succeed in leading Israel to the promised land and its conquest (Josh 1:6-8).

Joshua, in turn, delivered the same command to Israel in his farewell speech (Josh 23:6). The Israelites remained loyal to their divine suzerain throughout the life-time of Joshua and of the elders who survived him and who had seen the deeds of the Lord (Judg 2:7).²⁵

1.1.3.2 Dedication

The Israelites should destroy Jericho completely along with every living being and all property, dedicating the precious metals to Yahweh. The word הָרַם in the context of the conquest refers to the extermination of the enemy as well as to the exclusive dedication of certain things to Yahweh.²⁶ These two aspects occur in the destruction of Jericho (Josh 6:17a, 18-19):

²³ 1 Sam 7:2-14 shows the function of leadership in relation to the people and Yahweh: the leader was represented the people to Yahweh. In a threatening situation he campaigned against the enemy in prayer, and the divine-suzerain replied on behalf of the vassal, the Israelites. That is, "victory belongs to Yahweh, and the proper human posture in battle is one of confidence and patience", P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel*, 149.

²⁴ David's census of Israel was a breach of the treaty. This is to be deduced from Joab's reply to David who commanded him to conduct a census (2 Sam 24:3).

²⁵ Israel's apostasy began with the new generation who knew neither the Lord nor what he had done for Israel (Judg 2:10). This period was an era of Israelite disloyalty, its result, her repentance, and the suzerain's mercy (Judg 2:11-23).

²⁶ With respect to Ai, the booty was distributed among the people, see further, J. P. U Lilley, "Understanding the *Herem*," *TB* 44/1 (1993), 169-77. The idea that it is forbidden to take items dedicated to a deity is also attested in the Mari texts. Malamat said that in the Mari documents "the Akkadian terms *asakkum* and *asakkam akalum* (lit. 'to eat the *asakku*'), used to denote the concept of taboo and its violation," occurred frequently. He continued that in some cases in legal texts from Mari, "the breach of contract is treated as a serious religious transgression equal to the eating of a taboo; or, in biblical terms, to the violation of a holy or banned object," *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience*, 71. Furthermore, a letter from Mari mentioned that "whosoever takes of the booty will have eaten the *asakkum* of the gods Adad and Šamaš" (*ibid.*, 75). In this letter, a man who was accused of having appropriated "two (bronze) kettles, silver, gold and other articles," had to pay a fine (*ibid.*). Malamat concluded: "despite variant details, the basic elements are the same in both [the Mari document and Joshua 7]: the enjoyment of spoils of war, considered in particular circumstances to be a violation of the taboo" (*ibid.*). Added to that, the complete destruction of a city followed by

והיתה העיר חרם היא וכל אשר-בה ליהוה . . . ורק-אתם שמרו מן-החרם פן-תחרימו ולקחתם מן-החרם ושמתם את-מחנה ישראל לחרם ועכרתם אותו וכל כסף זהב וכלי נחשת וברזל קדש הוא ליהוה אוצר יהוה יבוא

The city and all that is in it are to be dedicated to the Lord, . . . But keep away from the dedicated things, so that you will not bring about your own destruction by taking any of them and so that you will not make the camp of Israel liable to destruction and bring trouble on it. All the silver and gold and the articles of bronze and iron are sacred to the Lord and will go into his treasury.

1.1.3.3 No Worship of Other Gods

If Israel worshipped other gods, it would mean a breach of covenant. Joshua commanded (Josh 23:7):

לבלתי-בוא בגוים האלה הנשארים האלה אתכם ובשם אלהיהם לא-תזכירו ולא תשביעו ולא תעבדו ולא תשתחוז להם

Do not associate with these nations who remain among you. Do not invoke the name of their gods nor swear an oath by them, neither serve them nor bow down to them.

The history of Israel's apostasy relates to her failure in these obligations (Judg 3:7-8,12; 4:1; 6:1, 10; 10:6. Further, the apostasy of individuals shows the depth of lawlessness in Israel: Micah's idols in the Ephraim-hill country and his employment of a Levite as his house priest (Judg 17:1-13) and the Danites' worship centre for idols in Laish (Judg 18:27-31) were consequences of failure to keep the stipulations of the divine suzerain.

Israel was also forbidden to emulate other nations' beliefs. Her defeat by the Philistines under Eli led them to bring down the Ark from Shiloh to the battle field (1 Sam 4:3-4). Israel's shout due to the presence of the ark in their camp, frightened the Philistines; yet they reacted by encouraging themselves (1 Sam 4:5-9). This indicates that Israel's belief was not different from that of her enemy. That is, Yahweh's favour could be obtained by manipulating the symbol. This inevitably provoked the divine suzerain's anger.

1.1.3.4 Reform

Prior to the campaign against the enemy the vassal had to eliminate the reason for the oppression by enemies. This means at the same time the fulfilment of his obligations to destroy the altar of the Canaanite gods and to restore the worship of Yahweh (Judg 6:25-26):²⁷

pronouncing a curse is not confined to Josh 6:26. A Hittite text reports how having conquered Hattuša, Suppiluliuma cursed anyone who settled there again, Otten, "Zu den Anfängen der hethitischen Geschichte," *MDO* 31 (1951), 41 50.

²⁷ According to *Journal of Semitic Studies*, "the 'second one' is presumably the older bull, rather than the prime bull," *Judges*, 134.

ויהי בלילה ההוא ויאמר לו יהוה קח את-פר-השור אשר לאביך ופר השני שבע שנים והרסת את-מזבח הבעל אשר לאביך ואת-האשרה אשר-עליו תכרת ובנית מזבח ליהוה אלהיך על ראש המעוז הזה במערכה ולקחת את-הפר השני והעלית עולה בעצי האשרה אשר תכרת

That same night the Lord said to him [Gideon]: 'Take the bull of your father('s herd)-the second bull seven years old-and tear down the altar of Baal which belongs to your father and cut down the Asherah that is beside it. Then build an altar to the Lord your God on the top of this height in an orderly manner, and take the second bull and offer a burnt offering with wood of the Asherah which you cut down.

The same principle occurs under Samuel: Israel had only one means to rid herself of the enemy's oppression; that was, to return to Yahweh, removing all foreign gods (1 Sam 7:3-4).²⁸

1.1.3.5 No Intermarriage

Israel was forbidden to intermarry with the Canaanites (Josh 23:12), but disobeyed (Judg 3:6).

1.1.3.6 Covenant Relationship

(1) To Support Co-vassals

Israel, as Yahweh's vassal, consisted of twelve tribes; thus, each tribe as Yahweh's vassal was a co-vassal to others. If the suzerain commanded Israel to campaign against the enemy, each tribe as a vassal should support the suzerain's representatives.²⁹ If any tribe failed to participate in that campaign, it became disloyal to the suzerain, since the representatives were acting on behalf of the suzerain. Thus, that disloyal vassal was inevitably punished, because it violated the treaty (see Josh 24). This is exactly what occurred with the men of Succoth and Peniel who refused to support Gideon's troops when they were chasing the Midianites (Judg 8:4-17).

(2) No Killing of Co-vassals

Abimelech's revolt and the following revolt of the inhabitants of Shechem were results of Israel's apostasy. The apostasy had already begun before Gideon's death when people worshipped the golden ephod which Gideon made and placed in Ophrah (Judg 8:27). This became a snare to Gideon and his family, and so brought about Abimelech's sin, killing his 70 brothers. Yet Abimelech's bloody act was

²⁸The Philistines' power over Israel presumably continued after the battle at Ebenezer. This can be deduced from Samuel's advice to Israel (1 Sam 7:3-4), when the people mourned and sought the Lord (v. 2).

²⁹The two and half-Transjordanian tribes - the Reubenites, the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh - also supported Joshua's campaign in Cis-jordan (Josh 4:12; 22:1-9).

repaid by the rebellion of the inhabitants in Shechem, and he died in attacking them (Judg 9:22-54). Since each member of the Israelite community stood in vassal-relationship to Yahweh, Abimelech's sin is to be seen from the view of the co-vassal relationship. According to the covenant-stipulations, an intentional murderer should not be spared (Dt 19:13).

(3) No Challenging Co-vassals to War

The tribe of Ephraim refused to come to his aid, when Jephthah called them for help in the course of his campaign against the Ammonites (Judg 12:2). But thanks to the divine suzerain's support Jephthah defeated the Ammonites (3).³⁰ This victory made the Ephraimites jealous, so they challenged Jephthah to war and were defeated (4-6).

(4) No Illicit Relationship with a Co-vassal

The act of some Benjaminites against a Levite and his concubine (19:22-8) permitted a legitimate campaign of all the Israelites against the tribe of Benjamin.

1.1.4 The Validity of the Covenant with the People

The effects of Yahweh's benevolence (1.1.1) and obligations (1.1.2) and his discipline upon the entire nation indicate the validity of the covenant with the people. These two aspects run through the pre-monarchy period.

Israel as a nation stood in vassal-relationship with Yahweh. Yahweh's support, forgiveness and his protection had a nation-wide effect (1.1.1 above). Since each member of the community also had a vassal-status, thus, he was obliged to keep the Torah (1.1.3.1 above). This relationship was also mirrored in the effect of Achan's sin upon the whole nation and its defeat at Ai. Therefore, Achan's sin was considered to be that of all Israel (Josh 7:11): חטא ישראל וגם עברו את-בריתי . . . וגם . . . לקחו מן-החרם . . . "Israel has sinned; they have violated my covenant . . . ; they have taken from the devoted things" When they repented by punishing Achan together with his family, Yahweh's supported Israel in the conquest of Ai. Furthermore, the sin of the nation brought Yahweh's discipline. The era of the Judges was characterized by Yahweh's punishment for Israel's disloyalty and his benevolent deliverance of the Israelite from enemies when they repented. In the time of Eli, Israel was defeated by the Philistines at Ebenezer, whereas in the time of Samuel, Yahweh delivered the penitent Israelites from the Philistines (1 Sam 7:9-11, see 1.1.1.2).

³⁰ Jephthah was chosen to rescue the Israelites (11:29 ff.) due to their penitence (10:15-6).

1.1.5. The Purpose of the Divine Suzerain's Benevolence

A twofold purpose can be seen in the Jordan miracle: 1) that the people of the earth might know the strength of God's power, i.e., the effect of the crossing of the Jordan upon the kings of Canaan (Josh 5:1); 2) that Israel might fear the Lord always, in other words, Israel might remain loyal to Yahweh (Josh 4:23-24):³¹

אשר-הוביש יהוה אלהיכם את-מי הירדן מפניכם ער-עברכם . . . למען דעת כל-עמי הארץ את-יך יהוה כי חזקה היא למען יראתם את-יהוה אלהיכם כל-הימים

For the Lord your God dried up the Jordan before you until you had crossed over. . . so that all the people of the earth might know that the hand of the Lord is powerful and so that you might always fear the Lord your God.

1.1.6 The Purpose of the Divine Suzerain's Disciplinary Measure

The divine suzerain's disciplinary measures are his adverse judgements for the breach of covenant (see further 1.2 below). Yahweh intended:

1.1.6.1 Humiliation

Israel's state of being subject to other nations was a humiliating situation. They are the reverse of exercising hegemony over them.

1.1.6.2 Restoration

Through purifying them from idolatry and making them return to vassal-status, e.g. Judg 10:15-16,

ויאמרו בני-ישראל אל-יהוה חטאנו עשה-אתה לנו ככל-הטוב בעיניך אך הצילנו לא היום הזה: ויסירו את-אלהי הנכר מקרבם ויעבדו את-יהוה ותקצר נפשו בעמל ישראל

The Israelites said to the Lord: 'We have sinned. Do with us whatever you think best, please rescue us this day.' Then they put away the foreign gods among them, and served the Lord. And He could not bear Israel's misery any longer.

Furthermore, to emulate another nation's belief would mean a breach of covenant. The defeat at Ebenezer and the loss of the Ark (1 Sam 4:11)³² would have taught Israel that Yahweh, the divine-suzerain, could not be manipulated, although the ark symbolized Yahweh's presence among the people. Because a relationship with "God in symbol" was that of other nations, Samuel, thus, instructed Israel about the right vassal-relationship to Yahweh at Mizpah (1 Sam 7:1-9). This was approved by the divine suzerain's intervention in defeating the Philistines, who invaded to crush Israel at Mizpah (1 Sam 7:10). Thereupon, Israel struck them down and could keep

³¹ Cf. Josh 2:8b-11.

³² Cf. 2 Sam 5:21.

the Philistines out of her territory because of the divine suzerain's help (1 Sam 7:13). At the same time, Samuel led the people to live according to the stipulations of the divine suzerain.

1.1.6.3 To Teach Israel's Enemy

Having defeated Israel, the Philistines set the Ark beside Dagon their god.³³ Subsequently, they realized Yahweh's superiority through Dagon's collapse (1 Sam 5:1-5)³⁴ and the affliction of the Philistine cities (5:6-12) which were brought about by the presence of the Ark.

1.1.7 The Theocentric Features of Disciplinary Measures

Since Israel's suzerain was divine, the consequences of her breach of the covenant were ordained by Yahweh. Yahweh often disciplined Israel by employing her enemies.

1.1.8 The Sanction of Covenant

The procedure of covenant-renewal shows how the covenant was sanctioned. There, the consensus agreement of the weaker party is a part of the ceremony of sanction. Under Joshua Israel agreed to serve the Lord (Josh 24:16):³⁵ ויען העם ויאמר חלילה לנו מעזב את-יהוה לעבד אלהים אחרים "The people answered, 'Far be it from us to forsake the Lord to serve other gods,'"³⁶ and Joshua, Yahweh's representative, performed the ceremony of treaty-making (Josh 24:25).

1.1.9 The Duration of Covenant

The renewal of the covenant in Josh 24 reflects the lasting validity of the covenant. In the era of Israel's settlement (Judges), Yahweh's anger with the Israelites, who repeatedly broke the covenant, and his benevolence in sending deliverance to them, mirror the enduring validity of the covenant.

³³ Presumably, with this behaviour the Philistines demonstrated Israel's submission to them. From Tigl.I's time onward, Assyrian kings sometimes removed the gods of defeated countries and presented them to their gods, indicating the captured gods and their people were subject to Assyria, see M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*, 9-34; *contra* T. Longman and D. G. Reid, *God is a Warrior*, 51.

³⁴ The position of Dagon, fallen on his face before the Ark of Yahweh, was a gesture by which inferior kings recognized the supremacy or the suzerainty of stronger ones. So Israel's divine suzerain was seen to be distinct from the Philistines' gods (1 Sam 6:5-6). Cf. Lyn M. Bechtel, "The perception of Shame," in *Uncovering Ancient Stones*, 89 ff.

³⁵ Also vv. 21-22, 24.

³⁶ Joshua's challenge in v. 15, introduced by a protasis (אם with a nominal clause) followed by an apodosis with imperative, gives Israel an opportunity to renew their hearts towards her divine suzerain. Joshua's call to throw away "the gods your forefathers" (14) and the phrase "the gods your forefathers served beyond the River" indicate that there was syncretism already in Joshua's time.

1.1.10 The Language of Covenant

Covenant terms appear in warnings about the Israelites' loyalty to the divine suzerain.

1.1.10.1 Covenant-Making

The renewal of covenant is seen as covenant-making. The entire procedure of treaty-making is described: ויכרת יהושע ברית לעם ביום ההוא (Josh 24:25).

1.1.10.2 Covenant-Breaking

Achan's sin presents a breach of the treaty. Three phrases occur in parallel. The first two phrases are *termini technici* for treaty-breaking, and the last describes the act of the breaking of the treaty: לקחו מן-החרם: ברו את-בריתי, (Josh 7:11) and חטא ליהוה (Josh 7:20).³⁷ The first phrase parallels other *termini technici* for covenant-breaking: עבדתם אלהים אחרים³⁸ והשתחיתם להם (Josh 23:16)³⁹ and ולא ובשם אלהיהם לא-תזכירו ולא (Judg 2:20). These first two phrases parallel תשביו (Josh 23:7).

Covenant-breaking is expressed by אתם תמררו and אתם תשבון... מאחרי יהוה (Josh 22:18).

The book of Judges presents the life of Israel in relationship to the divine-suzerain in the promised land. Since her disloyalty to Yahweh coloured the whole era phrases expressing breach of treaty are frequent: ויספו בני ישראל לעשות הרע בניני: יהוה (Judg 4:1); וישכחו את-יהוה (Judg 3:7) and ויעזבו את-יהוה (Judg 10:6); ויכעסו (Judg 2:12b).⁴⁰ Added to that, the breach of covenant is expressed by the figure of the marriage-relationship: ויזנו אחרי הבעלים (Judg 8:33) which parallels ולא זכרו בני ישראל את-יהוה (Judg 8:34). The breach of covenant is summed up in איש הישר בעיניו יעשה ((Judg 21:25).

³⁷ Also 1 Sam 7:6.

³⁸ Serving other gods is mentioned in Deborah's song with יבחר אלהים חדשים "they chose new gods" (Judg 5:8).

³⁹ Also Judg 2:19.

⁴⁰ Also 1 Sam 8:8.

⁴¹ זנה (to become a prostitute) primarily designates a sexual relationship outside a marriage. That is to say, because Israel is portrayed as a partner of Yahweh, following other gods is זנה (cf. S. Erlandsson, "זנה," *TWAT* II, 613).

EXCURSUS 1: THE CONCEPT OF INTER-STATE VASSALSHIP

1. Israel's Suzerainty

The most complete form of inter-state vassalship prior to the monarchy is presented in the treaty between Israel and the Gibeonites. An inter-state vassal treaty was made between Israel and the Gibeonites. When the Gibeonites heard of Israel's victory over Jericho and Ai they submitted to Israel, even though they deceived her by pretending they came from a distant country. Israel, the stronger party, kept them alive, and the Gibeonites, the weaker party, became subject to her.¹

1.1 The Suzerain's Obligation

The suzerain was obliged to support the vassal if he was attacked by other kings. When attacked by the Amorite kings, the Gibeonites appealed to Joshua to rescue them (Josh 10:6). On this appeal Joshua came to the Gibeonites's aid (10:7) and relieved them (10:11).

1.2 Divine Support in the Suzerain's Campaign

Having encouraged Joshua for the military expedition against the Amorite kings, Yahweh prolonged the day according to Joshua's prayer, in his campaign (10:8, 11, 12b-13b). Yahweh intervened in the campaign of Israel, the Gibeonites' suzerain, against the Amorites ally to rescue Israel's vassal (10:11). In fact, Yahweh was helping Israel, since the Amorites were one of the nations to be driven out of the land. Furthermore, the Gibeonites were under the protection of Israel, which stood under Yahweh's protection.²

1.3 The Validity of Interstate Treaty

Saul's breach of the treaty with the Gibeonites, which had been made under Joshua, resulted in famine in Israel under David. Here we see the lasting validity of the interstate treaty (see Excursus 2.1.6-7).

¹ R. De Vaux rejects the concept of vassalship between Israel and the Gibeonites and understands their relationship in the light of international law in the Ancient Near East, thereby seeing the word ברית as "an oath containing a promise, *The Early History*, 625. However, the language of treaty-making, the Gibeonites' appeal to Joshua when being attacked by the Amorite kings, and Joshua's immediate response indicate that there was the vassal-treaty between them. Moreover the Gibeonites' self-designation in 9:8 עֲבָדֶיךָ אֲנַחְנוּ "we are your servants" implies their appeal to vassalage; see F. C. Fensham, "The Treaty," *BA* 27 (1964), 96-100. Furthermore, when Israel had broken the treaty made with the Gibeonites, she suffered famine, a treaty-curse.

² Moreover, this may be related to Gen 12:3: "I will bless those who bless you and whoever curses you I will curse; and all peoples on earth will be blessed through you." In other words, Yahweh's intervention reflects in a sense a fulfilment of His promise to Abraham, since the Gibeonites submitted to Israel and were now under Israel's protection.

1.4 The Sanction of Treaty

The treaty was established by the submission of the weaker party (Josh 9:6, 8),³ "מארץ רחוקה באנו ועתה כרת-לנו ברית . . .". . . we [the Gibeonites] have come from a distant country; make a treaty with us. And they said to Joshua: 'We are your servants' followed by an oath of the stronger party (Josh 9:15): "ויעש להם ויהושע שלום ויכרת להם ברית לחיותם וישבעו להם נשיאי העדה" "The Joshua made peace⁴ with them and established a treaty with them to guarantee their lives, and the leaders of the assembly ratified it by oath."

1.5 The Language of Treaty-Making (see Josh 9:15 above)

2. Israel as Subject

In Judges we see the cyclical process of Israel being made subject to other nations because of her apostasy.

Synopsis

The loyalty of Israel to her divine suzerain resulted in her suzerainty over other people, whereas her disloyalty made her subject to other nations. Israel's subject state displayed the fulfilment of covenant-curses (see further 1.2.3 below).

³ The Gibeonites were Hivites (Josh 9:7), one of the seven nations, whom Yahweh commanded Israel to drive out of the land (Deut. 7:1). Because of this vassal-treaty the Gibeonites were allowed to live peacefully (see Josh. 9:15), but they were cursed and reduced to servitude when their deceit was uncovered (Josh. 9:23, 27).

⁴ "Peace is the goal of the making of the treaty," Fensham, "The Treaty," 98.

1.2 THE COVENANT-CURSES FULFILLED IN JOSHUA-1 SAMUEL 7

1.2.1 Frustrated Attack

The divine suzerain did not tolerate his vassal's violation of the treaty. Since Jericho was, in a sense, the first fruit of Israel's conquest,¹ Achan's violation of specific requirements resulted in Israel's defeat in the campaign against Ai (Josh 7:5),² losing thirty-six soldiers.

In the failure to conquer Ai the covenant-curses concerning an unsuccessful attack and its result (Lev 26:17a & Dt 28:25 (26)) were realized.³ Israel's being chased by the troops of Ai corresponds to the description of Dt 28:25, as a result of Yahweh's withdrawal of his support (Lev 26:17a & Dt 28:20). Added to that, Israel's emotional reaction to that defeat, "at this the hearts of the people melted and became like water (Josh 7:5b)," expresses a vividly the cursed state of Israel.

1.2.2 Invasion and Plunder

The most striking example of the impact of the enemies' invasion on Israel occurred under the Midianites. Her daily life was disrupted (Judg 6:2): מפני . . . "Because of Midian the Israelites made shelters for themselves in the mountains, caves and strongholds." Further oppression in her daily life was experienced through deprivation of crops and animals (Judg 6:3-6a):

והיה אם-זרע ישראל ועלה מדין ועמלק ובני-קדם ועלו עליו ויחנו עליהם וישחיתו את-יבול הארץ עד-בואך עזה ולא-ישאירו מחיה בישראל ושה ושור וחמור כי הם ומקניהם יעלו ואהליהם יבאו כדי-ארבה לרב ולהם ולגמליהם אין מספר ויבאו בארץ לשחתה וידל ישראל מאד מפני מדין . . .

Whenever the Israelites sowed, the Midianites, the Amalekites and other eastern peoples invaded them (the Israelites). They encamped against them and destroyed the land's produce all the way to Gaza, and left no sustenance for Israel as well as no sheep, ox, or donkey. For they came up with their livestock and their tents; they came in like swarms of locusts, both they and their camels were innumerable; they came into the land to devastate it. So Israel was brought low because of the Midianites . . .

¹ The Israelites are commanded to bring the first fruit to Yahweh.

² The divine suzerain promised if Israel remain loyal to him her enemies would be his enemies (Exod.23:22). Being grief-stricken and perplexed about the defeat, Joshua together with the elders of Israel would have realized there might be a fault in their past (Josh 7:6-9). Achan as an individual stood in vassal relationship with Yahweh. And the consequence of his breach of covenant for his family is not unique. In a Hittite vassal treaty, when a vassal violated the treaty, his entire family was considered responsible and thus punished by the suzerain, HDT no. 11, 70, §7.

³ Although Josh 7 does not relate what happened to the corpses of Joshua's soldiers, we may presume that wild animals might have eaten them: 1) Ai was located in the hill country where wild animals were at home: 2) The Israelites were so frightened by their defeat that they may not even have buried their dead.

Here, the covenant-curse of invasion was realized (Dt 28:49-50). The oppressed state of Israel corresponds to the cursed states (Dt 28:16-19). Instead of enjoying the products of the promised land, Israel was oppressed by her enemies who took away agricultural produce (Lev 26:16; Dt 28:30b, 51). Agriculture and house boundaries were destroyed and impoverished (Dt 28:31, 51). The disrupted daily life of Israel under the Midianites corresponds to the covenant-curse of a restless life (Lev 26:17b; Dt 28:33-34).

1.2.3 Subjected to Other Nations

The consequence of Israel's disloyalty to her suzerain would be to her reduction from being conqueror over other nations to that of being enslaved by them and eventually losing the Promised Land. Joshua warned Israel (Josh 23:13,⁴ 16):

ידוע תדעו כי לא יסיף יהוה אלהיכם להוריש את-הגוים האלה מלפניכם והיו לכם לפח ולמוקש ולשטט בצריכם ולצננים בעיניכם עד-אברכם מעל הארמה הטובה הזאת אשר נתן לכם יהוה אלהיכם

You may be sure that the Lord your God will not continue to drive out these nations before you. They will become a snare and a trap for you, a scourge on your backs and thorns in your eyes, until you perish from this good land which the Lord your God has given you.

... וחרה אף-יהוה בכם ואברתם מהרה מעל הארץ הטובה אשר נתן לכם

... The Lord's anger will burn against you, and you will quickly perish from the good land he has given you.

Joshua's warning was fulfilled when Israel was disloyal; the divine-suzerain handed over Israel to her enemies, for example, to Jabin king of Hazor (Judg 4:1-3).

Because of Israel's repeated sin, the divine suzerain allowed Eglon, king of Moab, to invade Israel (Judg 3:12-14) and so put his vassal under Moab's suzerainty (Judg 3:15b),⁵ " . . . וישלחו בני-ישראל בידו מנחה לעגלון מלך מואב . . . " . . . and the Israelites sent tribute by him (Ehud) to Eglon king of Moab."

Thus the covenant-curse of subjection to the enemy was realized (Dt 28:48a). Moab's invasion corresponds to the covenant-curses of invasion (Dt 28:49-50; Lev 26:25a α). Furthermore, Moab's suzerainty over Israel fulfilled the covenant-curse of the enemy's hegemony over Israel (Lev 26:17b; Dt 28:48b).

⁴ Also Josh 24:20.

⁵ Moab controlled Israel from Jericho (the City of Palms). Jericho was an ideal city from which Moab could control Israel. It was situated in a strategic area and offered three different routes penetrating to the central hill country; one leading up near to Jerusalem, another to Bethel and the third via Ophrah to the central Ephraim-hill country. The Moabites would probably have stationed a garrison there (cf. Judg 3:13), just as other suzerains stationed garrisons in vassal lands in the ancient Near East. Later, this strategic region was taken over by the Israelites under Ehud, and Moab became subject to Israel (Juge 3:28-30).

1.2.4 Defeat and Destruction of Family

Eli's disloyalty towards Yahweh was reflected in his failure to discipline his sons who defiled the sacrifices (1 Sam 2:12-17), and he himself enjoyed the best parts of every offering brought to Yahweh by the people (1 Sam 2:29b). In other words, he honoured his sons more than Yahweh (1 Sam 2:29a). Thus, Yahweh predicted the destruction of his house (1 Sam 2:33-34, 36). In the time of Eli, syncretism also brought about national disasters when Israel fought with the Philistines: a severe defeat, the removal of the Ark, destruction of Eli's family (1 Sam 4:10-11, 18).⁶

In this disastrous state the covenant-curse of defeat (Lev 26:17a; Dt 28:25-26) was fulfilled, apart from the impact of disaster upon other nations: a show of horror (25d). A curse of corpses as meat for birds and beasts for prey (Dt 28:26) could have occurred, if the dead were not buried, although 1 Sam 4 is silent about it. In addition, the way in which Eli's family was destroyed corresponds to the covenant-curse of Yahweh's anger/curse (Dt 28:20), since the death of Eli and his daughter-in-law was caused by horror when the former heard of the loss of the Ark and the latter of Eli's and her husband's death and the loss of the Ark. Yahweh's curse remained on Eli's house until its destruction.

1.2.5 Revolt: Civil War

"Having forgotten the commandments of God, the people would inevitably commit evil deeds and bring disaster upon their own heads."⁷ Israel's breach of covenant resulted in the destruction of members of the covenant-community by civil war. Failure in keeping the Torah produced evil deeds, which resulted in the divine suzerain's discipline which, in its turn, weakened the covenant community. In his punitive measures Yahweh employed members of the covenant-community to punish the evil ones:

1) The case of Abimelech's sin and its chain effects: he and the Shechemites failed to keep the commandments not to shed innocent blood, this was an outcome of the Israelites' apostasy (Judg 8:33-35). The inhabitants of Shechem, who helped

⁶ If the leaders were disloyal to the divine suzerain the people would follow. Firstly, Eli's sons violated the rules of the sacrifice (2:12-7); and they indulged in immoral acts (2:22). Secondly, Eli's remark about Hannah's manner in prayer indicates that in those days it was not unexceptional for drunken people to enter the sanctuary (1:12-4). Thirdly, Israel fell into paganism, believing that Yahweh could be identified with the symbol of his presence (the Ark), and that Yahweh's favour could automatically be gained by the presence of the Ark. Shiloh may have been destroyed at this time (see Jer 7:12-4; 26:6).

⁷ P. C. Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 342.

Abimelech to murder his brothers, were killed by him due to their rebellion (Judg 9:45):

ואבימלך נלחם בעיר כל היום ההוא וילכד את-העיר ואת-העם אשר-בה הרג ויתץ את-העיר ויזרעה מלח

Abimelech fought against the city all that day, and he captured the city and killed the inhabitants. Then he destroyed the city and sowed it with salt.

Abimelech also died in this campaign against the inhabitants of Shechem (Judg 9:56-57).⁸

2) The failure to keep God's commandments reached its culmination in the crime of the Benjaminites against a Levite and his concubine (Judg 18:26). When the other tribes heard of the crime, they came to take revenge on the Benjaminites, bringing about civil war. Upon the Israelites' inquiry, the divine suzerain commanded that the tribe of Judah should go first to fight against the Benjaminites. Yahweh further said that he would deliver them to the Israelites (Judg 20:28).

3) If the suzerain's representatives campaigned against an enemy, other tribes/vassals were obliged to support them, providing food and refreshment for the troops. When Gideon and his troops were chasing the Midianites Gideon asked for food for his exhausted troops from Succoth and Peniel.⁹ The men of these two places rejected Gideon's request (Judg 8:4-9). In so doing, they became disloyal to the divine suzerain since Gideon was his agent. He disciplined the men of those two districts when he returned victorious (Judg 8:16-17).¹⁰

⁸ The rebellion of Shechem against Abimelech and its subsequent punishment by him are regarded as the divine suzerain's judgments against the citizens and for him, respectively (9:23-24). Divine judgment for a usurper was a common idea in the ancient Near East, see further Part III 2.2). The theme of kingship also occurs in Abimelech's revolt (Judg 9). F. Crüsemann claimed that Judg 9 in the context of Judg 6-8 presents a negative picture of the kingship, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum*, 42, 52. However, Jotham's parable is not necessarily against kingship as such. In his parable Jotham made clear the deadly result of kingship, for the king and people who anointed him, whose kingship was established by violence (Judg 9:7-20). Gideon's refusal of the Israelites' suggestion to rule over them (Judg 8:22-23) emphasizes Yahweh's suzerainty. If he accepted their offer, he would rebel against Yahweh, so he would become king without Yahweh's approval. As we see below (Part IV 2.1.1.1 and fn. 12), human kingship, as such, does not oppose Yahweh's suzerainty over Israel. Dispute over rule commonly occurred in the ancient Near East (see the evaluation of Westerman's view in Part I 3.3 and Part III 2.3). Abimelech's and the Shechemites' revolt was comparable with the revolt of rebel vassals who attempted to take the kingship without the suzerain's approval in Assyrian history (Part III 1.2 and 1.4.3; cf. 2.2.7). So the problem of Abimelech's revolt related to the absence of Yahweh's approval for his kingship. As a matter of fact, Yahweh later approves kingship (1 Sam 8), regardless of the wrong motive of the people (Part IV 2.2.1.1 fn. 12).

⁹ Succoth was allotted to the tribe of Gad (Josh. 13:27), and Peniel probably to half tribe of Manasseh.

¹⁰ The men of Ephraim who challenged Jephthah, agent of the divine suzerain, to war were killed (Judg 12:4, 6).

4) Another civil war occurred when the tribe of Ephraim became jealous of Jephthah's victory over the Ammonites. The Ephraimites challenged Jephthah, Yahweh's agent, to war were killed (Judg 12:4, 6).

To sum up, disobedience to the divine suzerain brought a chain of disasters. The result of failure to follow Yahweh's commandments caused a civil war (Dt 28:22), which, in turn, brought about destruction, which in its turn produced evil deeds, instead of loyal acts in the covenant community. Because of those acts the divine suzerain employed other members of the covenant community. Therefore, instead of multiplying in the promised land, the Israelites diminished in number. Here, we see the chain-effect of Israel's disobedience to her divine suzerain. Yahweh's curse/anger (Dt 28:20) was on her. Consequently, she became disorientated and failed to do right.

1.3 Conclusions

Our study of the covenant-curses as an integral element of the covenant concept and their fulfilments has shown the unity of various themes in Judges-1 Samuel 7.

In the light of the relationship between suzerain and vassal, Yahweh's support of Israel in the conquest of the Promised Land should be understood as his benevolence. That was, in turn, intended, both to let other nations know who Israel's suzerain was, and to encourage Israel, his vassal, to remain loyal. Like any ancient Near Eastern suzerain, Yahweh was forgiving when Israel was penitent. He also obliged himself to support Israel in taking possession of the Land on condition of her loyalty. In view of this, the theme of "holy war" is not necessarily a later edition of Dtr (*contra* Noth and his followers, 1.0 fn 8). Furthermore, Israel had to remain loyal to her divine suzerain by keeping his stipulations (the Torah). Since Israel's suzerain was Yahweh, her obligations primarily related to religion - so for Israel, following Canaanite gods was a breach of covenant. Israel as Yahweh's vassal was obliged to keep the Torah in order to settle successfully in the Promised Land. The conditionality of keeping the Torah was vital for Israel for her successful life there from the conquest onwards. Therefore, Israel's prime duty to follow the Torah should not be taken as a dtr concept of Exile (*contra* Smend and his followers). Furthermore, since each tribe of Israel had a vassal relationship to Yahweh, each tribe should support the representative of the divine suzerain in conquering the Land. In view of this, the picture of intertribal support in conquest need not be a dtr addition (*contra* Noth).

Since individual members of the covenant community stood in vassal relationship to Yahweh, killing other members was forbidden. When anyone killed his co-vassal, he suffered the consequence. In this light Abimelech's rebellion, his death and the civil war caused by the Benjaminites' depravity should be understood. These events are the outcome of breach of the covenant with Yahweh. Thus, Abimelech's story need not be attributed to the dtr interpretation and the civil war (Judg 19-20) to a later addition, as asserted Noth and his followers.

Israel's agreement to serve Yahweh alone in Josh 24 relates to covenant renewal. Therefore, Josh 24 should not be dismissed as a product of exilic revision in dtr style (*contra* Noth).

Moreover, whenever Israel failed to remain loyal to Yahweh, she failed to subdue her enemies. She also became subject to other nations, instead of having hegemony over them, which, in turn, brought about disturbances in daily life. Disloyalty to Yahweh prevented Israel from acting according to Yahweh's stipulations. All these states present fulfilled covenant-curses, the consequences of covenant-

breaking. The so-called theological interpretations relate to the divine suzerain's benevolence and support of his vassal and to Israel's obligations toward her divine suzerain and the consequences of covenant-breaking. Israel's apostasy was her failure to remain loyal to Yahweh. Therefore, the events and their interpretations are to be understood as contemporaneous (see Part IV 4.3).

Chapter 2

THE MONARCHY PERIOD

2.0 Introduction

The diversities of themes in Samuel-2 Kings have led scholars to explanations in terms of a diversity of sources or redactions. We note some influential opinions. Firstly, Wellhausen's view about the anti- and pro-monarchical pericopes in 1 Sam 7-12 has prevailed among scholars.¹ Following Wellhausen, Noth saw the dependence of the anti-monarchical pericope (1 Sam 7:2-8:22, 10:17-27a; 12) on the old tradition (1 Sam 9:1-10:16, 27b-11:15) and ascribed it to Dtr.² McCarthy divided the anti- and pro-monarchical pericopes into two sources and claimed that these two sources were brought together by the dtr school.³ For him, these opposing themes formed a unity in the dtr redaction.

Secondly, it is asserted that the contrast between the conditionality and unconditionality of the Davidic promise is harmonized by the dtr redaction. McCarthy included 2 Samuel 7 with the speeches of leading personages which made the structure of DtrH according to Noth.⁴ He continued: "The monarchy which arose from Israel's sin" "is passing."⁵ On the other hand, "the promise of Nathan as a new beginning, related to the past but essentially a program for the future, fits into the scheme of the deuteronomistic history."⁶ Following McCarthy, Cross saw two sources of royal ideologies in 2 Sam 7: 1) the conditionality of the kingship of Saul and David, based "upon divinely imposed stipulations" and 2) the unconditionality of kingship, which was the development of the conditional Davidic covenant.⁷ Cross continued: "in exilic and postexilic times both ideologies survived. The Exilic Deuteronomist revised the great history as an unrelieved proclamation of doom."⁸

¹ Wellhausen saw a favourable pericope in 1 Sam 9:1-10:16 and an unfavourable pericope in 1 Sam 7; 8; 10:17-12:25 Prolegomena, 249-51 and Die Composition, 243-46.

² Deuteronomistic History, 81-83. Following Cross, P. Kyle McCarter ascribed 1 Sam 12:25 to Dtr₂, I Samuel, 15-16.

³ Dennis J. McCarthy, "The Inauguration," Interpretation 27 (1973), 401-12.

⁴ McCarthy's view is taken up by Cross, CMHE, 275.

⁵ "II Samuel 7," JBL 84 (1965), 135.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷ "In the transformation of David's kingdom into a full-fledged international power, kingship and royal cultus under the stimulus of Canaanite monarchical institutions evolved further. The "Davidic Covenant" became an unconditional . . .," CMHE, 264.

⁸ Cross, CMHE, 265.

Furthermore, the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah are believed to be a repudiation of Assyrian religion,⁹ which was imposed on Judah by the Assyrian suzerain.¹⁰ However, according to the Assyrian annals from Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurbanipal, the Assyrian kings were on good terms with their vassals as long as they met their obligations to Assyria, so they did not impose the Assyrian religious observance upon their vassals.¹¹ Thus, Hezekiah's and Josiah's reforms do not primarily relate

⁹ R. E. Clements, Deuteronomy, 73; Norbert Lohfink, "The Cult Reform of Josiah," Ancient Israelite Religion, 467-68.

¹⁰ According to H. H. Rowley, Hezekiah's reform meant the rejection of the Assyrian deities which related to the rebellion against Assyria, "Hezekiah's reform," BJRL (1962), 425). This view is accepted by other scholars, e.g., J. Bright, History, 282 and see further the references in J. McKay, Religion in Judah under the Assyrians, 84, fn. 2); Hermann Spieckermann, Juda unter Assur, 371-72. If it was the case, the authors of 2 Kings would have mentioned that Hezekiah would have established the high places for the Assyrian deities after his submission to Assyria (2 Ki 18:16). Yet the text is silent about it. A question arises whether the high places in 18:4a refer to Assyrian cultic places. The high places which Hezekiah destroyed relate to Canaanite cultic places (cf. W. F. Albright, "The high place in Ancient Palestine," VTS 4 (1957), 242-58) and designate Israel's apostasy (cf. 1 Ki 14:23) and may include the high places Solomon built in Jerusalem for Ashtoreth of the Sidonians, Chemosh of Moab and Milcom of Ammon (23:13). If a king was loyal to Yahweh, he destroyed high places. Hezekiah and Josiah also destroyed the high places together with the pagan deities. Added to that, archaeological discovery displays Israel's syncretism, see further P. K. McCarter, "Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy," in The Religion of the Israelite Monarchy, 137-55; Jeffrey H. Tigay, "Israelite Religion," *ibid.*, 157-94.

¹¹ This view asserted by Cogan and McKay was challenged by Hermann Spieckermann in his Juda unter Assur. In his view, the Assyrian kings imposed the Assyrian religion upon their vassals in the Sargonid period. However, the textual evidence from the Assyrian annals which Spieckermann used do not support his arguments. He presented an instance from Tigl.III's campaign against Gaza, where Tigl.III was lenient to Hanunu and returned him to his post. Tigl. III deported Hanunu's family, property and gods and claimed: "A (statue) bearing the image of the gods my lords and my (own) royal image out of gold [I fashioned.]," The Inscriptions, Summ 8, 177 16. In the palace [of Gaza] I set (it) up (and) I counted it among the gods of their land," *ibid.*, Summ 4, 141 11. This is the only occurrence in Tigl.III's annals, where he set up a statue bearing the image of the Assyria gods in his vassal's palace and counted it among the gods of his vassal land. Added to that, Gaza was the only vassal city which Tigl.III turned it into an Assyrian emporium (*bit kari*), *ibid.*, Summ 9, 189 16. This establishment on the border between the Assyrian Empire and Egypt relates to the trade with Egypt. According to Moshe Elat, "items were received and then transferred to the *bit kari* of Assyria, the name given to an economic or fiscal institution set up in ports or trading stations," "The Economic Relations," JAOS 98 (1978), 26). This was a sign, according to Cogan, "that a permanent Assyrian presence was to be stationed in the region," "A Reexamination of Imperialism," JBL 112/3 (1993), 407. Presumably, because Tigl.III stationed Assyrians in Gaza, he set up a statue with the image of Assyrian gods. Sometimes, the Assyrian kings would set up a statues with the emblems of the gods in the conquered lands and vassal lands. Tigl.III's reckoning of a statue with his image and that of Assyrian gods among the gods of Gaza neither indicates the imposition of Assyrian cult, nor the interruption of the cult of Gaza. Furthermore, Spieckermann's quotation from Sar.'s annals is not Sar.'s policy for his vassal but a new Assyrian province. The people of Gambulu (Spieckermann misunderstood them as the tribe of Hindaru, *ibid.*, 331. Hindaru and Gambulu were different tribes, see Sargons II, 433-35, 38) joined Merodach-baladan's revolt and fought at Dûr-Athara against Sargon. When the 8 chieftains of the Gambulu heard of Sar.'s capture of that city, they submitted, bringing their tribute. Sar. set his official over them as governor and imposed an annual tribute upon them. He also arranged an annual *nadan* "tax" to Marduk and Nabû, *ibid.*, 277 v 10, 14 and 278 v 10, 15. Yet Marduk and Nabû are Babylonian gods. Sar. also changed the name of Dur-Athara to Dûr-Nabû, *ibid.*, 140 274-75. That is to say, Gambulu became an Assyrian province. Another exam-

to rebellion against Assyria. To sum up, the themes relating to the monarchy illustrate the problems scholars have attempted to solve. The diversities of themes are attributed to different sources which are united by the dtr redaction. As noticed elsewhere, the passages concerning Yahweh's adverse judgment are treated as exilic.

To shed light upon the understanding of the various themes in Samuel-Kings, we explore them in the context of the Ancient Near Eastern concept of vassalship (see further Part III 1).

2.1 COVENANT-CURSES AS AN INTEGRAL COMPONENT IN THE

CONCEPT OF DIVINE HUMAN VASSALSHIP IN 1 SAM 8-2 KINGS

2.1.1 The Divine Suzerain's Benevolence

2.1.1.1 Approval of Kingship

ple Spieckermann used is Esar.'s re-organization of Egypt (Juda under Assur, 338). Having conquered Egypt, Esarhaddon set *šarrāni*, *pahāti* and *šaknāti* over Egypt. He also arranged sacrifices for the Assyrian gods, Asarhaddons, §65, 99 47-50a. Although Esar. did not mention a vassal treaty with Egypt, Egypt became vassal to Assyria, as argued elsewhere. However, Esar.'s establishment of offerings for the Assyrian gods does not necessarily refer to his imposition of Assyrian religion upon Egypt, since the text does not specifically refer to it. The Egyptians might have sent offering for Assyrian gods to Ashur, as they should send tribute to Assyria (49b-50a). In the Middle-Assyrian period, the governors sent offerings to the Aššur temple. For example, at the time of Tigl.I's, "the total amount of *ginā'u* offerings received at the Aššur temple was about 1000 homer (c. 100 m³) corn, 10 homer (c. 1 m³) honey, 100 homer (c. 10 m³) sesame and 50 homer (c. 5 m³) fruit," Olof Pedersén, Archives and Libraries I, 46; cf. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts," Iraq 32 (1970), 172 and fn. 14. Spieckermann's third example comes from Asb.'s annals. Having succeeded in crushing Shamsh-shum-ukīn's revolt, Asb. set *šaknāti* and *qepāni* over Babylon. The arrangement of sacrifices for Babylonian gods was not unusual for the Assyrian kings. They often regulated it before or after their campaign. This mirrors the Assyrian kings' respect for Babylonian culture. Added to that, the phrase *ana dāššur ihtū* (Asarhaddons, 46 29) does not refer to the abandonment of Assyrian religion, as Spieckermann argued (346-47). The same idea commonly occurs in the Assyrian annals to designate a breach of vassal treaty. It corresponds to: "being insubmissive to the god Aššur," "having cast off the yoke of Aššur," "having transgressed the oath made before the gods," etc, see Part III 1.10.2. Moreover, the deportation of the gods of vassal lands was not confined to the later Neo-Assyrian period. It was a common practice in war in the Ancient Near East. Sometimes, the Assyrian kings despoiled the gods of their vassal land to promote the loyalty of vassals, see further Cogan, Imperialism, 40-41. Thus, this practice did not relate to the imposition of Assyrian religion upon vassals. To sum up, the Assyrian kings' treatment for Gaza and Egypt is ad hoc in Neo-Assyrian history, since there are no other instances in Assyrian annals from the 12th down to the 7th century B.C. Thus, Gaza and Egypt cannot be used for any generalization concerning the imposition of Assyrian religion upon Assyria vassals. Added to that, other examples used by Spieckermann relate, in fact, to the arrangement of the Assyrian kings about new provinces. Four other arguments against Spieckermann's view, see Cogan, "A Reexamination of Imperialism," JBL 112/3 (1993), 406-14.

Yahweh selected a king (1 Sam 8:7-9)¹² according to the vassal-people's desire (1 Sam 10:23-24):¹³

... ויגבה מכל-העם משכמו ומעלה ויאמר שמואל אל-כל-העם הראיתם אשר בחר-בו יהוה כי אין כמוהו בכל-העם וירעו כל-העם ויאמרו יחי המלך

... he was a head taller than any of the people. Samuel said to all the people: 'Do you see the man the Lord has chosen? Surely there is no one like him among all the people.' Then the people shouted: 'Long live the king!'

¹² The principal function of a human leader for Israel should be that in 1 Sam 7, where the divine suzerain led Israel by means of a human leader. Thus, a human leader was never autonomous, just as in the surrounding nations - they claimed to act at the command of their gods, e.g., Mesha, Tiglath-pileser I. However, the request for a king itself did not mean a breach of treaty, because there was approval for kingship in the treaty-stipulations: *אשר סביבתי ככל-הגוים אשר עלי מלך כשימה עלי* "I will set a king over me like all the nations who are around me" (Deut 17:14). Then the consecutive instruction shows a human king should not be autonomous in his kingship but dependent on the covenant-stipulations (Dt 17:18-20). He should exercise the leadership in accordance with the divine-suzerain's will. This was the principal paradigm from the time of Moses onwards, and thus, the same principle was given to Joshua (Josh 1:6-9). But, the awesome sign of thunder and rain in the dry season (1 Sam 12:16-18) convinced the Israelites to confess their sin in asking for a king at this time (1 Sam 12:19). This happened while Samuel was delivering a farewell-speech. There, he announced a new era of Israel under kingship. At the same time, he emphasized the importance of the king's and people's loyalty and the effect of disloyalty to the divine suzerain (1 Sam 12). In addition, the request of Israel for kingship and Samuel's reaction (1 Sam 8 with 7 and 12) is generally accepted as anti-monarchical. However, the anticipation of kingship is present in the Abrahamic covenant (Gen 17:6) and continued in Jacob's blessing for the tribe of Judah (Gen 49:10). A king for Israel should be someone from the covenant community. Thus, the kingship accords with Yahweh's will for Israel. Yet the Israelites recognized their request about a king was wrong, when the divine suzerain intervened upon Samuel's prayer through sending thunder and rain in the time wheat harvest (1 Sam 12:16-17). That is, instead relying on Yahweh alone, they wanted to rely on a king who could fight for them (1 Sam 20), as other nations, when they saw that Nahash king of the Ammonites was marching against them (1 Sam 12:12). Although Samuel felt Israel's request for a king was the rejection of his post as judge (1 Sam 8:6), his reaction was not anti-monarchical. Despite the costs for maintaining a kingdom (1 Sam 8:10-18) which Samuel explained, the people insisted on having a king (1 Sam 8:19-20). So the divine suzerain granted them a king. Following Yahweh's approval of kingship, Samuel made clear to king and people their obligation to remain loyal to Yahweh (1 Sam 12:14-15, 20-25). In other words, both king and people should rely on Yahweh alone. This obligation and the consequence of disobedience are the principal elements in Israel's relationship since the pre-monarchy period. Thus, the chronological distinction between the so-called anti- and pro-monarchical arguments is not persuasive.

¹³ The divine suzerain's selection of his vassal-king was followed by a public announcement of kingship to the vassal people (1 Sam 10:17-24). After his anointing, Saul was to receive two signs - the first was given by three men going up to Bethel, and the second by the spirit of the Lord, so that Saul would be among a band of prophets as prophesied that he should be changed into a new man (1 Sam 10:2-7). These signs were confirming Saul's leadership over Israel. Samuel's statement in v. 7 *והיה כי תבאינה האותות האלה לך עשה לך אשר תמצא ירך כי האלהים עמך* "When these signs come to you, do whatever your hand finds to do, for God is with you" indicates that Saul was "to take up his appointed rule of Israel, using opportunity as it came," J. Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 99. Saul proved his royal leadership in 1 Sam 11:1-4. The reaffirmation of the kingship was followed by Saul's defeat of the Ammonites (1 Sam 10:11) who besieged Jabesh Gilead.

However, when Saul was persistently disloyal, Yahweh chose a successor who was more pleasing to him: ויהוה יראה ללבב "but the Lord looks at the heart" (1 Sam 16:7) and anointed David (1 Sam 16:12-13). Furthermore, when David desired to build a dwelling place for Yahweh, he reminded David of his benevolence: his election from an ordinary life-style to kingship (2 Sam 7:8; 12:8), his protection from Saul (2 Sam 12:7) and his gift of dynasty (2 Sam 12:8).

The Northern Kingdom also had vassal status, since the divine suzerain himself founded it to humble/discipline David's descendants (1 Ki 11:37-39). Thus Jeroboam's relationship to Yahweh was that of vassalship.¹⁴ Although Baasha rose to the throne by *coup d'état* and assassinated Nadab and his father's family (1 Ki 15:28-29), Yahweh told him that it was He who raised him to the throne (16:2a).¹⁵ Later, having appointed Jehu over Israel (2 Ki 9:6b), Yahweh confirmed to Jehu a dynasty lasting for four generations, after Jehu carried out his commandment concerning Ahab's house (2 Ki 10:30).¹⁶

2.1.1.2 Support

(1) Military Aid

The divine suzerain further supported Saul, vassal king, with warriors (1 Sam 10:26). When David was enthroned, Yahweh also supported him with outstanding warriors (2 Sam 23:8-39).¹⁷

(2) Administrative Aid

¹⁴ If Jeroboam kept the stipulations of the divine-suzerain, Yahweh promised him a dynasty as stable as the Davidic dynasty; the length of this dynasty, however, was limited by Yahweh's everlasting covenant with David (2 Sam 7:16). In other words, Jeroboam's dynasty would be eliminated if it was disloyal to Yahweh; but with respect to the Davidic dynasty, kings would be disciplined, yet the Dynasty would exist. Thus the Israelite kingdom would cease to exist one day if Yahweh's goal "came to pass". However, Jeroboam made two golden calves, thereby adopting the Canaanite religion (2 Ki 28-30) and created festivals to prevent the people going to Jerusalem to celebrate festivals (1 Ki 12:32-33). In this way, he destabilized his kingdom, since a vassal-king's self-reliance affected his relationship to the divine suzerain.

¹⁵ Yahweh controlled the events and cf. Part III 2.2.

¹⁶ Shallum son of Jabesh rebelled against Zechariah son of Jeroboam II and succeeded him, so Yahweh's promise to Jehu was fulfilled (2 Ki 15:12)

¹⁷ The account of David's warriors belongs to the beginning of his kingship (cf. 1 Ch 11). Presumably, the author(s) of Samuel made a connection between this account and David's act in ch 24. Because of this powerful support of Yahweh, David's act in making a census of Israel and Judah was considered a breach of the treaty. That is, he was depending on fighting men instead of relying on the divine-suzerain for Israel's security.

Solomon requested Yahweh's support in order to be able to govern the vassal-people.¹⁸ Yahweh replied (1 Ki 3:12):

הנה עשיתי כדבריך הנה נתתי לך לב חכם ונכון אשר כמוך לא-היה לפניך ואחריו לא-יקום כמוך

Behold, I will do according to your requests. Behold, I will give you a wise and discerning heart, so that there has not been anyone like you, nor will one like you arise after you.

As a result, Solomon showed discernment both in domestic and international affairs. He conducted wise judgement in a case of two prostitutes (1 Ki 3:16-28), administration of the land through the division into twelve districts (1 Ki 4:7-19) and regulations in the palace and temple (1 Ki 10:4-5). His wisdom was further seen in his knowledge about creatures and his composing of proverbs (1 Ki 5:9-13 (Eng. 4:29-33)). Through his wisdom he maintained a peaceful relationship with Tyre indicating his wise foreign policy (1 Ki 5:26 (Eng. 5:12)); and he further maintained his suzerainty over all the kingdom from the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines as far as the border of Egypt (1 Ki 5:1 (Eng. 4:21)). And through this unparalleled wisdom, Solomon gained fame in the Ancient Near East (1 Ki 5:14 (Eng. 4:34); 10:1-3), thus the divine suzerain was exalted (1 Ki 10:6, 9).

2.1.1.3 Forgiveness

Yahweh rescued the penitent Israelites from the Philistines' invasion through his intervention in response to Samuel's prayer (1 Sam 7:9-11). Yahweh pardoned David when he confessed the violation of the treaty with Yahweh: *... ויאמר נתן אל-... דוד גם-יהוה העביר חטאתך לא תמות*. . . Nathan said to David, 'The Lord also has taken away your sin; you shall not die.'" (2 Sam 12:13). Yahweh's forgiveness resulted in David's success in conquering the Ammonites (2 Sam 12:29)¹⁹ and quell-

¹⁸ The divine-suzerain granted the vassal-king more than his requests (1 Ki 3:13): *גם אשר לא-* "Moreover, I will give you what you have not asked for: both riches and honour, so that there will not be anyone among kings like you all your days." Solomon became richer than all the kings of the earth in riches (1 Ki 10:23). For example, he received 666 talents of gold yearly from trade with Ophir (1 Ki 9:28) and also, probably, from annual tributes, gifts of international visitors - as the queen of Sheba, (1 Ki 10:24-25). Under Solomon, silver was not considered valuable (10:27). See the archaeological context of Solomon's wealth, Millard, "King Solomon's Golden Wealth," *BAR* 15 (1989), 20-29, 31, 34 and "King Solomon's Shields," in *Scripture and Other Artifacts*, 286-95; Kitchen, "Where Did Solomon's Gold Go?," *BAR* 15 (1989), 30.

¹⁹ Having conquered Rabbah, David took the crown of the Ammonite king and placed it on his head (v. 30). Probably, this was a symbolic act of showing the transfer of David's sovereignty over Ammon. David followed common practice in deportation, consigning them to various labours (2 Sam 12:30-31). Yahweh also delivered Israel from the oppression of the Arameans, when Jehoahaz was penitent (2 Ki 13:5). He showed compassion to Jehoahaz because of His covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (see 2 Ki 13:22).

ing in a domestic revolt. In the time of the latter, Yahweh listened to David's prayer to frustrate the advice of Ahithophel (2 Sam 16:31), whose counsel led to Absalom's conspiracy (2 Sam 17:14). Moreover, when David was penitent about having conducted the census (2 Sam 24: 10, 17), which indicated that he had failed to rely entirely on the divine suzerain, Yahweh presented three choices to David and let him to chose one of them (2 Sam 24:12). Having seen the consequences of plague, Yahweh showed mercy to David and reduced the days of plague (2 Sam 24:15-16).

The answer to Elijah's prayer in the contest against the Baals reminded the Israelites that Yahweh was her suzerain, who had withheld the rain because of their breach of the covenant (2 Ki 18:36). Since the people returned to Yahweh, putting the prophets of Baal to death according to the stipulations (2 Ki 18:40), Yahweh forgave them and gave them rain (1 Ki 18:45a) indicating that the covenant curse was lifted.

When a very wicked king was penitent, he could experience Yahweh's forgiveness. This was so in the case of Ahab; hearing of Yahweh's judgments, Ahab mourned, and his behaviour reflected his penitence for his crime against Naboth (2 Ki 21:27); thus, Yahweh showed mercy to him by postponing the judgement on his house until the days of his son (2 Ki 21:28-29).²⁰ Added to that, the divine suzerain was kind to a vassal king who was penitent for his forefather's covenant-violation. He promised Josiah, who responded to His judgement about Judah and humbled himself, that the covenant-curses would not occur in his life-time (2 Ki 22:19-20a).

2.1.1.4 Kindness

Yahweh's kindness to the disloyal vassal people is notable in his maintaining of the prophetic office, thereby instructing them and giving them opportunities for repentance, so Elisha succeeded Elijah (2 Ki 2:15a α). Added to that, Yahweh instructed Joram, disloyal king of Israel, through Elisha how to campaign against Moab (2 Ki 3:18b-19).²¹

²⁰ Yahweh pardoned Jehoahaz who sought his favour (2 Ki 13:4). As Yahweh forgave Jehoahaz' sin he would carry out his obligation to deliver his vassal from the power of the enemy (see below 2 Ki 13:5). There Yahweh's benevolence and obligation as the suzerain are coincidental. However, according to 2 Ki 13:22, the deliverance did not occur during the time of Jehoahaz. It probably happened in the time of Jehoash his son (2 Ki 13:17,19,25).

²¹ Joram should destroy fortified cities and major towns, fell good trees and springs (2 Ki 3:19), which probably Mesha had built. According to the Moabite Stele, Mesha built cities and made water reservoirs (ANET 320-21), see further Gray Rendsburg, "A Reconstruction of Moabite-Israelite History," *JANES* 13 (1981), 71.

Significantly, Yahweh showed kindness to disloyal kings and people in returning them to their vassal status. This benevolence runs throughout the history of Israel. Under Ahab, Yahweh's benevolence was visible in his act of judgement on Mount Carmel, by which he made it known that he was their suzerain and that they must repent of their disloyalty to Yahweh (1 Ki 18:37-38):²²

ענני יהוה ענני וידעו העם הזה כי-אתה יהוה האלהים ואתה הסבת את-לבם אחרנית ותפל אש-יהוה ותאכל את-
העלה ואת-העצים ואת-האבנים ואת-העפר ואת-המים אשר-נתעלה לחכה

Answer me Lord, answer me, so these people will know that you, O Lord, are God, and you are turning their hearts back again. Then the fire of the Lord fell and burned up the sacrifice, the wood, and stones and the soil, and licked up the water that was in the trench.

Yahweh showed mercy to the rebellious people and lifted the siege of Ben-Hadad from Samaria (2 Ki 7:6-7):²³

ואדני השמיע את-מחנה ארם קול רכב קול סוס קול חיל גדול ויאמרו איש אל-אחיו הנה שכר-עלינו מלך
ישראל את-מלכי החתים ואת-מלכי מצרים לבוא עלינו ויקומו וינוסו בנשף ויעזבו את-אהליהם ואת-סוסייהם
ואת-חמריהם המחנה כאשר-היא וינסו אל-נפשם

The Lord had caused the Arameans to hear the sound of chariots and horses and a great army, so that they said to one another: 'Behold, the king of Israel has hired the Hittite and Egyptian kings to attack us.' So they got up and fled in the twilight and abandoned their tents and their horses and donkeys, the camp just as it was, and fled for their lives.

With respect to Judah, Manasseh was the most disloyal of the Judean kings. Nonetheless, he reigned for fifty-five years (see below 2 Ki 21:2-7). Strictly speaking, he deserved a very short life, but Yahweh was kind in maintaining him on the throne long enough to give him an opportunity for repentance (2 Ki 21:1aγ). Yah-

²² Moreover, Yahweh's deliverance of Ben-Hadad's army into the power of Ahab had as its prime purpose to let him know that Yahweh was the suzerain of Israel (1 Ki 20:13). Ben-Hadad attacked Samaria with his allies and claimed Ahab's harem, his children and property. Upon his demand Ahab replied as: "כרבך אדני המלך לך אני וכל-אשר-לי . . .". . . according your word, my lord, O king; I am yours, and all that I have" (1 Ki 20:4). Ahab submitted to Ben-Hadad because of his vast army, addressing him as "my lord." Thus, Ben-Hadad's demand and Ahab's reaction did not reflect a vassal-relationship between the two lands. After that, there is no evidence for a vassal-relationship between Israel and Aram. With Yahweh's support Israel defeated Ben-Hadad's army (1 Ki 20:20-21).

²³ Joram failed to recognize severe famine and its result, cannibalism, as covenant curses. Thus, he blamed Elisha for the disastrous conditions in Samaria (2 Ki 6:31), instead of returning to Yahweh. Yet due to the withdrawal of the Aramean army, food was provided for the people (2 Ki 7:16). In other instances, Yahweh instructed Joram, disloyal king of Israel, through Elisha how to campaign against Moab (2 Ki 3:18b-19). He protected Joram from the danger of being assassinated by the Arameans (2 Ki 6:8-10). Furthermore, because of the covenant with the patriarchs (13:23a) Yahweh was gracious to the disloyal people (under Jehoash) and gave success in Jehoash' campaign against Aram (2 Ki 13:25). In spite of the breach of treaty by Jeroboam II, Yahweh showed compassion on the suffering vassal people and delivered them from their enemies through Jeroboam (14:26-27). Thus he was able to restore the boundaries of Israel from Lebo Hamath to the Sea of the Arabah (14:25).

weh instructed his vassals, Manasseh and the people, to keep the covenant law in order to have a secure life in the promised land (2 Ki 21:8).²⁴

2.1.1.5 Yahweh's Promise to David

(1) The promise of a Magnificent Kingdom

Yahweh promised to make the vassal-king's reputation great and to allocate a land where the vassal-people could dwell securely. That also meant a secure regime for the vassal-king during his life (2 Sam 7:9-11). This promise was actuated in the time of David and Solomon (see further the concept of inter-state vassalship).

(2) The Promise of a Lasting Dynasty²⁵

²⁴ Yahweh persistently instructed Manasseh and his people to repent (2 Ch 33:10), since the maintenance of the gift, the land, depends on obedience to the covenant stipulations, see further Norman C. Habel, *The Land is Mine*.

²⁵ Weinfeld considered the Davidic covenant comparable to the Neo-Assyrian grant document ("The Covenant of Grant," *JAOS* 90 (1970), 184-203). The Neo-Assyrian text which Weinfeld used is Ashurbanipal's grant to his loyal official of a release from taxes (Weinfeld, 185-86; L. Kataja and R. Whiting, *SAA* XII, no. 25, 24-26). However, the concept of royal grants for loyal officials was common in the Ancient Near East from the second millennium B.C. onwards. In his recent article, having analyzed ancient Near Eastern land grants in relation to the Davidic covenant in terms of structure and language, Gray N. Knoppers challenged Weinfeld's view and stated: since "the use of unconditional language" occurred in royal grants, "a variety of legal documents pertaining to property" and "a few vassal treaties," "the land grant parallel" cannot be used "for interpreting the Davidic covenant . . ." "Royal Grants and the Davidic promises," *JAOS* 116 (1996), 683-84, 95. Although Knoppers' study about the Davidic covenant in the ancient Near Eastern legal documents is significant, his view is flawed by inadequate interpretation of the Biblical texts. He stated: "Rather than seeing biblical authors as modelling the Davidic promises after either vassal treaties or land grants, it would be more accurate to say that biblical authors draw upon a variety of genres in their presentations of YHWH's provisions for David's descendants" (*ibid.*, 674). Following Cross, Knoppers stated that Ps 89 has a mythological context, namely: the phrase "I will set his hand over the sea, his right hand over the rivers" (Ps 89:25) "applies to the Israelite king a 'mythological allusion to the victory of the divine warrior over the watery chaos'" (*ibid.*, 684). So he argued: "Considering the notion of sonship only within the context of legal adaptation, disavowing any connection with the language of legends and mythology, proves to be too narrow" (*ibid.*, 685). So, "David in Psalm 89 enjoys a critical position in divine-human affairs" (*ibid.*). Knoppers continued that there might be more than one Davidic covenant. He saw a "discrepancy between the conditional formulation of Ps 132 and the predominately unconditional formulation of 2 Sam 7" (*ibid.*, 695). He continued: "each of the biblical writers draws upon a repertoire of traditional imagery and sources-mythological [Ps 89], legal, diplomatic, and, in the case of the Chronicles, biblical" (*ibid.*). So he proposed "to speak not of the Davidic covenant, but instead of covenants or Davidic covenants or Davidic promises" (*ibid.*). However, Knoppers' understanding about four Biblical texts concerning the Davidic covenant is unsatisfactory, especially Ps 89. Ps 89:25 (Heb. 26) is not necessarily "a 'mythological allusion.'" The fear of the sea was common in the Levant because of its uncontrollable nature. This situation appears in Jonah. Knowing their powerlessness, the sailors turned to the gods, when the ship threatened to break up because of a violent storm (1:4-5). In their world-view the sea, which was beyond human control, could be controlled only by the gods. This view is also reflected in the epic of Baal, where Baal defeated Yam, god of the sea. Moreover, Israel knew the danger of rivers. In the rain season many wadies would turn suddenly to torrents. Using a common view about the sea and rivers, Ps 89:26 envisages Yahweh will empower his vassal king to control impossible situations. The content of vv. 20-29 is Yahweh as the suzerain promises his support to David (cf. Excursus 2 1-2). The suzerain's promising to support his loyal vassals was a common concept in vassal treaties. As already seen, the Assyrian kings also supported their loyal vassals. In addition to that divine sup-

Yahweh further assured a lasting dynasty²⁶ for David's descendants (2 Sam 7:11-13):

... והגיד לך יהוה כי-בית יעשה לך יהוה כי ימלאו ימיך ושכבת את-אבתיך והקימתי את-זרעך אחריו אשר יצא ממעריך והכינתי את-ממלכתו . . . וכננתי את-כסא ממלכתו עד-עולם

... and the Lord declares to you that the Lord will build a house for you. When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers, I will raise up your offspring after you and will establish his kingdom. . . . and I will establish his throne for ever.

The lasting dynasty is based upon the divine suzerain's never-ceasing, unconditional, loyalty. Only, if a vassal king became disloyal, would the divine suzerain discipline him (2 Sam 7:14b), yet the Davidic dynasty will endure (2 Sam 7:15-16). This promise was fulfilled in the maintenance of the Judean kingdom from Rehoboam down to Jehoiachin, despite the vassal-kings' sins.²⁷ Moreover, there was hope for

port is not unique to Ps 89. We read in Tigl.I's annals: "Tiglath-pileser, . . . , select of the god Aššur, . . . , who acts with the support of the gods Aššur and Ninurta, the great gods, . . . , by the command of the god Šamaš the warrior, has conquered by means of conflict and might from Babylon of the land Akkad to the Upper Sea of the land Amurru and the sea of the lands Nairi . . ." (*RIMA II* A.0.87.4 41 1-7; see further, Niehaus, "The Warrior and His God," in *Faith, Tradition & History*, 299-312). Furthermore, Ps 89:30-32 is about the conditionality of the Davidic covenant followed by Yahweh's promise of its unconditionality (vv. 33-37). Turning to the unconditionality, the evidence shows the unconditional grant of a superior to an inferior was common, as Weinfeld and Knoppers show. The promise of a dynasty with unconditionality and conditionality is not peculiar to the Davidic promise. They appear in Hittite vassal treaties, as Weinfeld (189) and Knoppers (682 ff.) recognized. In a vassal treaty Hattusili III promised a lasting dynasty to Ulmi-Teshshup of Tarhuntassa with a condition attached: "Later your son and grandson will hold [the land] which I have given [to you]. It may not be taken away from him. If any son or grandson of yours commits an offense, . . . If he is deserving of death, he shall perish, but his household and land shall not be taken from him and given to the progeny of another. Only someone of the progeny of Ulmi-Teshshup shall take them," *HDT*, no. 18b, 104 §1. Therefore, the confluence of the unconditionality and conditionality in the Davidic covenant has a Hittite antecedent. Moreover, Yahweh's promise of an unconditional, lasting dynasty was given to David who was already his vassal. This is comparable to royal grants existing from the second millennium B.C. In the light of a close reading, Ps 132 does not lack the concept of the unconditionality of the Davidic covenant. The psalmist relates the concept of the unconditional Davidic promise to Yahweh's eternal election of Zion and his blessing upon it (13-18). Yahweh's election of a principal city would make the dynasty lasting. So a single Davidic promise interwoven with unconditionality and conditionality occurs in both Ps 89, 132 and 2 Sam 7.

²⁶ Yahweh's loving-kindness resting on David the vassal-king on the one hand, the king's loyalty to Yahweh, and his kingly capability given by the spirit of Yahweh on the other hand were the guarantor of Israel's security and prosperity. Therefore, David was urged not to go out to battle, so that David the lamp of Israel would not be extinguished, and so he was excluded from a dangerous moment in battle against the Philistines (2 Sam 21:17). At this time, he was probably considerably advanced in age. Cf. J. Mauchline, "1 and 2 Samuel," p. 305. See also David's last words in 2 Sam 23:1-7.

²⁷ Solomon's disloyalty could not nullify the existence of the Davidic Dynasty, due to the divine-suzerain's loyalty to David. Thus, despite Yahweh's announcement of curses upon the dynasty, it would continually exist in Jerusalem (1 Ki 11:36, 15:4; 2 Ki 8:19).

the re-establishment of the Davidic dynasty in the Babylonian exile. Jehoiachin was released from prison in the 37th year of the Exile, when Amel-Marduk succeeded to the throne in Babylon (2 Ki 25:28-30).²⁸

2.1.2 The Divine Suzerain's Obligation

Yahweh committed himself to fulfill his promises. Their fulfilment depended on Israel's loyalty to him.

2.1.2.1 Fulfilment of the Promise

(1) To Magnify the Power of Vassal-king

Yahweh promised his blessings, if the vassal-king remained loyal (cf. Dt 28:1-14). Thus, David's growing power can be ascribed to Yahweh's support, because David was loyal to his divine suzerain (2 Sam 5:10):²⁹ וַיִּלֶךְ דָּוִד הַלֹּךְ וְגָדוֹל וַיְהוֶה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת עִמּוֹ "David became more and more powerful, for the Lord God Almighty was with him." Added to that, David held the suzerainty over the Levant (see Excursus 2). Having inherited the powerful kingdom from David, Solomon maintained the suzerainty established by David over the Levant for some time (1 Ki 5:1, Eng. 4:21)³⁰ and the people prospered and lived peacefully in the land due to the vassal-king's loyalty to the divine-suzerain (1 Ki 4:20).

(2) Assurance of a Successor to the Throne

If the vassal-king is loyal to the divine-suzerain, the latter will show his loyalty to the former by assuring him of continuing succession to the throne (1 Ki 2:4):³¹

²⁸ The phrase "לרבר טובות" denotes the establishment of a treaty. The Babylonian king treated Jehoiachin in a friendly way while allowing him to dine at his table. This was a common practice in the ancient Near East, if the suzerain honoured vassals, see Part III 1.1.4.1. See further W. L. Moran, "A Note on the Treaty Terminology of the Sefire Stelas," *JNES* 22 (1963), 174; A. Millard, "For He is Good," *TB* 17 (1966), 115-17; M. Fox, "Tōb as Covenant Terminology," *BASOR* 209 (1973), 41-42.

²⁹ When Yahweh made a perpetual treaty with David he also promised to make David's name great (2 Sam 7:9). This promise was fulfilled for example in the campaign against the Edomites (2 Sam 8:13). In other words, the divine-suzerain promised and obliged himself to carry out his promise if the vassal remained loyal.

³⁰ See further the establishment of the Davidic and Solomonic kingdom, A. Malamat, *Das davidische und salomonische Königreich*, 11-20.

³¹ Yahweh's promise to David, is marked by two occurrences of לאמר. The first לאמר introduces the condition of loyalty (4a) and the second the result of loyalty, namely the continuation of succession (4b). These two לאמרים highlight the importance of the Davidic kings' loyalty and the result, the lasting Davidic dynasty. In Ki 3:14 Yahweh reminded Solomon of the reward for his loyalty; his instruction as such reflects his concern for the vassal king's prosperity. However, the disloyalty of David's descendants would not annihilate the dynasty because of Yahweh's promise (benevolence) to David (fn. 27 above), as in the case of Saul's dynasty.

למען יקים יהוה את-דברו אשר דבר עלי לאמר אם-ישמרו בניך את-דרכם ללכת לפני באמת בכל-לבנם ובכל-נפשם לאמר לא-יכרת לך איש מעל כסא ישראל

. . . so that the Lord may establish his word which he spoke to me, 'If your descendants take heed to their way, walking faithfully before me with all their heart and soul, you will not lack a man on the throne of Israel.'

2.1.2.2 Military Support

Having approved kingship, the divine suzerain enabled the vassal king to deliver the people from an enemy's invasion. This was the first royal accomplishment of Saul when he campaigned against the Ammonites who invaded Jabesh Gilead (1 Sam 11:6):³² וחזלח רוח-אלהים על-שאול בשמעו את-הדברים האלה ויחר אפו מאד "The spirit of God came upon Saul in power when he heard their words, and he became very angry." Thereupon, Saul successfully campaigned against the Ammonites (1 Sam 11:11). The divine suzerain encouraged David, when the Philistines challenged him to war (2 Sam 5:18-19), and gave him victory over them (2 Sam 5:20-21). He supported David wherever he went (2 Sam 8:6). Yahweh enabled Amaziah to subdue Edom, a vassal of Judah, which had rebelled under Jehoram (2 Ki 14:7a).

Yahweh's intervention in war on behalf of loyal kings continued throughout the monarchy. When the Philistines heard of David's accession they challenged him in the Valley of Rephaim, which offers access to the centre of the Judean Hill country from the west. Obviously they were attempting to crush David after having defeated Saul on Mount Gilboa. But the divine suzerain gave instruction to the loyal vassal king on how to fight with the enemy (2 Sam 5:22-24).³³

The divine suzerain would intervene, if individuals remained loyal in the time of war. He, thus, gave victory to Israel over the Philistines at Michmash because of

³² Yahweh's support created a unanimous agreement among people about Saul's kingship (cf. 1 Sam 26-27). This royal accomplishment was followed by the reconfirmation of the kingship (1 Sam 11:14-5). Yahweh gave support to David to rescue his people from the Philistines in Keilah (1 Sam 23:4).

³³ Furthermore, because of Hezekiah's loyalty Yahweh was with him, so he was successful in his activity; the phrase *בכל אשר-יצא ישכיל* in 2 Ki 18:7a is used to affirm the reward of those who are loyal to the divine suzerain, Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 217. Therefore Hezekiah was able to defeat the enemy (2 Ki 18:8). Probably, Hezekiah tried to compel the Philistines to join his anti-Assyrian policy. According to Senn. annals, Hezekiah was forced to release Padi king of Ekron, whom he held prisoner in Jerusalem. Senn. the suzerain marched up to Jerusalem to punish Hezekiah the rebellious vassal and to deliver Padi the loyal vassal from Jerusalem, see Part III 1.3.2.

Jonathan's zeal for the divine suzerain's reputation (1 Sam 14:6, 13, 20).³⁴ Yahweh vindicated his suzerainty when Ben-Hadad again invaded Israel, being advised that Israel defeated his army because Israel's gods were gods of the hills and that now he would be able to defeat Israel on the plain (1 Ki 20:23-27). This was, in fact, a challenge to Yahweh's suzerainty both over Israel and other nations, since, for instance, Yahweh appointed Elijah to anoint Hazael king over Aram (1 Ki 19:16). Thus, Yahweh justified his suzerainty (1 Ki 20:28):

ויגש איש האלהים ויאמר אל-מלך ישראל ויאמר כה-אמר יהוה יען אשר אמרו ארם אלהי הרים יהוה ולא-אלהי עמקים הוא ונתתי את-כל-ההמון הגדול הזה בידך וידעתם כי-אני יהוה

A man of God came up and told the king of Israel: 'Thus says the Lord, because the Arameans have said, 'The Lord is a god of the hills and not a god of the plains'; therefore I will give all this great army into your hand, and you will know that I am the Lord.'

Yahweh's support relates to his reputation and maintenance of the Davidic dynasty.³⁵ Yahweh encouraged Hezekiah to count on his support in the confrontation with the Assyrian army (2 Ki 19:32-34):

לכן כה-אמר יהוה אל-מלך אשור לא יבא אל-העיר הזאת ולא-יורה שם חץ ולא-יקדמנה מגן ולא-ישפך עליה סלה בדרך אשר-יבא בה ישוב ואל-העיר הזאת לא יבא נאם-יהיה וגנותי אל-העיר הזאת להושיעה למעני ולמען דוד עבדי

Therefore thus says the Lord concerning the king of Assyria: 'He will not enter this city or shoot an arrow there. He will not come before it with shield or build a siege ramp against it. By the way that he came he will return, and he will not enter this city, declares the Lord. For I will defend this city to save it for my own sake and for the sake of David my servant.'

The Assyrian army was defeated through Yahweh's intervention, and thus Sennacherib withdrew and was assassinated, according to Yahweh's prediction (2 Ki 19:35-37a).³⁶

³⁴ In the time of war, if some of the vassal troops were confident of the divine suzerain's power, and then, if they acted accordingly, the divine suzerain intervened. There a vassal showed his loyalty to the divine suzerain in facing the enemy's attack, reckoning on the latter's support, since Yahweh obliged himself to help them (Dt 28:7). David also fought against Goliath in the name of the divine suzerain, being confident of his help (1 Sam 17:37).

³⁵ This further implies the enduring validity of the covenant. Thus Yahweh's support and the validity of the covenant are coincidental.

³⁶ A. Laato thinks the number of 185,000 Assyrian soldiers whom the angel of the Lord destroyed is not historical fact, "Assyrian Propaganda", VT 45 (1995), 223. However, the large number in 2 Ki 19:35 is not unique in the ancient Near Eastern context. According to Millard, "many of the large numbers recorded in the Assyrian royal inscriptions are precise, or relatively precise," "Large Numbers in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," in *Ah, Assyria ...*, 215. For example, "the 305,412 bronze daggers which Sargon took from Musasir appear to be exact" (*ibid.*). Millard continued: "Similarly, the number of people taken from Hezekiah's Judah should be accepted as stated by Sennacherib's chronicler as 200,150, or something of that order. Further archaeological excavations and surveys may uncover the occupation pattern of the late eighth century B.C.E. in Judah fully enough to permit testing of that figure" (*ibid.*, 221-22). In the light of Millard's view, we should find a solution for the large number in 2 Ki 19:35 without dismissing *a priori* its historicity. According to 2 Ki 18:17, the Assyrian troops were divided, Senn. sent one troop to Jerusalem, and the other stayed with him.

2.1.2.3 Political Intervention for Loyal Vassal

Yahweh intervened to frustrate Absalom's revolt on behalf of David (see 2 Sam 16:31 above).

2.1.2.4 Protection of the Loyal People

(1) A loyal Man

The divine suzerain saved the life of David from the power of Saul, a disloyal vassal-king, who sought an opportunity to kill him when his jealousy of David (1 Sam 18:7-9) developed into a desire to kill him (1 Sam 19:1). From this time onward David was a fugitive, yet the protection of the divine suzerain followed him. David escaped first from Saul and went to Samuel at Ramah (1 Sam 19:18). The divine suzerain frustrated Saul's plan to capture him when Saul sent men to Ramah three times, and further, when he himself came there; each time, the Spirit of the Lord came upon them, and they prophesied among a group of prophets (1 Sam 19:18-24), forgetting their errands.³⁷

Having rescued Keilah from the Philistines,³⁸ David fled to the desert of Ziph from Saul, whose search for him was in vain because of the divine suzerain's protection:³⁹ וְלֹא-נָתַנּוּ אֱלֹהִים בְּיָדוֹ . . . "But God did not deliver him (David) into his hand."

(2) People

So the number of dead soldiers in "the Assyrian camp" (v. 35) relates to both troops. To understand this large number the Assyrian annals may be useful, although the Assyrian kings rarely mentioned how many soldiers they took for their campaigns. Shalm.III claimed that he crossed the Euphrates with 120,000 troops during his 14th campaign, Marco, *SAA* III, 107. In the Battle of Qarqar, the forces of the Syro-Palestinian allies are "a total of almost 75,000 men-at-arms" (*ibid.*, 104). These examples of large numbers may help us to estimate roughly the force involved in Senn.'s third Syro-Palestinian campaign. During his campaign, eight kings of Amurru brought four-fold their previous heavy audience gifts, *OIP* II, 30 ii 50-60. Here, it is possible that these kings supported Senn. with troops, since it was one of the Assyrian vassals' obligations. In the context of Shalm.III's campaigns above, the large number of dead soldiers in the Assyrian camp (185,000, 2 Ki 19:35) is not necessarily exaggerated. It could be historical fact.

³⁷ Yahweh protected Elisha from Aram's attack (2 Ki 6:17) and frustrated the Aramean's aim of capturing him by closing their eyes to reality (18-19).

³⁸ See above 23:4.

³⁹ 1 Sam 23:14. Yahweh protected Elisha from Aram's attack (2 Ki 6:17-19).

Yahweh promised to protect the loyal ones in the course of his punishment-prediction (1 Ki 19:18):⁴⁰ והשארתי בישראל שבעת אלפים כל-הברכים אשר לא-כרעו "I will leave 7,000 in Israel; all whose knees have not bowed to Baal and all whose mouths have not kissed him."

2.2.2.5 Healing

Yahweh kept his word, since he promised long life to those who remained loyal to him. When Hezekiah became ill, he asked Yahweh to heal him because of his loyalty (2 Ki 20:5-6; cf. 2 Ki 19:32-34 above).⁴¹

2.1.2.6 Food Supply in Famine

Yahweh showed loyalty to those who revered him: by following him and assisting the prophet in his ministry. Elisha helped the family of his disciple in its financial crises, when two sons were threatened with being taken away as slaves (2 Ki 4:3-7). A woman at Shunem supported Elisha in his ministry, providing him with accommodation whenever he came to Shunem. Elisha instructed that woman to escape the privations of the famine (8:1). Furthermore, in time of famine, Elisha made poisonous food edible for the company of the prophets (2 Ki 4:41). Yahweh fed a hundred men with twenty loaves of barley bread (2 Ki 4:43b-44).

2.1.3 The Vassals' Obligations

2.1.3.1 Keeping Stipulations

David acknowledged Yahweh's suzerainty both over him and the people by restoring the ark to the royal city (2 Sam 6:2). Passing a well-established kingdom

⁴⁰ If vassal-king and vassal-people worshipped Canaanite gods, they attempted to kill Yahweh's prophets; thus, the lives of the loyal ones were endangered (1 Ki 18:22; 19:10, 14).

⁴¹ Presumably, Hezekiah became ill before Senn.'s campaign. Firstly, his prayer in 2 Ki 20:2-3 reveals his blameless walk before Yahweh. If he submitted to Assyria, having experienced Senn.'s heavy discipline (2 Ki 18:13-15), he could not have prayed as in vv. 2-3. Secondly, Yahweh reconfirmed his support to him to deliver Jerusalem from the Assyrians (2 Ki 20:6). Thirdly, the presence of the treasuries in his palace (20:13) indicates this occurrence had happened before he paid tribute to Senn., giving him all the silver and gold found in his palace and temple of the Lord (2 Ki 18:15-16). Finally, Merodach-Baladan's dispatch of envoys to Hezekiah and his "hospitality" indicated the anti-Assyrian movement (2 Ki 20:12-19). J. A. Brinkman says that during the reign of Bēlibni an Assyrian puppet over Babylon, who was enthroned in 703 B.C., Merodach-Baladan sent an embassy to Hezekiah and set up an anti-Assyrian alliance, "Sennacherib's Babylonian Problem," *JCS* 25 (1973), 91. H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon*, 112-13.

to Solomon, David commanded him on his death-bed to remain loyal to Yahweh by following his stipulations (2 Ki 2:3).⁴² However, Solomon failed (see below).⁴³

2.1.3.2 To Build a Temple

The divine-suzerain assigned the building project of the temple to David's descendant (2 Sam 7:13),⁴⁴ and Solomon carried it out.⁴⁵

2.1.3.3 Reform

(1) Destruction of the Canaanite Gods

The life of Israel in the promised land was Yahweh-centric, which required Israel to get rid of the pagan gods.⁴⁶ For example, Hezekiah clung to the Lord;⁴⁷

⁴² Samuel appealed to Saul and the Israelites to remain loyal to Yahweh by keeping his commands (1 Sam 12:14) and serve him alone (1 Sam 12:24). Josiah took Yahweh's word seriously and humbled himself before Yahweh when he heard the words of the book of the Torah. Consequently, he carried out a nationwide reform including the Northern kingdom (see below).

⁴³ Vassal kings were forbidden to seek advice from a pagan god. When Ahaziah was injured, he sent messengers to consult a pagan deity about recovery from the injury; but Yahweh censured his conduct (2 Ki 1:3).

⁴⁴ Yahweh's rejection of David's proposal parallels that of Zimri-Lim from Mari. See Moran in ANET, 623-24; Malamat, Prophetic Revelations, 223-24.

⁴⁵ Under Joash the temple was restored (2 Ki 12:14).

⁴⁶ Israel was forbidden to take over the Canaanites' altars, high places, sacrifice animals on them to Yahweh (Num 33:52; Dt 7:5; 12:2-3) and to set up sacred stones (Ex 23:24; Lev 26:1; Dt 16:21-22) and Asherah poles (Ex 34:13; Dt 16:21). However, Solomon was not resolved to destroy the Canaanite sacred places at the beginning of his reign and worshipped Yahweh there (2 Ki 3:2-3). The clause introduced by adverb קָרַב in 3:3 indicates an exceptional act of Solomon in pursuit of David's statutes to worship the Lord in the Canaanites secret places. Consequently, the Judean people carried on worshipping in the high places (e.g., 2 Ki 14:4). Furthermore, as Solomon advanced in age, he followed Ashtoreth of the Sidonians and Molech of the Ammonites because of his foreign wives (1 Ki 11:5). Consequently, the vassal-people continued to be involved in Canaanite religion under Rehoboam (1 Ki 14:23-24). Ahaz committed child sacrifice (2 Ki 16:3-4; 2 Chr 28:2-4). The expressions "burning", "sacrificing", "slaughtering", and "passing the children through fire" are synonymous in Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35; Ez 16:20-21, see further Cogan and Tadmor, II Kings, 266. The apostasy of the Davidic kings reached its climax in the life of Manasseh. He rebuilt high places (2 Ki 21:31), altars to Baal and to the heavenly host (2 Ki 21:3b α , 5), erected an Asherah in the temple of the Lord (2 Ki 21:7), made child sacrifices (2 Ki 21:6a α), practiced sorcery and divination and dealt with mediums and spiritists (2 Ki 21:6a γ). The founder of the Northern kingdom took over the Canaanite religion to secure the kingdom. So Jeroboam made two golden calves and shrines at Bethel and Dan (1 Ki 12:28-31). Added to that, Jeroboam created festivals to prevent the people going to Jerusalem to celebrate festivals (1 Ki 12:32-33). Ahab made Baal-worship the state religion (cf. 1 Ki 16:31b β -32).

⁴⁷ קָרַב in qal denotes the loyal attitude of Israel to Yahweh, see further G. Wallis, "קָרַב", TWAT II, 84-89. Having heard the words of the Book of the Law and humbled himself, Josiah restored Judah's vassal relationship to the divine suzerain through the renewal of the covenant (2 Ki 23:3). See further the king's function as the mediator of the covenant between the divine suzerain and vassal people, Geo Widengren, "King and Covenant," JSS 2 (1957), 1-32. Added to that, when a king was too young, having renewed the covenant with Yahweh, the people carried out reform by destroying Baal's temple and his priest (2 Ki 11:18a). In that situation, furthermore, a representative priest could lead a rebellion against Athaliah's reign because of the validity of covenant for the people, thereby the Davidic dynasty being ensured (2 Ki 11:19b). Östreicher saw Josiah's reform in the light

thus he kept his commandments (2 Ki 18:6). Consequently, he carried out a reform.⁴⁸ He was the first king who destroyed the high places (2 Ki 18:4a) along with the sacred pillars and the Asherah.⁴⁹ He also destroyed the bronze snake of Moses, which had become an idol for the people (2 Ki 18:4b α).⁵⁰ Added to that, his reform extended to throwing off Assyrian suzerainty (2 Ki 18:7b).⁵¹ This invited Sennacherib's invasion (see further Excursus 2). Therefore, the reform was a fruit of loyalty to the divine suzerain that resulted in revolt against a human suzerain.

of political revolt against Assyria. But the pagan deities which Josiah destroyed are not Assyrian deities, for example, the worship of the Sun-god does not necessarily relate to the Assyrian cult, since it was wide spread in the Ancient Near East, see further the detailed study on Sun-worship, McKay, *Religion*, 32 ff. Presumably, Josiah destroyed what Manasseh had made for the pagan gods in the temple of the Lord (2 Ki 21:3-7). Taking up Östreicher's view, Bright (*History*, 312) along with other scholars claims that the Assyrian astral cults were practiced in Judah, especially under Manasseh (21:3b). Yet, reverence for celestial bodies was a common practice of the Semites which occurred in the second millennium B.C. in the Levant, Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 266. Consequently, Israel was forbidden to practice astral cults (Dt 4:19).

⁴⁸ When Asa became king of Judah (1 Ki 15:8-9), he made a reform, expelling the practices of Canaanite religion and destroying the Canaanite gods (1 Ki 15:12) apart from the high places (1 Ki 15:14a). He even removed his grandmother from her position and then destroyed her Asherah emblem (1 Ki 15:13). Although Jehoshapat followed Asa his father in doing what was right in the sight of the Lord, he did not carry his policy to completion (1 Ki 22:43 (Eng. 43a)). He also did not destroy the high places (1 Ki 22:44 (Eng. 43b)). According to D. J. Wiseman, kings usually carried out reforms in the opening year of their reign, "The Laws of Hammurabi Again," *JSS* 7 (1962), 168. In the time of the Israelite Kingdom, all kings remained disloyal to the divine suzerain. But Yahweh maintained the prophetic officers to teach the people. For example, Elijah carried out reform on Mount Carmel: on having seen Yahweh's answer, Elijah put all the prophets of pagan deities to death (1 Ki 18:40) which was commanded in the covenant-stipulations (Dt 13:13-18; 17:2-5).

⁴⁹ Some kings carried out partial reform. For example, Asa expelling the practices of Canaanite religion, destroying the Canaanite gods and removing the apostate queen mother, but did not destroy high places (1 Ki 15:12-14a); also Jehoshaphat (1 Ki 22:43-44 (Eng. 43)). Josiah removed all the articles for pagan deities (2 Ki 23:4, 11-12). Added to that, he destroyed all pagan deities and shrines and deposed their priests and worshipers from the sacred places (2 Ki 23:5-8a, 10) in Judah. He extended his reform into the territory of the destroyed Israelite kingdom and destroyed the altars, the high places and shrines for pagan deities at Bethel and other cities (2 Ki 23:15, 19), assassinated the idolatrous priests (2 Ki 23:20a) and terminated pagan practices (2 Ki 23:24a; cf. Dt 13:13-19).

⁵⁰ The serpent symbolizes fertility in the Ancient Near East. It frequently occurs in association with a bull. K. R. Joines says: "Nehushtan was a fertility symbol of Canaanite and Mesopotamian background adopted by the Israelite cult to depict the fecundizing power of Yahweh ("Bronze Serpent in Israelite Cult," *JBL* 87 (1968), 245-56). However, we do not know when this cult was introduced to Israel, cf. H. H. Rowley, "Zadok and Nehushtan," *JBL* 58 (1939), 113-41.

⁵¹ Hezekiah reversed the policy of his father Ahaz, who had become a vassal to Tigl. III (16:8-9). It is probable that some time shortly after 705 B.C., he refused to pay the annual tribute, when Senn. succeeded Sar. II (cf. fn. 41 above). See further A. Millard, "Sennacherib's Attack on Hezekiah," *TB* 36 (1984), 70.

(2) Josiah reinstated passover (2 Ki 23:21).⁵²

2.1.3.4 No Accumulation of Chariots and Horses

The covenant stipulations for a king prohibited him from accumulating chariots and horses (Dt 17:16). However, Solomon violated these rules (1 Ki 10:26):⁵³

ויאסף שלמה רכב ופרשים ויהי-לו אלף וארבע-מאות רכב ושנים-עשר אלף פרשים וינחם בערי הרכב ועם-המלך בירושלם

Solomon accumulated chariots and horses; he had 1,400 chariots and 12,000 horse men and stationed them in the chariot cities and with him in Jerusalem.

2.1.3.5 No Alliance with Other Nations

(1) Intermarriage

The vassal-people were forbidden to intermarry with other nations (Ex 34:16; Dt 7:1-3). Nonetheless, Solomon took many women from the surrounding nations (1 Ki 11:1-2; cf. (Dt 17:17):⁵⁴

והמלך שלמה אהב נשים נכריות רבות ואת-בת פרעה מואבית עמניית אדמית צדנית חתית מן-הגוים אשר אמר-יהוה אל-בני ישראל לא-תבאו בהם והם לא-יבאו בכם אכן יטו את-לבבכם אחרי אלהיהם בהם רבק שלמה לאהבה

Now king Solomon loved many foreign women along with the daughter of Pharaoh: Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite women, from the nations concerning which the Lord had said to the Israelites: 'You should not associate with them, neither shall they associate with you, (for) they will surely turn your heart after their gods.' (Nevertheless), Solomon held fast to them in love.

(2) Friendship

Hezekiah's behaviour to the Babylonian delegations implied his intention to anchor Judah's security in friendship with Babylon (2 Ki 20:12-13).

2.1.3.6 No Submission to Human Suzerainty

Hezekiah should have persisted with his anti-Assyrian policy, counting on Yahweh's support. However, he re-submitted to Sennacherib by sending tribute to him at Lachish⁵⁵ (2 Ki 18:14-15).⁵⁶

⁵² Joash repaired the temple (2 Ki 12:14).

⁵³ See also 1 Ki 4:26.

⁵⁴ Ahab married Jezebel a Sidonian princess (1 Ki 16:31b α).

⁵⁵ The Bible does not mention the fall of Lachish. But on the walls of Senn.'s palace at Niniveh, his triumph was demonstrated in reliefs, on which the name "Lachish" was engraved, along with vegetation from her region; furthermore, Stratum III at Lachish is attributed to Senn.'s campaign, see R. D. Barnett, "The Siege of Lachish," *IEJ* 8 (1958), 161-64; Ruth Jacoby, "The Presentation and Identification of Cities on Assyrian Reliefs," *IEJ* 41 (1991), 122-31.

⁵⁶ Asa made a vassal-treaty with Aram when facing the threat of Baasha king of Israel. Baasha was fortifying Ramah to isolate the Judean kingdom from the main roads (15:17); the city was situated at the junction between the north-south and east-west road, from Jericho via the Beth-horon ridge to the

2.1.3.7 No Treaty with Human Suzerain

Asa made a vassal treaty with Aram when facing the threat of Baasha king of Israel. Baasha was fortifying Ramah to isolate the Judean kingdom from the main roads (1 Ki 15:17); the city was situated on the junction between the north-south and east-west road, from Jericho via the Beth-horon ridge to the coastal plain.⁵⁷ Facing Baasha's challenge, Asa turned to Ben-Hadad for support, thereby violating the covenant with Yahweh (see 2 Chr 16:7-10). Added to that, Ahab should not have made a vassal-treaty with Ben-Hadad instead of putting him to death in war (see Excurses 2.2).

2.1.3.8 Covenant Relationship

(1) To Support Co-vassals

Saul's campaign against the Amorites on behalf of Jabesh-Gilead, located in the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh, is also to be understood in the light of a co-vassal-relationship, since each tribe of Israel stood in the vassal relationship with Yahweh.

(2) No Killing of Co-vassals

David refused to take any opportunity to strike Saul who was always seeking to kill him (1 Sam 26:9-10), since the divine-suzerain alone had the authority to touch the life of a vassal-king (2 Sam 1:14-16). Furthermore, needless bloodshed was obviously forbidden. For example, when Abner a general of the northern tribes killed Asahel, Joab killed him in revenge. When this news reached David, he cursed Joab and all his family (2 Sam 3:28-29):⁵⁸

... ויאמר נקי אנכי וממלכתי מעם יהוה עד-עולם מדמי אבנר בן-נר יחלו על-ראש יואב ואל כל-בית אביו
ואל-יכרת מבית יואב זב ומצרע ומחזיק בפלך ונפל בחרב וחסר-לחם

... he (David) said: 'I am guiltless, and my kingdom before the Lord for ever concerning the blood of Abner son of Ner. May it fall on the head of Joab and on all his father's house. May Joab's house

coastal plain. Facing Baasha's challenge, Asa turned to Ben-Hadad for support, thereby violating the covenant with Yahweh (see 2 Chr 16:7-10). Thanks to Ben-Hadad's support, Baasha withdrew from building Ramah and then Asa took all the stones and timber from Ramah and fortified Geba, east of Ramah, and Mizpah, northwest of Ramah, thereby strengthening the junction of the east-west road. Yet, the writer of Kings does not comment on Asa's deed, as did the writer of Chronicles (see 2 Chr 16:7-10). See further Excursus 2.

⁵⁷ The significance of the region of Ramah can be perceived in Asa's reaction (see fn. 56 above).

⁵⁸ Cf. 2 Sam 4:9-12, David punished two men who assassinated Ish-Bosheth king of the northern tribes. He also was prevented from taking personal vengeance by Abigail's sapient act (1 Sam 25:33).

never be without someone who has a discharge, or who is a leper, or who holds a spindle,⁵⁹ or who is slain by the sword, or who lacks bread.'

Furthermore, Ahab's violation of the covenant stipulations was twofold: 1) assassination of an innocent man, his co-vassal;⁶⁰ 2) deprivation of his property (2 Ki 21:18-19a).⁶¹

(3) No Challenging Co-vassals to War

When Rehoboam and the Judean people were about to make war against the northern tribes to regain the kingdom for Rehoboam, the divine suzerain prohibited them advancing (1 Ki 12:24).⁶²

(4) No Treaty with a Disloyal Vassal-king

If a vassal-king was disloyal to the divine-suzerain, another co-vassal-king should not have a friendly relationship with him. But Jehoshaphat failed to remain loyal, making peace with Ahab (2 Ki 22:45, Eng. 44).⁶³

(5) No Abuse of Kingship

The vassal's kingship was granted for the sake of the people (2 Sam 5:12). Furthermore, the vassal-king was a member of Yahweh's covenant-community, so he was obliged to keep treaty-stipulations, and thus was not free from responsibility if he violated them. Nathan reproached David (2 Sam 12:9):

מדוע בזית את-דבר יהוה לעשות הרע בעיני את אוריה החתי הכית בחרב ואת-אשתו לקחת לך לאשה ואתו הרגת בחרב בני עמון

Why did you despise the word of the Lord by doing what is evil in his eyes? You struck down Uriah the Hittite with the sword and took his wife to be your wife, and have killed him with the sword of the Ammonites.

2.1.4 The Validity of the Covenant with the People

⁵⁹ In the ancient Near Eastern world-view, the spindle symbolizes womanhood. So the malediction of holding the spindle means the loss of the masculine attribute and power, Hoffner, "Symbols," *JBL* 85 (1966), 332; cf. John Mauchline <ed>, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 211; cf. Part II 2.4.1.

⁶⁰ The king was subject to the covenant-stipulations as were the people. Thus, he had a co-vassal-relationship to the people before Yahweh, yet his political function was to lead the vassal-people on the covenant-way (see Dt 17:14:20). Added to that, Manasseh assassinated innocent people (2 Ki 21:16a).

⁶¹ Naboth refused Ahab's suggestion to dispose of his vineyard, because each family was expected to preserve the land allocated to it in the Promised Land as on a lease from Yahweh.

⁶² Also 2 Chr 4. This is a sign of Yahweh's acceptance of the Israelite kingdom as his vassal. Cf. 2 Ki 14:8 ff. Also Amaziah challenged Jehoash king of Israel to war (2 Ki 14:8).

⁶³ Jehoshaphat reversed the policy of Asa his father, who became a vassal to Ben-Hadad in order to confine Baasha's activity (1 Ki 15:17-23).

The divine suzerain established the vassal's kingship and his kingdom because of the vassal-people (2 Sam 5:12): וידע דוד כי-הכינו יהוה למלך על-ישראל וכי נשא "David perceived that Yahweh had established him as king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for the sake of his people Israel."

Yahweh's care of individuals (2.1.2.4) and the covenant renewal with the vassal people (2.1.10.1)⁶⁴ indicate the validity of the covenant with the people. Furthermore, Yahweh's severe disciplinary measures for the Israelite and Judean kingdoms indicate the validity of the covenant with the people (see 2.2 below).

2.1.5 The Result and Purpose of the Divine Suzerain's Benevolence

Solomon's outstanding wisdom induced the queen of Sheba to exalt Yahweh (2.1.1.2).

In Ahab's time, Yahweh's benevolence on Mount Carmel led the Israelites to repentance. Furthermore, Yahweh's support for Ahab when Ben-Hadad invaded Samaria aimed to reveal his suzerainty to the Israelites (2.1.1.3 fn. 22).⁶⁵

2.1.6 The Purpose of the Divine Suzerain's Disciplinary Measure⁶⁶

Yahweh's adverse judgements are intended for:

2.1.6.1 Humiliation

Yahweh divided the Davidic dynasty because of Solomon's breach of covenant with the purpose of humiliating David's descendants (1 Ki 11:39; see on Part IV 2.3.4.1).

2.1.6.2 Restoration

In the following period of the Judean kingdom, the characteristics of curses are political mainly; rebellion of vassal, an Aramean invasion, diminished territory of Judah, conspiracy, defeat, and physical affliction of king. If we compare these components of curses with the divine suzerain's obligations (see above), where he enabled the loyal kings to win wars, we can deduce Yahweh's twofold intention in his punitive acts: discipline and restoration of vassal-status. These purposes are visible in Ahab's time: Yahweh's discipline of Israel with a severe drought, and his

⁶⁴ If a king was too young, a high priest (Jehoiada) could renew the covenant between Yahweh, the king and people (2 Ki 11:17a).

⁶⁵ As already seen (2.1.2.2), Yahweh enthroned Hazael over Aram, thereby showing his suzerainty. When Ben-Hadad challenged Yahweh's suzerainty by invading Israel, Yahweh enabled the king of Israel to defeat the Arameans. In this way, both the Arameans and Israelites experienced Yahweh's suzerainty again.

⁶⁶ See further 2.2 below.

reply to Elijah's prayer on Mount Carmel brought the people back to their vassal-status, recognizing Yahweh's suzerainty (1 Ki 18:39): וירא כל-העם ויפלו על-פניהם: "When all the people saw this, they fell prostrate and cried: 'The Lord, he is God! The Lord, he is God!'" However, Yahweh's disciplinary measures culminated in deportation for both kingdoms. Since his discipline is inseparable from Israel's restoration, the Babylonian exile of the Judean kingdom at the end of 2 Kings alludes to a hope for its restoration in the promised land.

2.1.6.3 To Teach Israel's Enemy

Yahweh's punishment resulted in submission of a foreign commander to Yahweh. On the advice of a captive Israelite maidservant, Naaman, commander of Aram, went to Elisha to be cured of leprosy. In return for his healing he promised to worship Yahweh in Damascus (2 Ki 5:17).

2.1.7 The Theocentric Features of Disciplinary Measure (see Part IV 1.1.7)

2.1.8 The Sanction of the Covenant

The covenant was sanctioned in the presence of the divine suzerain (see below 2.2.10.1).

2.1.9 The Duration of the Covenant

The validity of a covenant in relation to succession from one generation to the next was conditional on the vassal's loyalty to the suzerain. Saul's initiative in sacrificing to Yahweh was considered a rebellion (1 Sam 13:9-14). This aspect was valid for the Israelite kingdom. However, the divine suzerain declared a vassal-treaty with the Davidic dynasty, which would continue in perpetuity; even the disloyalty of the vassal-king could not annul the lasting validity of the Davidic covenant (see above 2 Sam 7:14-16). This further denotes the perpetual validity of the vassal-treaty with the people, since the dynasty and the people coexist (cf. 2 Sam 7:26).⁶⁷ Therefore, the Davidic dynasty existed continuously despite the sin of the Judean kings. In addition, Solomon pleaded with the divine suzerain to cause conquerors to show compassion to the penitent people in exile (1 Ki 8:50-51). The Babylonian king's kindness to Jehoiachin implies his penitence to Yahweh (see Excursus 2). This again denotes the deportees' hope to return to the promised land, since Yahweh

⁶⁷ This again denotes the deportees' hope to return to the promised land, since Yahweh promised Israel's restoration if they were penitent, because of the Abrahamic covenant (Lev 26:40-45). Furthermore, Yahweh promised David an enduring dynasty. Thus, there was hope for Israel, as a kingdom, to be restored.

promised Israel's restoration if they were penitent because of the Abrahamic covenant (Lev 26:40-45).

2.1.10 The Language of Covenant

2.1.10.1 Covenant-Making

The language of making a covenant occurs in Yahweh's promise for the Davidic dynasty. There, Yahweh's benevolence conveys his intention; and David accepted, acknowledging his benevolence.⁶⁸ This is the first treaty made between the divine suzerain and the vassal-king, since Yahweh made a covenant with the people in Sinai.⁶⁹

Firstly, Yahweh's intentions for the vassal-king and his relationship to him occur in parallel clauses, which declare his benevolence towards the vassal-king: *אני אהיה-לו לאב והוא יהיה-לי* (2 Sam 7:13)⁷⁰ and *כננתי את-כסא ממלכתו עד-עולם לבן* (2 Sam 7:14).⁷¹ This covenant is described as *כי ברית עולם שם לי* (2 Sam 23:5).

After years of apostasy on the part of the vassal-people the covenant was renewed under the leadership of a priest, since the new king was too young (2 Ki 11:17a). When a vassal king had taken Yahweh's words seriously, he renewed the covenant with him: *ויכרת את-הברית לפני יהוה*, as a result, *ויעמד כל-העם בברית* (2 Ki 23:3).

2.1.10.2 Covenant-Breaking

A possible breach of covenant is expressed with: *אשר בהעותו* (2 Sam 7:14). Thus, a wrong act which led to treaty-breaking is described with: *חטאתי מאד אשר עשיתי* (2 Sam 24:10). A wrong attitude towards the suzerain's stipulations results in a breach of covenant: *מדוע בזית את-דבר יהוה לעשות הרע בעיניו* (2 Sam 12:9).⁷² This

⁶⁸ Because the relationship between the divine-suzerain and the vassal-king would be a father-son relationship, he would exercise discipline if the vassal-king were disloyal.

⁶⁹ This feature is different from the Assyrian treaties. That is, the procedure of treaty-making is different: According to the Bible, firstly with the people and then with king, whereby vice versa in Assyrian treaties.

⁷⁰ Synonymous phrases are: *כי-בית יעשה-לך יהוה* "the Lord will make a house for you" (2 Sam 7:11) and *והכינתי את-ממלכתו* "I will establish his kingdom" (2 Sam 7:12).

⁷¹ Yahweh's promise found an acceptance and a claim in the vassal-king's acknowledgement: *ועתה ועתה הואל וברך את-בית עבדך להיות לעולם לפניך כי-אתה אדני יהוה דברת ומברכתך יברך* (2 Sam 7:25), and *ועתה הוואל וברך את-בית עבדך להיות לעולם לפניך כי-אתה אדני יהוה דברת ומברכתך יברך* "and now be pleased and bless the house of your servant, that it may continue in your sight, for you, O Sovereign Lord, have spoken, and with your blessing the house of your servant shall be blessed for ever" (2 Sam 7:29).

⁷² The same idea is expressed: *מאסת את-דבר יהוה* . . . (1 Sam 15:23).

reproach is confessed from the relational point of view: חטאתי ליהוה (2 Sam 12:13).⁷³

Breaking a covenant is summed up with ויעש שלמה אחר הרע בעיני יהוה (1 Ki 11:6).⁷⁴ There are two phrases occurring in the same semantic field, which describe a breach of treaty: נטה לבבו מעם יהוה אלהי ישראל (1 Ki 11:9b); ולא שמר את (1 Ki 11:10b). Thus, breaking a covenant and not keeping the statutes are parallel: ולא שמרת בריתי וחקתי אשר צויתי עליך (1 Ki 11:11a).

A breach of covenant by a vassal king is further described through comparisons with precedents, following the bad examples rather than the loyal ones: וילך בכל-חטאות אביו אשר-עשה לפניו ולא-היה לבבו שלם עם-יהוה אלהיו כלבב דוד (1 Ki 15:3).

The breach of covenant is described in terms of the relationship to Yahweh: כי-עזבו בריתך (2 Ki 21:22),⁷⁵ or בדרך יהוה (1 Ki 19:10a).

Jeroboam's life presented a paradigm for the breach of the treaty that followed the description of the disloyal vassals' lives (See 1 Ki 14:16), for example: לא סר מעל חטאות ירבעם אשר החטיא את-ישראל (2 Ki 10:31b),⁷⁶ or ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה (1 Ki 15:26),⁷⁷ or רק בחטאות ירבעם (2 Ki 21:21a), or וילך בכל-הדרך אשר-הלך אביו (2 Ki 3:3a), or ויעש הרע (2 Ki 23:32).⁷⁸ Another stock phrase for covenant-breaking is: הכעיס את-יהוה אלהי ישראל בהבליהם (1 Ki 16:26b).⁷⁹

⁷³ Cf. Nath's reproach in 2 Sam 12:7-8.

⁷⁴ Also 1 Sam 15:19 (Saul), 1 Ki 14:22a ([the people of] Judah), Manasseh (2 Ki 21:2), Jehoahaz (2 Ki 23:32), Jeroboam (1 Ki 14:9), Ahab (1 Ki 16:30), Ahaziah (1 Ki 22:53 (eng. v.52), Joram (2 Ki 3:2), Jehoram (2 Ki 8:18), Jehoiakim (2 Ki 23:37), Jehoiachin (2 Ki 24:9) and Zedekiah (2 Ki 24:19). This phrase parallels a comparative phrase: a breach of treaty is described comparatively (2 Ki 8:18): וילך בדרך מלכי "he [Joram] walked in the way of the kings of Israel," and then a specification of the breach of treaty follows: "כאשר עשו בית אחאב" "as the house of Ahab had done . . ."; also 2 Ki 21:21a (Amon). The same concept is expressed: ויתמכרו לעשות הרע בעיני יהוה להכעיסו "they sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord, provoking him" (2 Ki 17:17b).

⁷⁵ Also 1 Ki 11:13a.

⁷⁶ Also Jehoahaz (2 Ki 13:2), Jehoash (v. 11), Jeroboam II (2 Ki 14:24), Zechariah (2 Ki 15:9), Menahem (2 Ki 15:18), Pekahiah (2 Ki 15:24) and Pekah (2 Ki 15:28).

⁷⁷ This expression became a stock-phrase for disloyal successors in the Israelite Kingdom, Baasha, except רבעם instead of אביו, (1 Ki 15:34); Elah (1 Ki 16:13). Zimri reigned for only seven days, yet the same stock-phrase is applied to describe his act (1 Ki 16:19), Ahaziah (1 Ki 22:53 (Eng. 52)) This stock-phrase is, furthermore, used to account for Zimri's death.

⁷⁸ Also Jehoiakim (2 Ki 23:37), Jehoiachin (2 Ki 24:9) and Zedekiah (2 Ki 24:19).

⁷⁹ Also 1 Ki 14:9; 16:13; cf. 2 Ki 17:17b.

EXCURSUS 2: THE CONCEPT OF INTER-STATE TREATY

2.1 Israel's Suzerainty

David's suzerainty over the surrounding nations was the fulfilment of Yahweh's promise due to his loyalty. Yahweh the divine-suzerain of Israel supported the vassal-king wherever he campaigned (2 Sam 8:6 below); weaker kings became vassals to Israel.

2.1.1 The Obligations of Vassalship: Payment of Tribute and Support

Having defeated the Arameans of Damascus who came to help Hadadezer king of Zobah, David put garrisons in Damascus. This would secure peace between Israel and Aram, preventing a possible revolt (2 Sam 8:6), and vassals brought tribute.¹ David also gained suzerainty over Moab by a successful campaign, so the Moabites became tributaries. (2 Sam 8:2). Shobi, an Ammonite prince showed his loyalty to David by providing beds and food when he was fleeing from Absalom (2 Sam 17:27-29).²

2.1.2 The Purpose (Consequence) of the Campaigns

A successful campaign brought about the submission of weaker kings. David's victory over the Aramean alliance resulted in vassal-treaties with the

¹ David's campaign against the Ammonite-Aramean coalition in 2 Sam 10 probably preceded his campaign against Hadadezer (8:3-6). In the Ammonite campaign Hadadezer brought Arameans, his vassals, from beyond the Euphrates (10:16) after the Ammonite defeat by Israel. In the course of the campaign, all the Aramaean kings made vassal-treaties with David, following their defeat (10:19). Then David defeated Hadadezer, when he went to restore his control along the Euphrates (8:3). David defeated him together with his allies the Arameans of Damascus (8:5). Then all the Arameans became vassals to David, and he stationed garrisons in Damascus. If David's campaign against the Arameans in chapter 8 was earlier than that in chapter 10, some problems arise. How could Hadadezer be a vassal to Israel (8:3-6) the overlord over the other Aramean kings who came to help him in campaign against David (10:19), or why did these Aramean vassals not come to help Hadadezer their overlord when he was challenged to war by David (8:3-4)? Since there is no direct hint of sequence between 8:3-12 and 9-10, it seems plausible to place David's campaign against the Arameans in ch. 10 earlier than that of 8:3-6. To secure Israel's power in Syria, David put garrisons in Damascus. Geographically Damascus was located at the very important strategic point where four major international routes pass. So David could control trade and so begun a new era of economic growth for Israel (see also 1 Ki 20:34). By stationing garrisons in Damascus David could have better control over the Aramaean subject lands. This is to be understood in the light of the vassal-relationship but not of Israel's direct-rule, nor did Damascus become part of the empire of David, *contra* Wayne T. Pitard, Ancient Damascus, 95 and Abraham Malamat, "Aspects of the foreign policies," JNES 22 (1963), 5. The Hittite Empire put garrisons in the vassal-lands apparently to protect vassals but actually to secure her power, V. Korošec, Hethitische Staatsverträge, 90. In addition, Edom became subject to Israel, so David put garrisons there (2 Sam 8:13-14). Israel's hegemony established by David over much of the Levant was maintained under Solomon, but he faced the rebellion of Damascus and Edom see Part IV 2.2.5.3.

² David probably set Shobi as vassal-king over Rabbah after his conquest, cf. 2 Sam 12:29 and J. Mauchline, 1 and 2 Samuel, 283.

defeated allies (2 Sam 10:19). David's success against the Aramean alliance stimulated the submission of To'u king of Hamath who willingly became subject to David by sending him gifts with his son (2 Sam 8:9-10).³

2.1.3 The Validity of Vassal-Treaty

See Excursus 1.3.

2.1.4 The Theocentric Feature of the Campaign

David devoted to his divine suzerain precious gifts from the king of Hamath and booty from his military expeditions (2 Sam 8:11-12).

2.1.5 The Language of Vassal-Treaty

The goal and the description of vassal-status indicates the establishment of a vassal treaty: וישלמו את-ישראל ויעבדום "they (the Aramean kings) made peace with Israel and served them" (2 Sam 10:19).

Saul broke the treaty with the Gibeonites made by Joshua through putting them to death: על-אשר-המית את-הגבעונים "because he killed the Gibeonites" (2 Sam 21:1; see also Excursus 1.3-4).

2.1.6 Curse Carried Out By The Agent Of The Treaty-God

Saul's breach of the treaty with the Gibeonites brought famine in Israel under David for three successive years (2 Sam 21:1).⁴

2.1.7 Curses Performed by the Agent of the Treaty-God

³ K. Kitchen points out gifts were accepted but not reciprocated, *The Bible in its World*, 94. The phrase לשאל-לו לשלום "to ask his greet him" in Babylonian and Assyrian literature is used by the subordinate to the superior (see CAD, Š part I, šalu A, 279). In *Asb. annals*, a submissive inferior king sent a messenger to pay homage (*ša'al šulmeya*) to the Assyrian king. This was a plea to make a vassal-treaty with Assyria (Pr. A ii 95-102), and this same phrase was applied to Assyrian vassals who brought tribute or to show their dependence on Assyria. Furthermore, inferior kings sent sons to Assyria to present tribute or to show their penitent attitude about their rebellion. We can understand To'u's behaviour, sending his son with a rich gift, in this context. That is, To'u willingly became vassal to David. It is further noteworthy that Hiram king of Tyre sent his servant (עברי) to Solomon when he heard of Solomon's enthronement (1 Ki 5:15 (Eng. v. 1)). See about To'u, A. Malamat, "Aspects of the Foreign Policies," *JNES* 22 (1963), 6 and "The Kingdom of David & Solomon," *BA* 21 (1958), 101; cf. B. Mazar, "The Aramean Empire," *BA* 25 (1962), 102-03.

⁴ See Josh 9-10 in Excursus 1. A similar situation occurs in a Hittite source. There, the whole nation suffered a national disaster, because of the breach of the treaty made between Hatti and Egypt. This treaty was established under Shuppiluliuma, father of Mursilis. However, Mursilis's endeavour to expose the cause of the nationwide plague by means of an omen, a dream, or prophecy was ineffective. Eventually, Mursilis discovered by an oracle two ancient tablets which revealed the cause of the national disaster. By contrast, according to 2 Sam 21:1, Yahweh revealed the cause of the famine to David. See also Judg 6:8b-10 1.1.1.2 fn. 19 above.

In order to satisfy Yahweh's anger at the breach of treaty with the Gibeonites (cf. 21:3) David their suzerain took vengeance on Saul's house by handing over two of Saul's sons and five sons of Saul's daughter to the Gibeonites, according to their suggestion (2 Sam 21:8-9).⁵

2.1.8 Rebel of Vassal Land

If a vassal land set up its own king without approval by the suzerain (2 Ki 8:20), the suzerain took action against it.⁶ When Edom rebelled against Judah, Joram marched against her (2 Ki 8:21a), but did not succeed in regaining his suzerainty over Edom.

2.2 Israel's Trade Treaty

The parity treaty existing between Hiram of Tyre and David was renewed under Solomon.⁷ In a parity-treaty, a party could request things which were rare in its lands. Solomon sent a request to him for timber (1 Ki 5:20 (Eng. v. 6)), and Hiram supplied more materials for the temple and the palace at the end of twenty years of building (2 Ki 9:11a). At Hiram's request Solomon sent food and also ceded territory (1 Ki 9:11b).⁸ Solomon established a harbour at Ezion-Geber (1 Ki 9:26), and Hiram sent sailors to Israel in order to serve in the fleet with Solomon's men. They brought gold, almug-wood and precious stones to Solomon (1 Ki 9:28; 10:11b-12a). The mutual support allowed Israel to grow economically.

Ben-Hadad invaded Israel, being advised that Israel defeated his army because Israel's gods were gods of the hills and that now he would be able to defeat Israel on the plain. Thus, Ben-Hadad challenged Israel to war at Aphek (1 Ki 20:23-27).

⁵ Rizpah daughter of Aiah guarded the corpses from the prey of birds and wild animals (2 Sam 21:10). A covenant-curse of corpses as food for wild animals was fulfilled (Dt 28:26).

⁶ See 2.2.5.3 (2) below.

⁷ In Sam 5:11 Hiram sent messengers to David, along with timbers and workers, and they built a palace for David. Although there is no mention about David's respond to Hiram, there should be a parity treaty between Tyre and Israel, since the friendly relationship between two equal kings was fostered by sending messengers along with gifts in the ancient Near East (see Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, EA 9, 10, 16). Added to that Hiram's sending messengers to Solomon indicates the existing parity treaty, when he heard Solomon's succession. The parity treaty was renewed: ויהי שלום בין חירם ויהי שלום בין חירם ויהי שלום בין חירם ויהי שלום בין חירם "there was peace between Hiram and Solomon, and the two of them made a treaty" (1 Ki 5:26b-c (Eng. v. 12b)), see further F. C. Fensham, "The Treaty," in *VTS* 17 (1968), 71-87.

⁸ Solomon annually paid the expense of the building materials and the craftsmen's wages by grain and oil to Hiram (1 Ki 5:25, (Eng. 11)). Thus, those cities in Galilee, probably near to Tyre, given to Hiram, and in exchange 120 talents of gold were given to Solomon (1 Ki 9:14). The same kind of treaty to adjust the borders between two states occurs in agreements from Alalah, D. J. Wiseman, "Hiram," *IBD* II, 651; F. Charles Fensham, "The Treaty between Solomon and Hiram," *JBL* 79 (1960), 59-60.

This was in fact, a challenge of Yahweh's suzerainty both over Israel and other nations, since, for instance, Yahweh appointed Elijah to anoint Hazael king over Aram (1 Ki 19:16). Thus, Yahweh justified His suzerainty (1 Ki 20:28, 29b-30). The enemy of the divine suzerain was the vassal-king's enemy (cf. 1 Ki 20:42). Yet Ahab broke the covenant, making a vassal treaty (a trade treaty) with Ben-Hadad.⁹ So Ben-Hadad willingly returned cities belonging to Israel, which his predecessor had taken from Baasha (1 Ki 15:20; 20:34a α) and offered Ahab a market in Damascus (1 Ki 20:34a β).¹⁰ However, this treaty was short-lived. A few years later Ben-Hadad again invaded Israel and Ahab lost his life in his campaign (cf. Ki 22).

2.3 Israel as Subject

The conflict of the Northern kingdom with Southern kingdom led Asa to submit to Ben-Hadad king of Aram as a vassal and asked him for support so that Baasha would withdraw from Asa (1 Ki 15:18-19). Ben-Hadad agreed with Asa's proposal (1 Ki 15:20a) and, becoming Asa's suzerain, sent his commanders to campaign against Baasha on behalf of his new vassal and conquered towns in the northern part of the territory. Consequently, Baasha stopped building Ramah (1 Ki 15:20-21).¹¹

If a weaker king submitted to a stronger king, the former became a vassal to the latter, e.g., Joash when he submitted to Hazael (2 Ki 12:17-18).

If a weaker king faced an invasion of other kings, he could submit to another powerful king to gain support, so entering into a vassal relationship. When Rezin king of Aram and Pekah king of Israel marched against Ahaz, he sought security for Judah by means of a treaty with Assyria, so he submitted to Tiglath-pileser III.

⁹ A stronger king made a treaty with a weaker king, based on a pact (see above II); the former accepted the proposal of the latter: וְאָנִי בְּבְרִית אֲשַׁלַּחְךָ וַיְכַרְתֶּם-לִּי בְרִית וַיִּשְׁלַחְהוּ "I will let you go with this treaty." And he made a treaty with him and let him go" (1 Ki 20:34a γ -b).

¹⁰ The trading concession in Samaria would have been in the time of Omri, who moved the capital from Tirzah to Samaria. This indicated the stability of the Israelite kingdom, since Samaria is located in a region which offered easy access to the international coastal high-way, a high-way for the invader. On the other hand, due to her location, Samaria could have enjoyed lucrative trade. If Aram had had a market area in Samaria, Israel could have been a vassal to Aram, since Ben-Hadad's statements did not indicate any mutual obligations under Omri: 1) Israel's cities, taken by Ben-Hadad, had not been returned; 2) the establishment of a market was one-sided. If so, Ben-hadad's invasion, accompanied by thirty-two kings to Samaria (20:1 ff.), would denote his attempt to subdue Israel and to bring her back to the vassal-status.

¹¹ Ben-Hadad suzerain of Judah sent his representative to war, but the result of the campaign was that he conquered all the cities. This type of campaign was a common practice in ancient Near East.

Thereupon, the king of Assyria campaigned against Damascus and captured it, deported its inhabitants and put Razin to death. (2 Ki 16:7-9).¹²

A weaker king could submit to a stronger king and pay tribute to maintain and ensure his kingship. Thus, the former would become a vassal to the latter. That happened to Menahem, when Pul (Tigl.III) invaded the Israelite kingdom (2 Ki 15:19-20).

If a vassal-king submitted to another king, the previous suzerain would take military measures against him. Pekah's alliance with Rezin king of Aram (2 Ki 16:5 ff) brought about Tiglath-pileser III's campaign who conquered cities of Israel¹³ and deported people to Assyria (2 Ki 15:29). The Assyrian king then supported Hoshea to take over the throne (2 Ki 15:30).¹⁴

However, Hoshea had not remained loyal to Assyria and became a vassal to Egypt. Thus, Shalmaneser V marched against Hoshea, conquered Samaria and deported the Israelites to Assyria (2 Ki 17:3-6).¹⁵ Thereafter, the Assyrian king resettled the towns of Israelite with people from different regions (2 Ki 17:24).

If a vassal threw off the suzerainty of a stronger king, he would lead a campaign against him. That happened to Hezekiah, when he withheld the annual payment of tribute to Assyria. Sennacherib marched against Jerusalem and conquered all the fortified towns of Judah (2 Ki 18:13).

Judah became a vassal to Egypt when Josiah had failed to stop the Egyptian army at Megiddo, which was marching to assist Assyria (2 Ki 23:29). That meant, Pharaoh Neco became the suzerain over Judah. Pharaoh Neco put Jehoahaz¹⁶ in chains at Riblah in the land of Hamath and deported him later to Egypt (2 Ki 23:34b). Then he set his older brother Eliakim on the throne and imposed tribute on him (2 Ki 23:33b-34a). However, the fortune of history turned to Babylon. Having defeated Pharaoh Neco at Carchemish in 605 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar, the crown prince and commander of the Babylonian army, conquered all the Hatti-land in 603 B.C. So Judah became a vassal to Babylon. Having been a vassal to Babylon for

¹² Isaiah warned Ahaz to rely on Yahweh rather on an affiliation with Assyria for deliverance from the threat of Aram and the Israelite kingdom against him (Isa 7:1-17). Pitard presumes Israel's coalition with Aram against Judah had to do with Judah's pro-Assyrian stance, *Ancient Damascus*, 184. However in 2 Ki 16:5-9 (cf. Isa 7) Judah became pro-Assyrian because of the Syro-Ephraim invasion. Moreover 2 Ki 1-4 attribute this invasion to Ahaz' apostasy.

¹³ This is to be perceived as a covenant-curse because of Pekah's disloyalty; see also 2.2.4.2 above.

¹⁴ See Part III 1.1.1 fn. 12.

¹⁵ This is the last measure of the suzerain for rebellious vassals in ancient Near East, see Part II.2.

¹⁶ After Josiah's death, he reigned in Jerusalem for three months.

three years, 603-601 B.C., Jehoiakim rebelled against Babylon.¹⁷ Then the Babylonian troops, perhaps stationed in Aram, along with a group of vassals took action against Judah (2 Ki 24:2a).¹⁸ So Nebuchadnezzar invaded and took captives and spoils from Jerusalem (597 B.C). Then he enthroned Zedekiah in place of Jehoiachin (2 Ki 24:17).¹⁹ Yet Zedekiah the last king of Judah faced the fall of Jerusalem because of his rebellion (2 Ki 24:20).²⁰ Having destroyed Judah, Nebuchadnezzar reorganized the land (2 Ki 25:22). Jehoiachin was released from prison when Amel-Marduk succeeded to the throne in Babylon (2 Ki 25:28-30).²¹

Synopsis

As long as kings of Israel remained loyal to Yahweh, they exercised suzerainty over other nations and maintained it. Because of their disloyalty Israel not only lost her suzerainty over other nations but also became subject to them. In this way, Israel declined slowly but certainly (see 2.2 below).

¹⁷ The Babylonian defeat by the Egyptians in 601 B.C. could have encouraged Jehoiakim to rebel, see further Mitchell, *CAH* III/2, 398.

¹⁸ The Babylonians controlled the Levant, from the Wadi of Egypt to the Euphrates River, after having defeated Egypt at Carchemish (2 Ki 24:7).

¹⁹ Jehoiachin reigned only for three months (24:8). But he was disloyal to Yahweh. That brought about the military discipline of the Babylonians.

²⁰ See 2.2.9 below.

²¹ Cf. 2.1.1.5 (2) fn. 25.

2.2 THE COVENANT-CURSES FULFILLED IN 1 SAMUEL 8-2 KINGS

2.2.1 Drought

Severe suffering from drought is illustrated in Elijah's experience: according to Yahweh's instruction, Elijah stayed at the Kerith Ravine until it dried up and then with a widow at Zarephath (1 Ki 17:14). The severity of the famine in Samaria is shown by the report by Ahab's officials searching for grass to keep animals alive (1 Ki 18:2b, 5-6). These circumstances correspond to the covenant-curse of drought and its result: no agricultural growth, lack of rain and crops, was the fulfilment of the covenant-curse (Lev 26:19b-20; Dt 28:23-24).

2.2.2 Disease

When Azariah usurped the priestly function, he was punished with leprosy (מצרע) (2 Ki 15:5a).¹ Here the covenant-curse of skin disease was realized (Dt 28:27, 35).

2.2.3 Civil War

This was predicted among his household as a consequence David's adultery (2 Sam 12:11-12) and

fulfilled in Absalom's conspiracy. He lay with his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel (2 Sam 16:22b).² Absalom's behaviour relates to his intention to take over the dynasty. This is comparable with the covenant-curse of war (Dt 28:22).

2.2.4 Reduction of the Kingdom

2.2.4.1 By Division of the Monarchy

The prediction of the reduction of the Davidic kingdom was fulfilled in the division of the monarchy (1 Ki 11:11b-13). The northern tribes requested Rehoboam to lighten heavy taxation and labour conscription. But he turned from wise advice to follow bad advice. Therefore, Rehoboam's ill-advised answer

¹ According to Cogan and Tadmor, it refers to "a wide variety of skin diseases in man and to molds and fungi on clothes and buildings. In the ritual statute in Lev 13, its distinctive signs include scales and blotches, which suggest the tractable diseases psoriasis and vitiligo. True leprosy . . . with its symptomatic swellings, facial distortions, and mutilations, does not appear in the Bible," *II Kings*, 63. See further our comment about the relationship of the Sin-curse between VTE 419-20 and Dt 28:27 in Part VI 1.1.1.

² This announces Absalom's assumption of royal power.

aborted the renewal of a treaty with the northern tribes (1 Ki 12:16, 20).³ In fact, Rehoboam's conduct, which led the Davidic dynasty to decline, fulfilled the covenant-curse of Yahweh's anger/curse (Dt 28:20).⁴ In other words, his decision together with division of the monarchy are the results of Yahweh's anger.

2.2.4.2 By Other Nations

The territory of Israel shrank, because the people fled after being defeated in the plain of Jezreel, and their towns were taken over by the Philistines (1 Sam 31:7):

ויראו אנשי-ישראל אשר-בעבר העמק ואשר בעבר הירדן כי-נסו אנשי ישראל וכי-מתו שאול ובניו ויעזבו את-
הערים וינסו ויבאו פלשתים וישבו בהן

When the Israelites who were on the other side of the valley, and who were beyond the Jordan, saw that the Israelite army had fled and that Saul and his sons had died, they abandoned their towns and fled. And the Philistine dwelt in them.

Ahaz' disloyalty to Yahweh resulted in the loss of a strategically important city (2 Ki 16:6):

בעת ההיא השיב רצין מלך-ארם את-אילת לארם וינשל את-היהודים מאילות וארמים באו אילת וישבו שם עד
היום הזה

At that time Rezin king of Aram recovered Elath for Aram and drove out the men of Judah from Elath. Then Arameans moved into Elath and have lived there to this day.

So, Israel's defeat allowed the Philistines and Arameans to dwell in her country. The Bible is silent about the effect. Since aliens were strong enough to take possession in some towns from both Kingdoms, this situation is partly comparable to the covenant-curse of the gradual rise of resident aliens, which would result eventually in their hegemony over Israel (Dt 28:43-44).

Furthermore, because of Jehu's sin Yahweh reduced the territory of the Northern Kingdom (2 Ki 10:32-33):

בימים ההם החל יהוה לקצות בישראל וכיכם חזאל בכל-גבול ישראל מן-הירדן מזרח השמש את כל-ארץ הגלעד
הגדי והראובני והמנשי מערער אשר-על-נחל ארנן והגלעד והבשן

³ כל ישראל in 1 Ki 12:1 are representatives of the northern tribes who came to Shechem to make Rehoboam king. These people (כל ישראל) recognized Rehoboam's refusal of their proposal (v. 16a). The people who turned from Rehoboam are called ישראל in v. 16b and people who remained under Rehoboam as שבט-יהודה בערי יהודה (17a). כל ישראל is juxtaposed to שבט-יהודה in v. 20 and obviously refers to all the Israelites, apart from the tribe of Judah. The treaty with the northern tribes was established under David. When all the representatives of Israel (כל זקני ישראל) came to David in Hebron (2 Sam 5:3), ויכרת להם המלך דוד ברית בחברון לפני יהוה. The same contrast between the northern tribes (כל-ישראל) and Judah (יהודה) occurs in reference to David's rule (2 Sam 5:5).

⁴ Cf. Part II 5.4.2.1.

In those days the Lord began to reduce the size of Israel. Hazael defeated them throughout the territory of Israel: from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites and the Reubenites and the Manassites, from Aroer which is by the valley of the Arnon through Gilead to Bashan.

In the time of Pekah, Tiglath-pileser III took cities from Israel and deported people to Assyria (2 Ki 15:29). Here, the covenant-curse of deportation of offspring was realized (Lev 26:33, Dt 28:41; cf. 36a, 63b-64a).

The territorial reduction as a covenant-curse does not occur explicitly in Lev 26 and Dt 28. Yet it is a result of Yahweh's judgement which would have lead a step further in the progressive process of the Northern Kingdom's destruction (Dt 28:20, see Part II 5.4.2.1).

2.2.5 The Revolts

2.2.5.1 Hostility among the Royal Family

Curses predicting hostility (2 Sam 12:10) among the members of David's family were fulfilled; the one, when Amnon was assassinated at Absalom's command because he raped his sister Tamar (2 Sam 13:28-29); the other was Absalom's revolt which resulted in a civil war (2.2.3). These two events also relate to a covenant-curse of divine anger (Dt 28:20), which denotes Yahweh's judgement in a general sense (see Part II 5.4.2.1).

2.2.5.2 Domestic

Jeroboam was appointed to be in charge of the whole labour force of the house of Joseph (1 Ki 11:28). His rebellion could have been related to the smouldering discontent among the people over heavy labour imposed by Solomon (1 Ki 11:26; cf. 12:4):

וירבעם בן-נבט אפרתי מן-הצדרה . . . עבר לשלמה וירם יד במלך

Then Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephramite of Zeredah, Solomon's servant . . . also rebelled against the king.

The divine suzerain chose Jeroboam and promised a dynasty to him conditional on his loyalty (1 Ki 11:37-38). His election was intended to punish David's heir for the breach of covenant (1 Ki 11:3). However, Jeroboam's line would not last for ever, like the Davidic Dynasty (1 Ki 11:39).

The divine suzerain commanded an agent to punish an obstinate, disloyal vassal. This was the case of Ahab; although Yahweh granted opportunities to repent, but he failed. Thus, Yahweh commanded Jehu to destroy Ahab's house while approving his kingship (2 Ki 9:7a): *והכיתה את-בית אחאב אדניך* "You shall destroy the house of Ahab your master" (see 2.2.11 below).

Since the covenant-curse of Yahweh's anger/curse is a general, punitive judgment, Jeroboam's revolt is to be understood in the light of Yahweh's anger/curse (Dt 28:20), since this covenant-curse denotes Yahweh's judgment in a general sense.⁵

2.2.5.3 Vassal Lands

(1) Aram of Damascus

Yahweh used a revolt of Israel's vassal-land to discipline Solomon. Rezon succeeded in his *coup d'état* and took control in Damascus (1 Ki 11:23-25):

ויקם אלהים לו שטן את-רזון בן-אלידע אשר ברח מאת הדרעזר מלך-צובה אדניו ויקבץ עליו אנשים ויהי שר-גדוד בהרג דוד אתם וילכו רמשק וישבו בה וימלכו בדמשק ויהי שטן לישראל כל-ימי שלמה ואת-חרעה אשר הדר ויקץ בישראל וימלך על-ארם

God also raised up another adversary, Rezon son of Eliada, who had fled from his master, Hadadezer king of Zobah. He gathered men around him and became the leader of a marauding band, when David destroyed them (the forces of Zobah); and they went to Damascus and settled there, and reigned in Damascus. So he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon, along with the evil that Hadad did. He was hostile towards Israel and ruled over Aram.

(2) Edom⁶

An Edomite prince, who had escaped to Egypt when Israel invaded Edom under David, heard of the death of David and Joab (2 Ki 11:21) and presumably, on returning to the land, attempted to recover Edom from vassal status (1 Ki 11:14, 21):

ויקם יהוה שטן לשלמה את הדר הארמי מזרע המלך הוא באדום . . . והדר שמע במצרים כי-שכב דוד עם-אבתיו וכי-מת יואב שר-הצבא ויאמר הדר אל-פרעה שלחני ואלך אל-ארצי

Then the Lord raised up against Solomon an adversary, Hadad the Edomite, from the royal line of Edom. . . . When Hadad heard in Egypt that David rested with his fathers and that Joab the commander of the army was also dead, he said to Pharaoh: 'Let me go, that I may go to my country.'

Edom rebelled against Judah in the time of Jehoram by enthroning a king without Jehoram's approval (2 Ki 8:20).⁷ Jehoram, the suzerain of Edom, campaigned against Edom but he failed to subdue it (2 Ki 8:21). Moab rebelled against Joram after Ahab's death (2 Ki 3:5b).

The revolts of the vassal lands indicated the divine suzerain's anger (Dt 28:20), because he did not let Israel's international policy succeed (2.2.5.2 fn. 7). This is his judgement for both kingdoms. Added to that, the Judean king did not

⁵ A rebellion against the present dynasty as a malediction is not peculiar to the Bible. It has a long tradition, see Part III 2.2 fn. 95.

⁶ David put garrisons in Edom (2 Sam 8:13-14).

⁷ Also Libnah revolted at the same time (8:22b).

succeed in disciplining rebel vassal lands. His defeat is comparable to a covenant-curse about defeat: instead of having a victory, Israel would flee seven ways before her enemies (Lev 26:25 & Dt 28:25).

2.2.6 Defeat

The divine-suzerain let Ahab be deceived by a lying spirit when taking a political decision (1 Ki 22:23):⁸

ועתה הנה נתן יהוה רוח שקר בפי כל-נביאיך אלה ויהוה דבר עליך רעה

Now therefore, behold, the Lord has put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these prophets of yours. The Lord has declared disaster for you.

Micaiah revealed the spirit behind the prophecy of Ahab's victorious fight against the Arameans (1 Ki 22:12), whereas he foretold defeat and Ahab's death. But, Ahab believed the false prophets and failed to heed Micaiah's advice. Thus, he was put off from taking the right decision. As a result his army was defeated, and he was killed in the battlefield. Here, the covenant-curses of divine anger (Dt 28:20; cf. 2.2.4.1) and defeat (Dt 28:25) were fulfilled.

Elijah announced a curse concerning Ahab because of his crime against Naboth⁹ which was fulfilled in the course of his campaign against the Arameans at Ramoth Gilead (1 Ki 22:37-38):

וימת המלך ויבוא שמרון ויקברו את-המלך בשמרון וישטף את-הרכב על ברכת שמרון וילקו הכלבים את-דמו והזנות רחצו כדבר יהוה אשר דבר

The king (Ahab) died and was brought to Samaria, and they buried the king in Samaria. They washed the chariot by the pool of Samaria, and the dogs licked up his blood (now the harlots bathed) as the Lord had announced.

The scene the dogs licking up Ahab's blood indicates that corpses in battlefields would serve as meat for wild animals, which commonly occurred in the ancient Near East, as noticed elsewhere. This scene was turned to a covenant-curse in Dt 28:26 (Appendix III 9). In addition, 2 Kings does not inform us what happened to the corpses of Israelite troops, they could have been left in the battle fields for the wild animals.

2.2.7 Invasion

2.2.7.1 Siege and Cannibalism

⁸ See the divine-suzerain's advice at the heavenly court and his decision in vv. 20-22.

⁹ Curses for his house were postponed, see 2.1.1.4 above.

Ben-Hadad king of Aram laid siege to Samaria. This caused a great famine, which brought about cannibalism (2 Ki 6:25, 28b-29):

ויהי רעב גדול בשמרון והנה צרים עליה עד היות ראש-חמור בשמנים כסף ורבע הקב חרייונים בחמשה-כסף

There was a great famine in Samaria. And behold, they besieged it until a donkey's head was sold for eighty shekels of silver, and the fourth part of a cab dove's dung¹⁰ for five shekels of silver.

ותאמר האשה הזאת אמרה אלי תני את-בנך ונאכלנו היום ואת-בני נאכל מחר ונבשל את-בני ונאכלהו ואמר אליה ביום האחר תני את-בנך ונאכלנו ותחבא את-בנה

She said, 'This woman said to me, 'Give your son that we may eat him today; and we will eat my son tomorrow.' So we boiled my son and ate him, and I said to her on the next day, 'Give your son that we may eat him.' But she has hidden her son.

These events correspond to the covenant-curses of food shortage (Lev 26:26) and cannibalism (Lev 26:29, Appendix 8 & Dt 28:53-57, Appendix 16), caused by siege (Lev 26:25b); Dt 28:52).

2.2.7.2 Being Plundered

Judah suffered invasion by Shishak who took all the treasure from the palace under Rehoboam (1 Ki 14:25-26). In the time of Joash, Hazael king of Aram invaded Judah (2 Ki 12:18). This Aramean invasion is related to Joash' breach of covenant in 2 Chr 24:18-22 which is omitted in 2 Ki 12. Having received gifts from Joash, Hazael withdrew from Jerusalem. This, presumably, indicates that Joash became a vassal to him.¹¹ After Elisha's death the Moabites used to invade Israel every spring (2 Ki 13:20b). So both the Israelite and Judean kingdoms became impoverished by enemies' invasion and plundering.

The invasion fulfilled a covenant-curse of war (Lev 26:17a), and the enemies' plundering the curse of the deprivation of crops (Lev 26:16; Dt 28:51, 30b-31). This circumstance would have mirrored the impoverished state for the people (Dt 28:16, 17, 18a β , 19).

2.2.8 Becoming Subjects to Other Nations

Jehoahaz violated the covenant with Yahweh(2 Ki 23:32). As a result, according to 2 Ki 23:33a, Yahweh employed the Pharaoh to discipline him: ויאסרהו "Pharaoh Neco imprisoned him at Riblah in the land Hamath¹² that he might not reign in Jerusalem." Yahweh then put

¹⁰ A cab "equals one sixth of a *seah* in dry measure-i.e., 1.2 liters." "'Dove's dung' was" "the popular name of inedible husks," Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 79.

¹¹ See also W. T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, 152.

¹² Riblah was located on the Orontes River and served as Neco's military headquarters.

Jehoiakim under Babylonian suzerainty for three years because of his breach of the covenant (2 Ki 23:37-24:1). When he rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian troops led a punitive campaign against Judah. According to 2 Ki 24:2b, Yahweh used the Babylonians as his agent to punish Judah (2 Ki 24:2b): כדבר . . . יהוה אשר דבר ביד עבדיו הנביאים . . . in accordance with the word of the Lord, which he had spoken through his servants the prophets."

So the disloyalty of the Davidic kings to their divine suzerain brought about invasion by other nations who subjected them. Here, the covenant-curses of invasion/war (Lev 26:25; Dt 28:25, 49-51) and the servitude of the Davidic kings (Lev 26:17b; Dt 28:48) are fulfilled.

2.2.9 Complete Destruction of Jerusalem

Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in Zedekiah's reign (2 Ki 25:1b), which brought about a severe famine (2 Ki 25:3). Eventually, the Babylonian troops plundered the temple and destroyed it with Jerusalem (2 Ki 25:8-10, 13-15). The events fulfilled the covenant-curses of invasion/war (Lev 26:17 and Lev 26:25; Dt 28:25, 49-51) and destruction (Lev 26:30-32 & Dt 28:52). In addition to that Nebuchadnezzar's siege would have deprived the people of agricultural produce and disturbed every enterprise of daily life (Appendix III 2). This could have further led to food shortages (Appendix III 8), diseases because of the lack of hygiene (Appendix III 4, 10, 14) and deprivation of basic enjoyment of life (Appendix III 13).

2.2.10 Deportation

The Arameans invaded the territory of Israel and carried away captives (2 Ki 5:2; cf. 6:8 ff.). A major deportation happened at the fall of the Northern Kingdom, when the Israelites from Samaria were deported to Assyria (2 Ki 17). As for the Judean kingdom, Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem (2 Ki 24:10-13) and carried off the king with the royal family, nobles and the booty from the temple and palace (12-14). In Zedekiah's time, having sacked Jerusalem, he deported the king with most of the people (2 Ki 25:7, 11). He further deported the prominent officials and leaders who led the revolt to Riblah and executed them there (2 Ki 25:18-21a).¹³ So the covenant-curse of deportation (Appendix III 18) was fulfilled. At the same time, the covenant-curses of misery in exile, namely restless life and the worship of lifeless gods (Appendix III 20) were, by implication, fulfilled.

¹³ Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah over the remnants in Judah and left some Babylonian officials there; the Judean kingdom remained as a Babylonian vassal (2 Ki 25:22-24).

2.2.11 Annihilation of Dynasty

Saul's disloyalty to Yahweh in carrying out his command to destroy the Amalekites resulted in Israel's total defeat by the Philistines in the plain of Jezreel and the death of Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam 31:1, 6).¹⁴ The Saulide dynasty was transferred to David. Jehu destroyed Ahab's dynasty, thereby fulfilling the curses regarding Ahab's dynasty (see 2.2.5.2 above).¹⁵

Curses predicted to Jeroboam were fulfilled in the time of Nadab (1 Ki 15:28-29). Curses predicted to Baasha were fulfilled under Elah son of Baasha. Zimri, one of Elah's officials, assassinated the king and his family at Tirzah (1 Ki 16:11-12). The writer of 1 Kings explained Zimri's act against Baasha's household as a result of Baasha's and Elah's sins (1 Ki 16:13). In this way, individual dynasties were annihilated. The Israelite kingdom was eventually annihilated by Assyria. Here, we see Yahweh's curse in a series of the annihilation of individual dynasties, which ended with the annihilation of the Northern Kingdom (see 2.2.12). So the covenant-curse of Yahweh's anger leading to the destruction (Dt 28:20) was fulfilled.

2.2.12 Annexation of the Territory

Having succeeded in capturing Samaria after three years' siege, Shalmaneser V deported the king and the Israelites to Assyria (2 Ki 17 3-6; see 2.2.10). His successor brought deportees from other countries and resettled them in Samaria.¹⁶ According to 2 Ki 17:25-28, the Assyrian king was advised that lions had killed some of the people in Samaria because they were ignorant of Yahweh, so he sent a priest from the captives of Samaria to teach them.¹⁷ Samaria became an Assyrian province, so the Israelite kingdom was annihilated. Yet there was a remnant of the Israelites in Samaria.

As for Judah, Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah as governor and stationed Babylonian officials there (2 Ki 25:22-24). Gedaliah said to the remaining army officers and their men: אל-תיראו מעבדי הכשדים שבו בארץ ועבדו את-מלך בבל ויטב לכם (2 Ki 25:24).¹⁸ So Judah became a Babylonian province.

¹⁴ 1 Ch 10:13-14 evaluates Saul's death and the transference of his kingship to David as the punishment for his disloyalty to Yahweh.

¹⁵ All Ahab's family was killed, king Joram and Ahab's seventy sons (2 Ki 9:24; 10:8a) and Jezebel according to the prediction (2 Ki 9:33).

¹⁶ When Sargon reorganized Samaria, he appointed an Assyrian governor in Samaria (Part III 2.1.14 & fn. 54). An Assyrian eponym lists inform us that there was an Assyrian governor in Samaria in 690 B.C., A. Millard, *The Eponyms*, 50, 61, 105.

¹⁷ This example shows that the Assyrian kings did not impose their religion upon the country which became an Assyrian province, see further Part IV 2.0 fn. 11.

¹⁸ See further Jer 40:9-10.

Two covenant-curses are fulfilled in both cases: 1) deportation of off-spring (Appendix III 18); 2) Israel became subject to the resident aliens (Appendix III 12).

2.3 Conclusions

Our study of the monarchy period in the light of the covenant concept has shown the unity of various themes. The anti- and pro-monarchical pericopes are not necessarily from two different sources which stemmed from two different eras, as Wellhausen and his followers argued. As a matter of fact, "the anti-monarchical pericope" does not oppose the institution of kingship as such, but rather Israel's wrong motives for having a king over them. Instead of relying on their divine suzerain, they wanted to rely on the king who would fight against the enemy, as in other nations. However, the divine suzerain benevolently selected a king according to their desire. This means that the monarchy did not arise from Israel's sin, as McCarthy argued. Rather it originated from Yahweh despite Israel's sin in requesting a king from wrong motives. Having installed a king, Samuel emphasized the importance of remaining loyal to Yahweh for both king and people. If not, they would suffer the consequences, as noticed elsewhere. That is to say, Yahweh's benevolence cannot be separated from the Israel's obligations. Therefore, "the anti- and pro-monarchical pericopes" coincide, a coin with two sides. There is no need to consider the former as exilic and the latter as pre-exilic, nor were they two different sources combined by the dtr school (*contra* McCarthy).

The unconditionality of the Davidic promise is generally detached from the conditionality and the two taken as two different sources. However, the Davidic promise is comparable to that of the royal grant for loyal officials in the Ancient Near East on the one hand and and, on the other hand, it is comparable to some of the Hittite vassal treaties. There, the suzerain's lasting, dynastic promise was given with a condition of vassals' loyalty. If a successor became disloyal, he would suffer the consequence but his dynasty continue. These two ideas of the royal grant and the suzerain's promise of a lasting dynasty upon condition are embedded in the Davidic promise. In other words, the characteristics of the Davidic promise have common ancient Near Eastern antecedents. Yahweh promised David, his loyal vassal king, a lasting dynasty. This promise was attached to Yahweh's commandment for Davidic kings to remain loyal. That is to say, the disloyalty of the David's descendants would result in the adverse judgment of Yahweh but the Davidic dynasty continue, as history revealed. In view of this, the distinction between the unconditionality and the conditionality in the Davidic promise is not appropriate, since they coincide. Therefore, the generally accepted view about the two sources in the Davidic promise is not acceptable. In addition to this thought Cross' view about the development of the unconditionality of the Davidic promise from the conditional Davidic covenant is not persuasive, since Yahweh benevolently promised a lasting dynasty to David his loyal vassal king. This was not a development from the

existing conditional covenant. Because of Yahweh's promise, the Davidic dynasty lasted until Jerusalem was destroyed. Despite the last Davidic king's exile to Babylon, there is hope for restoration (see Part VI 4.4).

Furthermore, the widely accepted view concerning Yahweh's judgement (Noth and his followers and Cross and his followers) for Israel as the description of *dtr* is not persuasive. Yahweh's adverse judgement for disloyal kings followed more or less quickly after their breach of covenant (see also Part VI 4.6.4). The Northern Kingdom stood in vassal relationship to Yahweh, established to discipline the Davidic dynasty. Because of its vassal-relationship to Yahweh, he disciplined the northern kings when they broke the covenant, in the same way as he treated the disloyal southern kings. Thus, Yahweh's adverse judgment for both kingdoms should not be seen from the stand point of the Exile, as Noth, Hoffmann and others argued. Rather Yahweh's punishment for disloyal kings followed their disloyal deeds, which, at times, occurred immediately, e.g., the death of David's son born by Bathsheba, or sometime later, e.g., the reduction of the territory by other nations, and, at other times, after several generations, e.g., the annihilation of Jehu's dynasty. In other words, when the Northern and Southern kings were disloyal to their divine suzerain, Yahweh disciplined them without any discrimination. However, there is a difference regarding the duration of the dynasty. The fact that the Davidic dynasty lasted longer than the Northern Kingdom is thanks to Yahweh's promise to David and his maintenance of the promise. Furthermore, the schema of accusation and announcement of Yahweh's judgment should not be attributed to an exilic origin, as Dietrich and others did. Rather it should be understood within the concept of vassalship between Yahweh and Israel, as we see in Part VI 4.1. Both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms became subject to other nations because of their disloyalty to their divine suzerain, whereas their (including the united monarchy's) suzerainty over other nations was short lived (see Excursus 2).

The obligations of vassal kings and people relate to both the divine suzerain and their co-vassals, members of the covenant community. These two aspects are inseparable. Moreover, religious reform was one of obligations of vassal kings, which sometimes resulted in throwing off the suzerainty of other nations, as in the case of Hezekiah.

Therefore, the attempts to make vassal kings' obligations, e.g., reform (Cross and his followers), their apostasy (Noth and his followers) the core of Israel's historiography is not persuasive at all. Nor do Smend and his followers convince when they attempt to see the observation of the Torah and the vassal kings' sin and

prophetic announcement of Yahweh's adverse judgment as two different, exilic, dtc redactions (Part I 2.2.1.5).

In the covenant concept the diversities of themes in 1 Sam 8-2 Kings are correlated without chronological difference and form a unity.

Chapter 3

COMPARISON OF THE COVENANT-CONCEPT BETWEEN THE PRE- AND THE MONARCHY PERIODS

3.1 Structure

	Pre-Monarchy	Monarchy
1. Benevolence¹		
Military Support	x	x
Kindness	x	x
Forgiveness	x	x
<i>Approval of Kingship</i>		x
<i>Administrative Aid</i>		x
<i>Davidic Promise</i>		x
2. Yahweh's Obligations		
Military Support	x	x
Protection	x	x
<i>Fulfilment of Davidic Covenant</i>		x
<i>Political Intervention</i>		x
<i>Food Supply in Famine</i>		x
3. Israel's Obligations		
Keeping the Law	x	x
No Worship Other Gods	x	x
Reform	x	x
No Intermarriage/ No Alliance with Other Nations	x	x
חֶרֶם	x	
Covenant Relationship		
To Support Co-Vassals	x	x
No Killing of Co-Vassals	x	x
No Challenging to War	x	x
<i>No Illicit Relationship</i>	x	
<i>No Misuse of Kingship</i>		x
<i>No Treaty with a Disloyal Vassal King</i>		x
<i>Building a Temple</i>		x
<i>No Accumulation of Chariots</i>		x
<i>No Human Suzerainty</i>		x
4. Validity of Covenant with People	x	x
5. Purpose of Yahweh's Benevolence	x	x
6. Yahweh's Discipline		

¹ Aspects occurring either only in the pre-monarchy period, or in the monarchy period are italicized.

A. Fulfilled Covenant-Curses		
Destruction of Family/Dynasty	x	x
Revolts		
Civil war	x	x
<i>Hostility among Royal Family</i>		x
<i>International: Vassals</i>		x
Subjected to Other Nations	x	x
Defeat	x	x
Invasion and Plunder	x	x
<i>Siege and Cannibalism</i>		x
<i>Annexation of Territory</i>		x
<i>Destruction of Jerusalem</i>		x
<i>Deportation</i>		x
B. Purpose		
Humiliation	x	x
Restoration	x	x
To Teach Israel's Enemy	x	x
7. Sanction/Renewal of Covenant		
	x	x
8. Enduring Validity of Covenant		
	x	x
9. Covenant-Making		
כרת ברית	x	x
<u>Unique Ideas</u>		
<i>Establishing the royal throne</i>		x
<i>Making a Lasting Covenant</i>		x
10. Covenant-Breaking		
חסא ליהוה	x	x
עזב את-יהוה	x	x
עשה הרע בניני יהוה	x	x
הכעיס את-יהוה	x	x
<u>Identical Ideas</u>		
לא שמע לקול יהוה	x	
לא זכר את-יהוה	x	
שכח את-יהוה	x	
בזית את-דבר יהוה		x
לא שמר אשר-צות יהוה		x
שוב מאחרי יהוה	x	
לא סר מעל חטאות		x
נסה לבב מעם יהוה		x
<u>Unique Ideas</u>		
זנה אחרי הבעלים	x	
איש הישר בעיניו עשה	x	
הלך בדרך/רבק בחטאות אביו		x

3.2 Consistency

The basic elements of the covenant-concept are consistent throughout the pre- and monarchy periods. However, there are some elements appearing only in Joshua-1 Sam 7 and in 1 Sam 8-2 King, respectively.

3.3 Comparable Aspects in Joshua-1 Sam 7 and 1 Sam 8-2 Kings

A corresponding idea relates to Israel's divine suzerain. The power of Yahweh revealed in Israel's crossing the Jordan should be known to other nations. Yahweh's superiority was revealed to the Philistines through Dagon's collapse. In other words, these two events let other nations know who Israel's suzerain is. The idea appears in the monarchy period, when Naaman promised to worship Yahweh after being healed from leprosy (2.1.6.3).

Another comparable element between the pre- and the monarchy periods is the relationship among the members of the covenant community. Since individuals of the covenant-community stood in vassal relationship to Yahweh, they were forbidden to mistreat co-vassals. The failure of this obligation appears in the Benjaminites' illicit act toward a Levite and his concubine (1.1.3.6 (4)) and in David's abuse of his kingship toward Uriah (2.1.3.8 (5)).

3.4 Uniqueness

3.4.1 Joshua-1 Sam 7

A unique historical event appears in the time of conquest. The חרם inflicted on Jericho does not recur in 1 Sam 8-2 Kings.

Two other unique aspects in these chapters relate to the breach of covenant. Since the whole nation was Yahweh's partner, the breach of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel is expressed by זנה (see 1.1.10.2). Individual members in the covenant community stood in vassal relationship with Yahweh. In this context the disloyal behaviour of individuals is rendered by $\text{איש הישר בעיניו עשה}$.

3.4.2 1 Sam 8-2 Kings

All unique elements relate to the monarchy. These elements concern Yahweh's benevolence towards his vassal kings: Yahweh's approval of kingship, his administrative support for Solomon (2.1.1.2 (2)) and his promise to David. Two others relate to Yahweh's obligations towards his loyal vassal king: 1) the partial fulfilment of the Davidic promise under David and Solomon; 2) Yahweh's intervention in Absalom's revolt on behalf of his loyal vassal king David. Other aspects refer to the vassal kings' obligations: to build the temple, not to accumulate chariots and horses, self-reliance by treaties with other nations, where the last two indicate

that vassal kings should rely on the divine suzerain alone in their performance of kingship.

The language of covenant has unique features. Two phrases refer to Davidic covenant-making (see table above). A breach of covenant is expressed from the point of view of disloyal kings who followed the life of their forefathers:

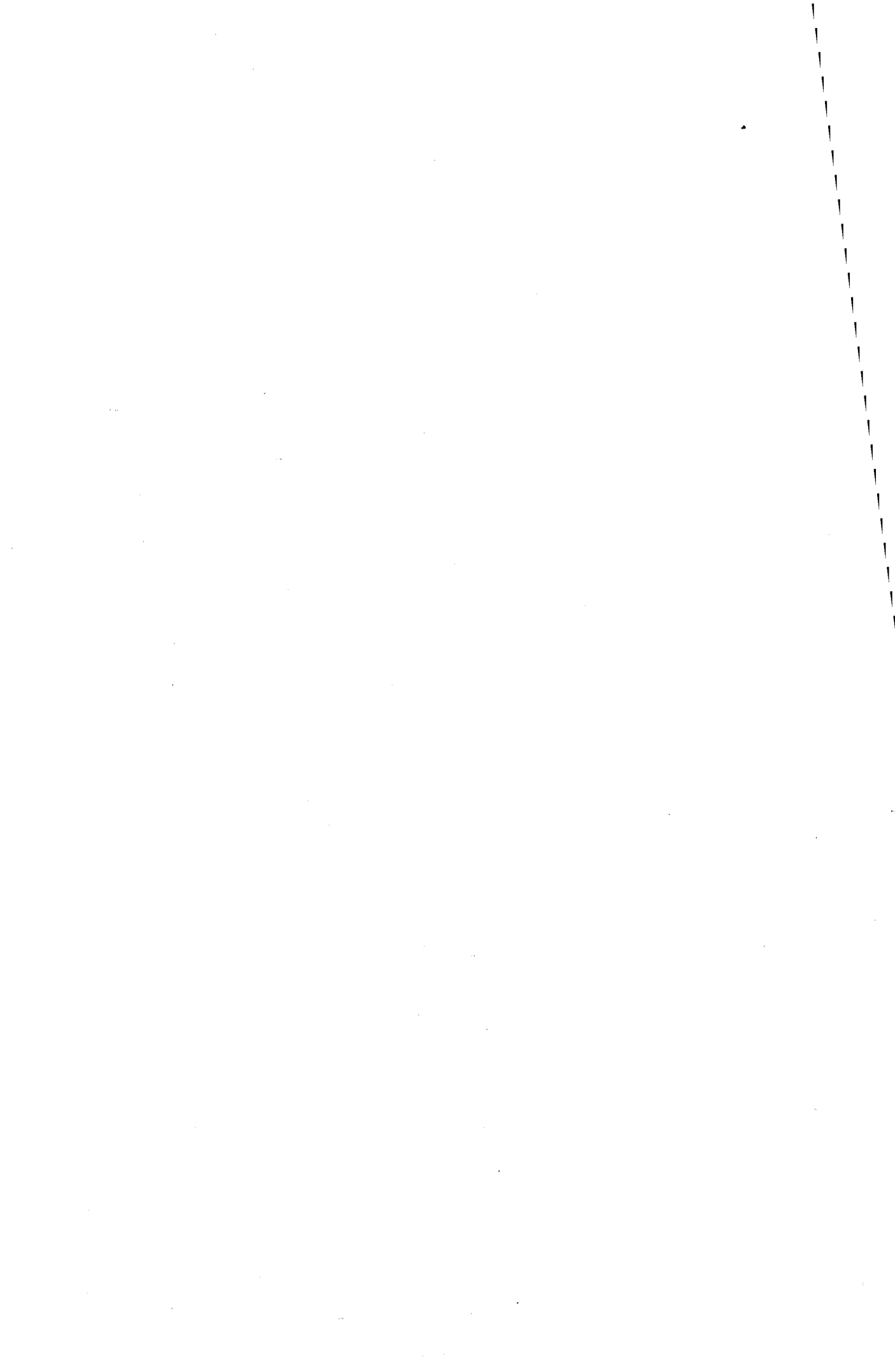
הלך בדרך/דבק בחטאות אביו

The fulfilled covenant-curses also deal with aspects of the monarchy: disease of a rebel vassal king, the reduction of the kingdom by schism and other nations, domestic and international revolts against the kingdom. Furthermore, the disloyalty of vassal kings brought about covenant-curses of drought and the severe results of invasion: siege and cannibalism, annexation of the Northern Kingdom's territory, complete destruction of Jerusalem and deportation.

To sum up, the basic covenant-concept is homogeneous through Joshua-Kings. The different elements of the covenant-concept in the pre- and monarchy periods relate to the development of Israel's history and show the divine suzerain's dealing with Israel according to her circumstances.

PART V

THE CONTEXTUAL COMPARISONS



Chapter 1
SEQUENCES AND CONCEPTS IN AKKADIAN
AND BIBLICAL COVENANT CURSES

1.0 Introduction

Sumero-Akkadian curses and the Biblical covenant curses display a common feature in terms of sequence concerning the identical or similar concepts of individual curses. For comparison of the sequence of the principal curses in VTE (414-93)¹ and Dt 28, we chose the most complete set of curses from a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time (henceforth KuMna).

1.1 Common Sequence of Curses in KuMna, VTE and Dt 28²

	KuMna	VTE	Dt 28
<i>Cursed States</i>			<i>16-19</i>
<i>Evil Fate</i>		<i>414-15a</i>	
Divine Anger/Curse	iv 1-5		20
Destruction	iv 1-5	415b-16	20
<i>Divine Opposition</i>		<i>417-18a</i>	
<i>No Intercession</i>		<i>418b</i>	
Disease	iv 12-17	418A-21	21-22
<i>No Burial</i>	<i>iv 21</i>		
<i>Divine Anger</i>	<i>iv 22</i>		
<i>Disease</i>	<i>iv 23</i>		
No Justice	iv 24-26	422-23a	
<i>Loss of Eyesight</i>		<i>423b-24</i>	
<i>Decline of Household</i>	<i>iv 28b</i>		
<i>Drought</i>			<i>23-24</i>
War I	iv 29	425-30	25-26
<i>Unique Curses</i>		<i>431-32</i>	
Disease		433-34	27
<i>Annihilation of Family</i>		<i>435-39</i>	
Famine	iv 30-v 3	440-45a	

¹ Simile curses are disregarded in our comparison, since they re-enforce the contents of the principal curses.

² Curses occurring either only in KuMna, VTE or Dt 28 are italicized.

Cannibalism	v 1-3	445b-51a	
<i>Corpses for Animals</i>		451b	
<i>No-one for Libations</i>		452	
<i>Annihilation of Family</i>	v 4-10		
<i>Destruction of Boundary</i>	v 11-18		
<i>Blindness & Consequence</i>			28-29
War II	v 19-24	453-60	30-34
<i>Destruction of Reputaion</i>	v 25-28		
Disease	v 29-vi 2	461-63	35
<i>Short Life</i>	vi 3-6		
<i>War</i>		464-65	
<i>Man-eating Lion</i>		467-68	
Disease	vi 7-13	469-71	
<i>Natural Disaster</i>	vi 14-19		
Divine Alienation	vi 20-28		36-37
<i>Thematic Recurrence</i>			38-57
Summary	vi 29-32	472-93	58-69

1.1.1 Destruction (Appendix IV 4)

The curse of destruction extends to the family line in KuMna (iv 6-10) which would result in no one for libation (iv 11). In VTE this curse only relates to the cursed ones: no-long life for them (415b-16). The idea of collective destruction³ occurring in KuMna also appears in Dt 28:20.

1.1.2 Disease (Appendix IV 7)

Sîn is invoked in KuMna (iv 12-17) to afflict the cursed one with *annašu kabta šeressu rabîta* "his heavy punishment, his great penalty" which refers to "leprosy,"⁴ followed by its consequence, expulsion by the community (iv 18-20).

In VTE there are two sets of disease. The first set, Anu invoked (418A-C), refers to diseases in a general sense. The second set, Sîn invoked (419-20a), is almost identical with that of KuMna; it is about leprosy for the cursed ones with two

³ Although VTE was established with vassal kings, it also valid for their people, see further Part III 1.6.

⁴ See further examples K. Watanabe, "Die literarische Überlieferung," *ASJ* 6 (1984), 99-119. There is one example in sources available to us, where *šeressu rabîta* occurs in apposition to *bubuta* "famine" invoked in the name of Marduk, *MDP* 2 109 33-34.

results, entrance to temple and palace forbidden and excommunication from the city (420b-21).

The maledictions in Dt 28: 21-22 would affect the whole creation and would bring about Israel's destruction (see Part II 5.2.2).

1.1.3 War I (Appendix IV 15)

The kudurru simply asks Šamaš to cause an enemy to overwhelm the accursed (iv 29). VTE has more elaboration (425-27): Ninurta is invoked to fell those cursed with arrows, fill the battle field with blood and feed the corpses to eagles and vultures. Then follow curses of sexual violence and dispossession by an enemy (428-30).⁵

In Dt 28: 25-26, Yahweh will cause Israel's defeat by her enemies, with consequences of her devastation as an example (v. 25) and her corpses as meat for birds and beasts of prey. The idea of the latter curse (v. 26) is identical with that of VTE 426b-27, which displays a common scene after defeat (cf. Part II 3.1.10.2).

1.1.4 War II (Appendix VI 26)

A further curse of war in the kudurru (v 19-24) concerns breaking the bow and cutting the bowstring (see Part II 2.4.1). This, along with other curses of binding arms and surrendering to the enemy, appears in VTE 453-54, where the following curses relate to slaughter (455-58). In both texts the gods are the agents for defeat. Furthermore, the curse of no-mercy in VTE 459-60 could relate to the curse of war, since Ištar is a goddess of war and receiving mercy from conquerors is significant for defeated people (see Part II 2.4.6).

Dt 28:30-34 also display elaborated curses based on the common practices in the ancient Near East (see Part II 5.4.2.2). The concept of vv. 30-34 can be traced back to an imprecation in a text of Nebuchadnezzar I's time (see Part II 2.4.9).

1.1.5 Disease (Appendix IV 28)

Marduk is invoked for dropsy in KuMna (v 29-vi 1-2), while Gula is invoked for disease in general and an incurable skin disease in VTE (461-65).

Dt 28:35 refers to incurable skin diseases. For example, Isaiah said that these diseases afflicted the Judeans cursed by Yahweh (Isa 1:5-6).

1.1.6 Summary (Appendix IV 36)

⁵ Cf. Part II 2.4.9.

All the gods mentioned in KuMna (vi 29-32), without listing their names, are invoked to curse the cursed one. The principle of invoking all the gods at the end of the lists is common: most kudurrus⁶ and the Code of Hammurabi (Appendix II §13.no.41). In this way, the series of curses is concluded.⁷ Moreover, some kudurrus depict expanded concluding curses. According to a kudurru from Meli-shipak's time, the sequence of curses is: 1) divine curse; 2) annihilation of family line; 3) famine & evil fate (Appendix II §17.nos.6-7). Another kudurru from Marduk-šāpik-zēri's time couples divine anger and misery; the second curse embraces various illnesses and all kinds of evil in life.⁸ The same concepts of concluding curses with an expansion occur in VTE. The scribes of VTE considered 472-93 as one unit by drawing a ruling between 471-72.

VTE displays a relatively long summary of curses.⁹ There the names of the gods are not mentioned: the gods invoked in VTE are described as "all the great gods of heaven and earth". The topics of curses summarize the preceding curses: 1) divine anger/curse¹⁰ and destruction of the cursed (472-75); 2) the destruction of the cursed (476a); 3) no libations (476b-77a);¹¹ 3) war - no resting place accompanied with famine and plague (477b-81a); 4) no burial place (482b-84); 5) detailed description of misery (485-87); 6) flood (488-89a); 7) disgusting things as daily necessities (489b-92); 8) possession by demons (493).

⁶ BBS^t 3 18 iv 21-25; BBS^t 4 23 iv 5-14; BBS^t 7 42 36-39; BBS^t 8 48 iv 32-35; Reschid and Wilcke, "Marduk-šāpik-zēri," *ZA* 65 (1975), 58 76-87a; Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone*, 152 v 5-7 (Nebuchadnezzar I) and *ibid.*, 194 iii 9-10 (Marduk-ahhe-eriba); Livingstone, "Marduk-nadin-ahhe IM.90585," vi 29-32; Delitzsch, "Der Berliner Merodachbaladan-Stein," *BA* 2 (1894), 265 v 45-47; Peiser, "Marduk-nādin-ahi" *KB* IV, 82 iv 21-25.

⁷ The concluding curses include the annihilation of present and future family in most cases.

⁸ Reschid and Wilcke, "Marduk-šāpik-zēri," *ZA* 65 (1975), 58 76-87a.

⁹ Assyrian scribes divided the curses of VTE ruling off each individual curse. They did not apply this principle for curses 472-93. That is, these curses conclude the preceding curses.

¹⁰ The divine anger/divine curse is attested in summaries of curses. The malediction of divine anger is followed by all sorts of others, *ZA* 65 (1975), 58 76-87a (from Marduk-šāpik-zēri's reign); in this kudurru the list of curses starts with a malediction of divine anger and curse (56 51b-54a). The divine curse summarizing the preceding curses appears in BBS^t 8 48 iv 32-35 (from Marduk-nādin-ahhē's reign), in *KB* IV 82 iv 21-25, *A New Boundary Stone*, 152 v 5-7 (from Nebuchadnezzar I's reign) and in CH (§13.no.41); yet at the beginning of the list of curses the (invocation of) divine curse occurs in the first kudurru (46 iii 25) and the divine anger in the second (80 iii 8b-11). At the beginning of the list of curses in the third kudurru Anu is invoked to annihilate the accursed in (his) anger (150 iv 3-4), whereas the deprivation of kingship occurs at the beginning of the list in CH (Appendix II §13.no.1). This evidence indicates that there were two traditions; in one the divine anger/curse recurs in the summary and also occurs at the beginning of curses; in the other the divine anger/curse summarizes the lists of curses, but does not appear at the beginning of curses. VTE follows the second model. See further 1.3.1 fn. 13 below.

¹¹ The order of 476a and 476b-77a is identical with that in CH (Appendix II §13.no.15) and the expressions in both texts are almost same.

In Dt 28: 58-68 Moses warns Israel what would happen to her if she breaks the covenant. The second conditional clause v. 58 signifies the concluding curses. The preceding curses are summarized in two paragraphs: plagues and diseases (vv. 21-22, 27, 35) in vv. 58-62 and deportation and hopeless life in exile (vv. 36-37)¹² in vv. 63-68. So the summary curses include all the curses in the Promised Land and the Exile.

To sum up, a summary paragraph in the lists of curses is a common feature in the ancient Near Eastern inscriptions.

1.2 The Common Sequences in KuMna and VTE

1.2.1 No Justice (Appendix IV 11)

In KuMna (iv 24-28a) Šamaš is invoked to prevent a successful lawsuit, which also occurs in VTE 422-23a.

1.2.2 Famine and Cannibalism (Appendix IV 19-20)

This coupling appears in KuMna iv 30-v 3 and VTE 440-451a. In KuMna the malediction of annihilation of family follows cannibalism (Appendix IV 23). In VTE the same idea is followed by famine (Appendix IV 18).

1.2.3 Disease (Appendix IV 32)

The curses in KuMna by Gula (vi 7-13) and VTE by Kubaba (469-71) relate to infectious diseases which would cause fat (KuMna vi 13) and blood (VTE 470b-71) to drip from the body.

1.3 The Common Sequences in KuMna and Dt 28

1.3.1 Divine Anger/Curse (Appendix IV 3)

The malediction of divine anger appears in KuMna and Dt 28:20. In the former (iv 1-5) the gods Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah are invoked to be angry with a violator of the kudurru, whereas the divine anger in Dt 28:20 would be sent on every enterprise Israel would undertake, until she was destroyed. The idea of lasting divine anger/curse until the destruction of the accursed is not peculiar to Dt 28:20. CH has the malediction of disease which would last until the destruction of

¹² The curses of war and results of defeat are implied in the curses of deportation and desperate situation in the Exile, since the former precedes the latter.

the accursed king (§13.no.39). In addition to that the malediction of divine anger/course commonly occurs at the beginning of the lists of curses.¹³

1.3.2 Divine Alienation (Appendix IV 34)

A concept of divine alienation is similar in KuMna (vi 20-28)¹⁴ and Dt 28:36-37. In the former, Ištar is invoked to alienate a personal god and goddess from the cursed one followed by two imprecations: to hang an evil deity at his side (vi 24-26) and to frustrate whatever he plans and does (vi 27-28) (see 1.6.1 below). In the latter, Yahweh would drive Israel into another land and put her under the hegemony of a foreign king, where, being alienated from Yahweh, Israel would serve other gods.

1.4 The Common Sequence in VTE and Dt 28 (Appendix IV 17)

The Marduk-course in VTE 433-34 refers to dropsy (see §51.no.7 in Part II 2.16.2). The idea of disease is comparable with that in Dt 28:27, namely Yahweh will afflict the people with four incurable diseases.

1.5 Common Curses Disregarded the Sequence

1.5.1 KuMna and VTE

The malediction of no libation occurs in KuMna (Appendix IV 4b) and VTE (Appendix IV 22).

1.5.2 KuMna and Dt 28

¹³ For example, divine anger in BBSt 3 17 v 48-vi 2 and §17.no.1 (BBSt 4 from Melishipak's reign), §18.no.1 (BBSt 5) and MDP 6 38 v 11-vi 11a (from Merodach-Baladan I), KB IV 80 iii 8b-11 (Marduk-nādin-ahhē), §42.no.1 (Ashurnasirpal II), Asarhaddons Episode 41 28 35b-37a; divine anger in followed by the invocation of divine curse BBSt 7 41 ii 13-15, §29.no.1 and MDP 10 87 iv 8b-12 (from Marduk-nādin-ahhē's reign), §38.no.1 (Adad-nārārī I), §41.no.1 (Tiglath-pileser I); the invocation of divine curse in §2.no.1 (Gudea Statue), §9.no.1 (Narām-Sin), RA 66 (1972), 166 35b-36 and MDP 2 89 iii 16-24 (from Nazimaruttaš's reign), BBSt 9 61 i 37b-39a, BBSt 11 78 ii 23-24 (from Enlil-nādin-aplu's reign), ZA 65 (1975), 56 51b-54a (from Marduk-šāpik-zēri's reign), OIP II 139 68-69; the invocation of divine curse followed by the divine anger in, RA 16 (1919), 129-30 iii 27-32 (Marduk-zakir-šumi's reign). In addition to that the malediction of divine anger/course does not occur in the summary of all these inscriptions. For example, the annihilation of the accursed summarizes the list of curses, BBSt 3 18 vi 21-25, BBSt 4 23 iv 13-14, BBSt 5 iii 38-44, BBSt 7 42 ii 38-39, BBSt 9 62-63 ii 29b-31, BBSt 11 79 iv 10-13 and the misery of the accused and the destruction of his descendants, BBSt 6 36 ii 59-60. In other case, the malediction of divine anger/curses appears both in the beginning and the summary of the lists of curses, e.g., KuMna vi 29-32, KB IV 82 iv 21-25 and see further 1.1.6 fn. 10 above. These examples indicate that there were two traditions; in one the divine anger/course/the (invocation) of divine curse starts the list of curses and summarizes it; in other it only occurs at the beginning. Dt 28 follows the second model. To this common model Dt 28 has additional curses of the cursed state of the accursed (16-19), see 1.7.1 below and Part II 2.12.4, 5.4.2.1.

¹⁴ Everyone could have a personal god and be under his protection, Black and Green, Gods, Demons and Symbols, 148.

The curse of an unsuccessful life in KuMna vi 24-28 (Appendix IV 34) is to be grouped under the topic of destruction. Ištar would cause evil spirits to destroy his plans (vi 24-26). Furthermore, *mimmā ubbalā lišābilā šara* "whatever he brings, may they cause the wind to carry away" (vi 27-28). In other words, nothing would be successful. This idea is comparable with Dt 28:16-20 (Appendix IV 1, 3): the frustration of life would continue until Israel perished from the promised land (see above).

1.5.3 Dt 28 and VTE

The expression of drought in the basic curses of Dt 28:23 and in the ceremonial curses of VTE 528-29 is similar (see Part II 3.3.4).

The concept of loss of eyesight and wandering in darkness in VTE (Appendix IV 11) and Dt 28 (Appendix IV 24) occurs in another kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time (see Part II 2.16.5.2). Dt 28 has two additional curses resulting from blindness, namely mental inability to act and unsuccessful and restless life (see Part II 5.4.1.2).

1.6 Curses Peculiar to One of the Three Texts Compared

1.6.1 KuMna

Some curses relate to identical topics within the kudurru. The curse of Sin's angry look (iv 22 in Appendix IV 8) relates to the topic of divine anger (see Part I 2.12). The ideas of diminishing house (iv 28b in Appendix IV 13) and destruction of reputation (or family) fall under the theme of destruction (see 1.1.1 above). To this category belongs another curse of the destruction of the boundary stone and the boundary (v 11-18 in Appendix IV 24) which would lead to loss of property of the accursed. In addition to that natural disaster (vi 14-19 in Appendix IV 33) would cause famine (iv 30-v 3 in Appendix IV 19).

1.6.2 VTE

The concept of evil fate (Appendix IV 2) is attested in Sumerian inscriptions in Gudea statue B (Appendix II §1.no.1) and an Urnammu inscription (§4). The same concept occurs in CH (§13.no.3) and continues in the kudurrus of Merodach-Baladan I¹⁵ and Nebuchadnezzar I (§24.no.2).

The idea of divine opposition (Appendix IV 4) occurs in Old Babylonian inscriptions (Appendix II §12 and §13.no.7) and continues in kudurrus of Marduk-

¹⁵ *d_{nabū} d_{nana} u d_{tashmetum} bēlē šipti u purussē ana lemutti lishurāš ana la šābti [liš]teūš* "May Nabu, Nana and Tashmetum, lords of decrees and decisions, surround him with evil and search him out for misfortune!", Page, *Sumer* 23 (1967), 54-55 iii 22-27.

ahhē-erība¹⁶ and Nabû-mukīn-apli (Appendix II §33.no.1). The malediction of no intercession in VTE (Appendix IV 6) is only attested in Neo-Assyrian treaties, first in ŠM (Appendix II § 48.no.5). The malediction of the man-eating lion in VTE (Appendix IV 31) also appears in EB (iv 6-7).¹⁷

Another curse in VTE (Appendix IV 16) relates to the topic of divine anger (above): *nēberu . . . erab bēl ina Esagil ai ukallimkunu* "May Jupiter . . . not show you the entrance of Bel in Esangil." This imprecation refers to Marduk's procession to the temple Esangil at the new year's festival. The Babylonians believed the country would not prosper in coming year, if the new year's festival did not take place, or if the king did not participate in the festival,¹⁸ the king would also be unsuccessful. Therefore, this malediction would mean an evil fate for the cursed ones. A further curse refers to war (Appendix IV 30) and refers to a massacre in the name of the Pleiades.

To sum up, in KuMna some curses are repeated in a different sequence, although they do not present new ideas. Some of them are to be categorized under identical topics within the same text. Curses in VTE not found in KuMna & Dt 28 are drawn from common tradition, apart from one curse (469-71, see Part II 3.6.1).

1.7 Unique Features of Curses in Dt 28

1.7.1 אָרוּר-Formulae (Appendix IV 1)¹⁹

The אָרוּר-formulae convey the cursed states of Israel in the whole of her life-sphere and summarize the following curses (20-68).²⁰ In addition, the occurrence of the alternation of short and lengthy curses in a micro-unit is not unique to vv. 16-19, where a lengthy curse (18) follows three short curses of three words (16-17) and is again followed by two short of these word curses (19). The same feature occurs in a micro-unit of KuMna: short curses in iv 18-23 and a lengthy curse in iv 24-26 followed by short curses iv 27-29 (Appendix IV).

1.7.2 Repetition (38-57, Appendix IV 35)

The structural uniqueness appears in vv. 38-57. Grammatically, this unit also starts a new section and ends in v. 57, since the conditional clause in v. 58 marks a

¹⁶ *dZarpani[tu ... igerra[šū] l[ila]mmin* "May Zarpanitu, ..., make [his] fame [ev]il!", *BaM Bh* 3, 41.

¹⁷ See Part II 3.1.10.1; 4.1.1.3.

¹⁸ If a king could not participate in the festival, he would send his substitute.

¹⁹ The concepts of אָרוּר-curse are comparable with those in KuMna vi 24-28 (see 1.5.2 above).

²⁰ See Part II 5.4.2.1.

new paragraph (see on Part I 5.4.4. fn 35). Thus, in the light of the structural comparison of Akkadian curses and Hebrew grammar, vv. 38-57 are to be taken as an independent unit. Furthermore, the alternation of short and lengthy curses appear in a longer-unit (38-57). Vv. 38-57 is composed of short curses ("poetic") and lengthy curses ("prose") in a pattern: poetic (38-42), prosaic (43a), poetic (43b-44), prosaic (45-57). However, the alternation of the short and lengthy curses is not confined to Dt 28:38-57. KuMna²¹ shows the same alternation: lengthy (iv 1-10), short (iv 11), lengthy (iv 12-17), short (iv 18-23), lengthy (iv 24-26), short (iv 27-29), lengthy (iv 30-34), short (v 1-3), lengthy (v 4-8), short (v 9-10), lengthy (v 11-15), short (v 16-18), lengthy (19-24), short (v 25-28), lengthy (v 29-33), short (vi 1-2), lengthy (vi 3-11), short (vi 12-13), lengthy (vi 14-26), short (vi 27-28) and lengthy (vi 29-32). Even within a unit of short curses the length of the curses varies. For example, KuMna iv 18-23 has curses of six words (18-19), 4 (20), 3 (21) and 5 (22-23). IV 27-29 displays a sequence of 4 (27-28a), 2 (28b) and 3 (29). The same feature also occurs in poetic forms in Dt 28, e.g., vv. 43b-44: 4 (43b), 2 (44a α), 3 (44a β), 3 (44b α), 3 (44b β). In addition to that, the content of vv. 38-57 is the repetition of the preceding curses with additional curses on the same themes²² and thus is a doublet in a certain sense. In terms of source criticism one could argue that vv. 38-57 presents a different source. But repetition as a literary device is common in ancient Near Eastern literature. For example, Tiglath-pileser I's campaign against Katmuhu is recorded twice. Prism I 89-92 mentions the cause of Tiglath-pileser I's campaign and a summary of his conquest followed by a detailed report about his campaign in i 93-ii 35.²³ The same feature appears in Ashurnasirpal II's annals: the summary of his conquest of Tammu (i 43b-47a) and the detailed description of his campaign in i 47b-54a.²⁴

In the light of this analysis, the style of vv. 16-19 and vv. 38-57 shares common literary tradition. The literary and structural uniqueness in Dt 28 should relate to the author's intention. He may intend with these two features to reinforce the serious consequences of treaty-breaking.²⁵ This seriousness is again strengthened by the additional curses revealing the worst events for Israel: instead of multiplying and

²¹ See the Babylonian text and translation in Appendix IV.

²² See Part II 5.4.4.

²³ RIMA II A.0.87.1 14-15. See further Kitchen, Ancient Orient, 116-17.

²⁴ RIMA II A.0.101.1 196-97; also Asn.II's campaign against the mountainous regions of Nipur and Pašate: the summary of his conquest (i 69b-71b) and the detailed description of the campaign, *ibid.*, A.0.101.1 198 i 71c-73a. See also Part V 4.3. fn. 20.

²⁵ See further Part II 5.4.2.1; 5.4.4.

flourishing in the Promised Land, Israel would decline in number through cannibalism, the destruction of the land and deportation (Part II 5.2.5, 5.3.2) and all aspects of life are cursed (Part II 5.4.2.1). Thus, both the description of Israel's state, the thematic recurrence of the aforementioned curses and the worst additional curses emphasize the seriousness of covenant-breaking.

1.8 Synopsis

According to our comparison, the sequence of curses in VTE and Dt 28 is based on a common heritage from the latter part of the second millennium B.C. Since the ancient scribes composed curses freely from an inherited stock, the sequence and the concepts of curses display disparities within the frame of common tradition. Therefore, there are curses attested only in the three texts individually. Yet the concepts of these curses appear in other texts contemporary or earlier. Moreover, because the scribes adapted the transmitted curses according to their intention, the literary structure of curses varies. So the unique structural features in Dt 28 emphasize the serious consequence of covenant-breaking. The literary component in Dt 28, namely the alternation of short and long forms, follows a common model. In fact, the combination of short and long form appears in curses throughout the second millennium B.C., as already seen (Part I 2.1.4).

Chapter 2

THE COMMON COUPLINGS OF CURSES IN KUMNA, VTE AND DT 28 IN THE LIGHT OF SUMERO-AKKADIAN CURSES

2.0 Introduction

Since the scribes did not copy the traditional curses mechanically, the sequences of curses in Sumerian-Akkadian vary, apart from some short building inscriptions. The aim of this chapter is to explore couplings of curses occurring either in KuMna and Dt 28 or VTE and Dt 28 in their broad literary context. This study enables us to see whether the sequential variations occurring in the three texts share common traditions or are unique.

2.1 Common Tradition in KuMna and Dt 28

2.1.1 Divine Anger/Curse and Destruction in KuMna iv 1-5 and Dt 28:20 (Appendix IV 3)

Coupling of these two ideas is to be found at the beginning of most lists of curses.

2.1.1.1 Sumerian Inscriptions

Coupling of divine anger/curse and destruction is first attested in Amarsuen's inscription: "May Nanna, the lord of Ur, (and) Ningal, the mother of Ur, curse (him)!/May they let his seed come to an end!"¹ Here, the destruction relates to the descendants.²

2.1.1.2 Old Akkadian Inscriptions

A coupling of divine anger/curse and destruction is attested in Old Akkadian inscriptions, for example, Narāmsîn (Appendix II §9.nos.1-4). Here, the idea of destruction relates to the position of the cursed (see Part II 2.3.2), his relation to his god and his descendants. That is, the cursed would lose his kingship, the favour of his god and have no descendant.

2.1.1.3 Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

The linking is common. In a kudurru of Melishipak's time the destruction is expressed as misfortune for the cursed one along with the annihilation of his family

¹ *d_{nanna} lugal-uri₅ki-ma-ke₄ d_{nin-gal} ama-uri₅ki-ma-ke₄ nam¹ ha¹-ba-an-da-kuru₅-ne/numun-na-ni he₂-eb-til-le-ne*, NBW II 222-23 2 5-11.

² The same coupling appears in a Sumerian inscription from the Old Babylonian period, RIME IV Warad-Sîn E4.2.13.15 230 22-23.

and relatives and his people (Appendix II §17.nos.1-4).³ At times, in the coupling of these maledictions in reverse order, the destruction only refers to the cursed one. For example, a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I has: "May Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah the great gods fiercely destroy him! May they curse him with an evil, indissoluble curse!"⁴

2.1.1.4 Assyrian Inscriptions

In building inscriptions, this coupling is common. A building inscription of Adad-nārārī I has the same linking (Appendix II §38.nos.1-2).⁵ The same coupling continues in building inscriptions of Adad-nārārī III,⁶ Sennacherib,⁷ Esarhaddon,⁸ and Ashurbanipal.⁹

In Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses, this coupling only occurs in VTE (472-77a):

"May all the grea[t go]lds of heaven and earth who inhabit the universe and are mentioned by name in this tablet, strike you, look at you in anger, uproot you from among the living and curse you grimly with a painful curse! Above, may they take possession of your life! Below, in the netherworld, may they make your ghost thirst for water!"

2.1.2 Divine Anger/Curse, Destruction and Disease in KuMna iv 1-20 and Dt 28:20-22 (Appendix IV 3, 7)

2.1.2.1 Inscriptions of the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

A kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time shows the same coupling with the third "dropsy" (Appendix II §29.nos.1-4).¹⁰ This coupling is modified at times. Within the linking of the three curses, a curse of general disease follows the two

³ Also MDP 2 89-90 iii 16-35 (Nazimaruttaš); King, BBSt 3 17-18 v 48-vi 4 (Melishipak); *ibid.*, 5 29 iii 26-37 (Marduk-Baladan I); *ibid.*, 6 35 ii 37-40 (Nebuchadnezzar I); *ibid.*, 8 46 iii 23-30 (Marduk-nādin-Ahhē); Hinke, A New Boundary Stone, 192 ii 14-20 (Marduk-ahhē-erība); Thureau-Dangin, "Marduk-zākir-šumi," RA 16 (1919), 130 iii 27-iv 1-5; ; *ibid.*, 11 78 ii 23-iii 1 (Enlil-nadin-aplu); cf. W. Sommerfeld, "Die Mittelbabylonische Grenzsteinurkunde," UF 16 (1984), 299 iv 5-11; J. Nougayrol, "Sirrimu (non *purimu)," JCS 2 (1948), 203-205 2-6a (between Melišipak II and Enlil-nadin-apli); UET 1 50 no. 165 19-22.

⁴ $d_{anu} d_{enlil} d_{ea} u d_{ninmah}$ ilāni rabūti izziš likkilmū[šu]/arrat la napšūri lemnētu lrurāšu, Page, Merodach-Baladan I, Sumer 23 (1967), 54 iii 6-11. Cf. MDP 10 iv 8-14 (Melīšipak) and Appendix II §24.nos.1-2 (Nebuchadnezzar I).

⁵ Cf. RIMA I Tn.I A.0.78.22 270-71 62b-67; RIMA II Tigl.I A.0.87.1 31 74-79; *ibid.*, Asn. II A.0.101.26 282 70-72; Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts," Iraq 30 (1968), 104 98-100.

⁶ RIMA III A.0.104.6 209, 28b-30b; A.0.104.9 215 rev. 11-14; *ibid.*, 216 rev. 30-31.

⁷ OIP II 139 68-72; 147 36b-39.

⁸ YBT 1 57 21-23. The curses of divine anger parallels the curse of evil fate along with the curse of destruction, *ibid.*, 59 22b-25; Asarhaddons § 48 B 76 24a-25a; Episode 41 28 35b-39a.

⁹ For example, Assurbanipal, Cyl. L¹ 28c-29; Cyl. P¹ 32b-33; Cyl. L⁶ (P²) 29-30. Cf. Owen and Kazuko Watanabe, "Eine Neubabylonische Gartenkaufurkunde," OA 22 (1983), 40 Vs 24-26.

¹⁰ The phrase *la paṭāru* occurs with dropsy, see Appendix II §27.no.3.

preceding curses in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's time (Appendix II §18.nos.1-4).¹¹ A kudurru of Marduk-zākir-šumi has leprosy as the third curse of the coupling (Appendix II §.34.nos.1-6).¹² In another case, the order of the three concepts is different: general diseases, leprosy and annihilation of present and future family.¹³

2.1.2.2 Assyrian Inscriptions

In a building inscriptions the coupling of the three concepts of divine curses, destruction and disease (leprosy) is rarely attested. We find it in Adad-nārāri III's annals (§45.nos.2-4).

In Neo-Assyrian treaty-curse, this tripling is not attested.¹⁴

2.1.3 War and Disease in VTE 453-63 and Dt 28:30-35 (Appendix IV 26, 28)

The coupling of these curses is very rarely attested. In the Code of Hammurabi a curse of enmity (Appendix II §13.no.19) follows a curse of disease (§13.nos.17-18). The same coupling recurs in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's time (§20.nos.5-6). Since the curse of enmity could have been developed into a curse of war, the coupling of disease and enmity could have served for the further development of the linking of war and disease.

The coupling of war and disease also occurs in EB (iv 3-5): "May Gula, the great physician, put illness and weariness in your hearts and an unhealing sore in

¹¹ Also BBS 11 78 ii 23-iii 1. In a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I, a curse of general disease follows a curse of divine curse without that of destruction, Page, "Merodach-baladan," Sumer 23 (1967) 54 iii 6-21.

¹² Also J. Nougayrol, "sirrimu (non *purimu)," JCS 2 (1948) p 2-10; Gadd, Legrain, Smith and Burrows, UET 1 50 no. 165 19-27a; MDP 15, 92 iv 15-19.

¹³ Delitzsch, "Der Berliner Merodachbaladan-Stein," BA 2 (1894) 265 v 36-47. A kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's time (Appendix II §20.nos.1-3) displays a coupling of the concepts of divine anger, general diseases and leprosy. In many cases a curse of destruction is omitted in the coupling. In other examples, the curse of divine curse/anger is followed by that of leprosy, as in another kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē, BBS 7 41 ii 13-18. Also Borger, "Vier Grenzsteinurkunden Merodachbaladan I," AfO 23 (1970), 3 ii 20-iii 1-3; Arnaud, "Deux <<Kudurru>>," RA 66 (1972) 166 35b-39 (from Nazimaruttaš' time); another "Kudurru de l'époque de Marduk Apal Iddin," MDP 6, 38 v 11-iv 1-20; in a kudurru of Melishipak's time, MDP 10 92 iv 9-19. In a kudurru of Nabû-mukin-apli's time, a curse of divine curse is followed by dropsy, BBS 9 i 61 37b-41.

¹⁴ A business document from Esarhaddon's time displays a coupling of the concepts of divine curse, destruction of the cursed, a general disease and leprosy, Owen and Watanabe, "Eine Neubabylonische Gartenkaufurkunde," OA 22 (1983) 40 Vs 24-Rs 27-32). There is also an example of coupling of divine curse followed by the destruction of the cursed ones and leprosy in Sin-šarru-iškun's treaty (rev. 7-11).

your body; bathe in blood and pus as if in water! May the Pleiades, the heroic gods, smite you down with their fierce weapons!"¹⁵

2.2 Common Traditions in VTE and Other Neo-Assyrian Treaties

There are two examples from VTE which are only attested in other Neo-Assyrian treaties.

The first is the same linking of disease, war and a man-eating lion in VTE (Appendix IV 30-31) which also occurs in EB.¹⁶ The coupling of no justice and the loss of eyesight in VTE (Appendix IV 11-12) is attested in AB: "May Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and earth, [. . .] render an unjust judgement [against us].!; may he remove our eyesight, [. . .].!"¹⁷ Another coupling of flood (VTE 488-89a) and the deprivation of essentials mentions (489b-92):¹⁸

May an irresistible flood come up from the earth and devastate you! (488-89a); may anything good be forbidden to you, anything ill be your share; may tar and pitch be your food; may urine of an ass be your drink, may naphtha be your ointment, may duckweed be your covering! (488-92)

The ideas of this coupling are attested in AM. There, a malediction of drought (Appendix II §49.no.5) is followed by the invocation of the worst things for daily necessity: "May dust be their food, pitch their ointment, donkey's urine their drink, papyrus their clothing!" (iv 14-16).¹⁹

2.3 Common Tradition of Unique Couplings in VTE

These couplings do not occur in KuMna and Dt 28, but are attested elsewhere.

2.3.1 Disease and No Justice in VTE 418A-23a (Appendix IV 7, 11)

The coupling of these concepts is first attested in the Middle Babylonian period.

2.3.1.1 Inscriptions from the Kassite and Post-Kassite Periods

¹⁵ *d*gula azūgallatu rabtu muršu tănēhu ina libbikunu simmu lazu ina zumrtkunu liškun dāmu u šarku ktma mē runka/ *d*sibitte ilāni qardūte ina kakkīšunu ezzāti našpantakunu liškun, SAA II 27 iv 1-7.

¹⁶ SAA II 27 iv 3-7. In VTE another fragmentary curse (466) occurs between a curse of war (464-65) and that of wild animals (467-68).

¹⁷ *d*šamaš diqugallu šamē u kaqquru(KI.TIM) be [. . .] dīni parikti lidin[anaši . . .] nīlu ēnu lišši [. . .], SSA II 67 r. 8-10.

¹⁸ *bubbulu abūbu lā mahru ultu (libbi) erseti līlāma napantakunu liškun (488-89a) mimma ṭabtu lu ikkubkunu mimma maršu lū šmatkunu qtru kupru lū mākalakunu šināt imēri lū mašqitkunu naptu lu pišatkunu elapū ša nāri lū taktimkunu (489b-92).*

¹⁹ *eprū ana akālīšunu qtru ana piššatišunu šnāti imāri ana šatišunu/ntru ana lūbuštišunu.* In EB iv 16-17 the malediction of deprivation of daily necessities follows that of deportation (iv 14-15, Appendix II §50.no.2)

In a kudurru of Nebuchadnezzar I the curse of no justice is followed by the Gula-curse (disease) (Appendix II §24.nos.4-5). In another kudurru from the same period, a curse of leprosy is followed by a curse of no justice.²⁰

2.3.1.2 Neo-Assyrian Treaties

In ŠM curses of disease and no justice occur in reverse order (Appendix II §48.nos.7-8). VTE has the coupling of no justice and loss of eyesight (Appendix IV 11-12). If we categorize the malediction of loss of eyesight under disease, this coupling also has antecedents in the Babylonian texts mentioned above.

2.3.2 Annihilation of Family and Natural Disaster/Famine VTE 435-51a (Appendix IV 18-19)

The order of these curses within the identical coupling varies. In Gudea Statue B, a similar coupling occurs: a curse of removal of name of the cursed from the temple is followed by maledictions of drought and famine (Appendix II §1.nos.5-9). The former curse would result in misfortune which could have developed into a curse of annihilation of family.

An Old Akkadian inscription displays a coupling of the annihilation of present and future family and agricultural failure which would bring about famine (Appendix II §9.nos.2-6).

In an inscription of Abī-sarē, the cause of famine and the annihilation of future and present family stand in a reversed order:

May its (city) canal not bring water (and) may his field not bring forth grain! May his [city] and [reed h]ut be torn down! May life be his misfortune! May Ningirsu, the lord of the weapon, smash (him) with his weapon!²¹

In CH famine & natural disaster follows destruction of the cursed one (§13.no.20-24). The coupling of the annihilation of present and future family and natural disaster/famine continues in inscriptions from the Kassite and post-Kassite periods. For example, it occurs in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I's time (Appendix II §23.nos.2-3) and recurs in a kudurru of Nabû-mukin-apli's time in reverse order (Appendix II §33.nos.4-5).

²⁰ BBS^t 8 47 iv 7-11; cf *ibid.*, 9 61-62 i 46-ii 3a.

²¹ *i7-da-bé a nam-tùm a-šà-ga-né še nam-tùm [uru].KI-ni [Gl.K]A-ta h[é-ta-dag]- 𐎠dag-ge𐎠 nam-ti nì-gig-ga-ni hé-a GIŠ.ÍSIMU.SAR-né GIŠ.ÍSIMU.SAR na-an-tuk-tuk 𐎠nin-gir-su lugal-GIŠ.tukul-ke4 GIŠ.tukul-ni hé-eb-ta-haš-e, RIME IV E4.2.6.1 124 iv 8-23.*

The coupling of the annihilation of family and natural disaster together with famine occurs in reverse order in Adad-nārārī I's building inscription (§38.nos.4-9)²² and in a Tiglath-pileser I inscription (§41.nos.3-4).

2.3.3 Cannibalism and Clothing in Human Skin in VTE 449-51a (Appendix IV 20)

This coupling is attested in an astrological text: *amli mašak amli iltabbaš amēlu štr amēli ikkal* "men will dress in human skin. Men will eat human flesh."²³

2.4 Unique Coupling of Curses in VTE Compared to KuMna and Dt 28

There are couplings of curses which are not attested in other Akkadian curses: divine opposition and no intercession (Appendix IV 5-6), no intercession and disease (6-7), loss of eyesight and war (Appendix IV 12, 15), war and divine rejection of participation in the New Year's festival (Appendix IV 15-16).²⁴ Furthermore, all these individual curses are attested elsewhere, apart from the malediction of divine rejection of participation in the New Year's festival. So we can deduce that the scribe of VTE may have put two different Šamaš-curses together according to the coupling of no justice and disease known to him, or he may have collected two individual curses attributed to Šamaš.

2.5 Unique Couplings in Dt 28 Compared to KuMna and VTE

2.5.1 Coupling of Disease and Drought in Dt 28:21-24 (Appendix IV 7, 14)

A similar coupling of these concepts is attested in CH. The malediction "May he (Šin) decree for him a life that is no better than death!" (Appendix II §13.no.20) may refer to a curse of deadly disease, such as in Dt 28:21-22. It is followed by the Adad-curse regarding drought and famine (§13.nos.21-24). The same coupling recurs in a kudurru from Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time (Appendix II §30.nos.3-5)²⁵ and continues in ŠM (Appendix II §48.nos.8-10) and AM (§49.nos.3-5).

2.5.2 Coupling of Disease and Blindness in Dt 28:27-29 (Appendix IV 17, 25)

²² In another Adn.I's building inscription displays the coupling of annihilation of present and future family and famine in a reverse order, *RIMA I A.0.76.9 143 27-31a*.

²³ Ch. Virolleaud, *ACh*, 15, Adad xvii:36.

²⁴ If the curse of loss of eyesight is considered as a disease and a malediction of divine rejection of participation in the New Year's festival is regarded as a malediction of destruction, coupling of these concepts is attested as maledictions in Akkadian curses, cf. 2.1.2 above.

²⁵ Also *BBS* 7 41 ii 29-33 (Marduk-nādin-ahhē). Cf. *MDP* 6 40-41 iii 3-13 (Merodach-Baladan I). Borger, "Merodachbaladan I," *AfO* 23 (1970), 14-15 iii 9-15 (kudurru SB 33). F. Reschid and C. Wilcke, "Marduk-šāpik-zēri," *ZA* 65 (1975) 56 54b-63.

This coupling is attested in two kudurrus: 1) Marduk-nādin-ahhē (Appendix II §27.nos.1-2); 2) Marduk-šāpik-zēri (Appendix II §31.nos.1-2).²⁶

2.5.3 Disease and Divine Alienation in Dt 28:35-37 (Appendix IV 28, 34)

The coupling of these curses is once attested in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's time: "May Ninēgal, Šuqamuna, Šumaliya, the gods of the king, afflict his head!²⁷ May his godly protector remove the kingship from his sons!" (Appendix II §22). Although the contents of the second curses differ from one another, their idea is similar, namely, the divine protector, Yahweh for Israel and a personal god for a Babylonian king, would harm his protectees: Yahweh would drive Israel to another nation, where she would serve other gods, and a Babylonian king's divine protector would remove the kingship from his offspring.²⁸

2.6 Synopsis

The earliest attested coupling of curses occurring in KuMna and Dt 28, which does not occur in VTE, goes back to the Sumerian period. All the couplings of curses occurring in VTE or Dt 28, apart from a few unique couplings in VTE share common traditions extant throughout the second millennium B.C. Furthermore, there are couplings in VTE, which are attested only in other Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses. That indicates that there was common tradition within Neo-Assyrian literature, according to the sources available to us. The couplings occurring only in Dt 28 are attested in literature of the early and later second millennium B.C. So we deduce that couplings of curses in both VTE and Dt 28 are derived from common traditions. Added to that, the reverse order of curses in couplings of identical concepts may be explained by the freedom of scribes in their composing curses.

²⁶ Cf. a kudurru of Merodach-baladan I's time (Appendix II §20.nos.2-3).

²⁷ *d*ninēgal *d*šūqamuna u *d*šumaliya ilāni šarri qaqqassu lišamrišū, *MDP* 6 41 iv 9b-12.

²⁸ The concept of divine abandonment also occurs in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's time, Page, "Merodach-baladan I," *Sumer* 23 (1967) 55 iv 4-12.

Chapter 3

THE VASSALSHIP-CONCEPT IN THE ASSYRIAN ANNALS AND THE HEBREW BOOKS

3.1. The Suzerain's Benevolence

3.1.1. Common Concepts

3.1.1.1 Approval of Kingship

Dynastic succession of vassals was not automatic but was assumed by the suzerain's approval of the vassal's kingship. The suzerain ensured that the successor remain loyal. On the other hand, the dynasty of a disloyal king might be ended.

3.1.1.2 Support

(1) Military Aid

Not all the Assyrian kings mentioned military support for their vassals in their annals. But Ashurbanipal explicitly claimed that he gave military support for his vassals to enable them to defeat their enemies (Part III 1.1.2.1). The Assyrian support would enable them to defend themselves. The same concept appears in the Hebrew books, where Yahweh enabled Israel to cross Jordan, supported her conquest of the Promised Land and her military campaigns (Part IV 1.1.1.1). When the monarchy was established, Yahweh provided his vassal kings with outstanding warriors to consolidate the kingdom (Part IV 2.1.1.2 (1)).

(2) Administrative Aid

There is an example of administrative aid for an Assyrian vassal. Shalmaneser III approved the kingship of his vassal's brother over a city in the vassal land (Part III 1.1.2.2). This would have enabled the vassal to have better control over his land and execute a policy which was friendly to Assyria. A comparable example occurs in Israel's history. The divine suzerain enabled Solomon to govern the vassal people more effectively by endowing him with wisdom (Part IV 2.1.1.2 (2)).

3.1.1.3. Forgiveness

The suzerain's forgiveness of penitent vassal kings sustained the vassal kingdoms, a fact which ran throughout the history of Assyria (Part III 1.1.3) and Israel (Part IV 1.1.1.2; 2.1.1.3).

3.1.1.4 Kindness

We see the Assyrian kings' kindness to both loyal and disloyal vassals in Assyrian history (Part III 1.1.4). The same idea occurs in Israel's history (Part IV 1.1.1.3; 2.1.1.4).

3.1.2 Elements Attested in Other Literature

Yahweh's promise of a lasting dynasty to David - even if his descendants would become disloyal - has no parallel in the Assyrian annals, but the same concept occurs in Hittite vassal treaties (Part IV 2.1.1.5 (2) fn. 25; see also 3.2.2 below).

Yahweh's instruction for disloyal vassals through prophets (Part IV 2.1.1.4) is comparable with the suzerain's punitive warnings for rebels through messengers, attested in Hittite and Assyrian history (see Part VI 4.1).

3.2 The Suzerain's Obligations

3.2.1 Common Concepts

3.2.1.1 Military Support

The suzerain would not tolerate an enemy who invaded his vassal's territory. Assyrian kings campaigned against the invaders (Part III 1.3.1). In Israel's history, Yahweh sometimes instructed Israel how to fight (Part IV 1.1.2.1), enabled her to defeat her enemies and intervened in her military expeditions (Part IV 2.1.2.2). The purpose of the suzerain's military support in the two groups of texts is twofold: to protect the vassal kingdoms and to make other nations recognize the greatness of the suzerain.

3.2.1.2 Political Intervention for Loyal Vassals

The Assyrian kings' intervention to secure the kingship of their loyal vassals is recorded from Ashurnasirpal II onwards (Part III 1.3.2). That is to say, the Assyrian kings took their loyal vassals' side. The same idea occurs in Israel's history, where the divine suzerain frustrated Absalom's revolt on behalf of David (Part IV 2.1.2.3).

3.2.1.3 Protection of Loyal People

In the Assyrian annals, Ashurbanipal protected loyal fugitives from the power of a usurper (Part III 1.3.3). In the Hebrew books, Yahweh protected Israel from the Philistines' invasion (Part IV 1.1.2.2), David from Saul as well as people who did not compromise with Baal worship in Ahab's time (Part IV 2.1.2.4 (1), (2)).

3.2.1.4 Food Supply in Famine

In famine the suzerain provided his vassals with food (Parts III 1.3.4; IV 2.1.2.6).

3.2.2 A Comparable Element: Suzerainty

Yahweh obliged himself to make the David's dynasty magnificent and this came about under David and Solomon (Part IV 2.1.1.5 (1)). Accordingly, David and Solomon exercised suzerainty over other nations (Part IV 2.1.2.1 (1)).¹ The same concept occurs in Assyrian history. The Assyrian kings stated that the gods granted them suzerainty over other nations (Part III 1.7).

3.2.3 Elements Attested in Other Literature

The idea of the continuous existence of a disloyal dynasty in the Hebrew books does not occur in the Assyrian annals. However, the same idea occurs in Hittite history (see 3.1.2 above).

Divine healing (Part IV 2.2.2.5) does not occur in the Assyrian annals. Yet Yahweh's healing of his loyal vassal is comparable with the ancient Near Eastern world-view: patients could be healed by divine intervention (see Part I 1).

3.3 The Vassals' Obligations

Although there are differences between the details of the requirements for the Assyrian vassals and Israel, the basic principle is the same: to obey the stipulations imposed by the suzerain.

3.3.1 Common Concepts

3.3.1.1 No Self-reliance

Assyrian vassal kings were forbidden to put their trust in fortifications (Part III 1.4.2, 9). In Israel, the divine suzerain forbade vassal kings to accumulate chariots and horses, because they would then tend to rely on them (Part IV 2.1.3.4).

3.3.1.2 No Alliance with Rebels

In the Assyrian annals vassals were forbidden to ally themselves with rebels (Part III 1.4.11 & fn. 93). The same concept also occurs in Israel's relationship to Yahweh. A loyal vassal king was forbidden to make a treaty with a disloyal vassal king during the divided monarchy (Part IV 2.1.3.7 (4)).

3.3.1.3 Supporting the Suzerain's Military Campaigns

Sometimes Assyrian vassals were expected to support their suzerain's military campaigns (Part III 1.4.3). Israel had the same obligation. When a vassal tribe was invaded, co-vassal tribes were expected to help (Part IV 1.1.3.6 (1); 2.1.3.8 (1)).

¹ Cf. Niehaus, "The Warrior and His God," 299-312.

3.3.1.4 No Challenge to the Suzerainty

The principle of the prohibition against challenging the suzerain is identical for both Assyrian vassals and for Israel, although the manner differs.

In Assyrian history vassals would challenge the Assyrian suzerainty by supporting Assyria's enemies (Part III 1.4.8).

In Israel's history, the challenge to Yahweh's suzerainty would occur when Israel followed other gods (Part IV 1.1.3.3); cf. 2.1.3.3 (1)) and submitted to other human kings (Part IV 2.1.3.6).

3.3.1.5 Friendly Relationship among Co-Vassals

The Assyrian suzerain never tolerated a vassal invading his co-vassals' territories (Part III 1.4.6). Throughout the history of Israel, a loyal covenant relationship among the people was very important, since the tribes of Israel were co-vassals of Yahweh. Killing co-vassals, challenging co-vassals to war, and illicit relationships with co-vassals were forbidden (Part IV 1.1.3.6 (2-4); 2.1.3.8 (2-3)). During the monarchy, since both king and people were Yahweh's vassals, the abuse of kingship was forbidden (Part IV 2.1.3.8 (5)).

3.3.2 A Comparable Element

Alliance with other nations through intermarriage, friendship and submission to another king for Israel would involve breaking the covenant (Part IV 1.1.3.5; 2.1.3.5-7), since instead of relying on the divine suzerain alone she would tend to rely on the alliance. Although the same prohibition is not spelled out in the Assyrian annals, its principle was valid for Assyrian vassals, because: 1) Assyrian kings supported their vassals (3.1.1.2 (1); 3.2.1.1 above); 2) Assyrian vassals were also expected to reckon on the suzerain's aid (3.3.1.1 above).

3.3.3 Elements Attested in Other literature

Some obligations for Assyrian vassals and for Israel varied, for the Assyrian suzerain was human, whereas Israel's suzerain was divine. Yet they are not unique.

3.3.3.1 Assyrian Annals

Vassals' obligations which do not occur in the Hebrew books have parallels in Hittite treaties: the payment of tribute (Part III 1.4.1),² sending messengers to pay homage (1.4.4),³ informing about someone conspiring against Assyria (1.4.5),⁴ no

² Cf. *HDT*, e.g., no. 5 33 §1.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, e.g., no.2 15 §§9-10.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, e.g., no. 3 24 §4.

invading the territory of Assyria (1.4.7),⁵ plotting against Assyria and participating in civil-war in Assyria (1.4.10).⁶

3.3.3.2 Hebrew Books

(1) The most significant obligation for Israel was to keep the commandments (תורה, Part IV 1.1.3.1; 2.1.3.1). Upholding the law has a long tradition. Hammurabi claimed credit for being obedient to the gods (CH i 1-v 24)⁷ and performing his kingship according to the divine commandment (v 14-25). The same ideas recur in the Assyrian annals (Part III 1.7).

(2) Israel was forbidden to worship other gods. Therefore, whenever Israel became penitent, throughout her history she reformed (Part IV 1.1.3.4; 2.1.3.3).

(3) Building a temple for a deity, as in the case of Solomon, was one common task of kings from the Sumerian period onwards. A relief depicts Ur-nanshe with a basket on his head, referring to the founding of a temple foundation. Such ceremonies continued 2000 years. The Assyrian annals report kings building temples which their successors were expected to restore if necessary.

Furthermore, Joash' restoration of the temple and Josiah's reinstatement of the Passover share common tradition. Hammurabi mentioned that he restored the temples for the gods and promoted offerings.⁸

(4) The idea of חרם is not attested in the Assyrian annals. However, the idea of devotion to a deity and the complete destruction of a city followed by a curse is part of common tradition (Part IV chapter 1.1.3.2 and fn. 26).

3.4 The Validity of Treaty with the People

This element is congruent in the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books: 1) not only vassal kings but also the inhabitants were obliged to keep the stipulations (Parts III 1.5; IV 1.1.3, 2.1.3); 2) the suzerain's forgiveness for penitent vassal kings and penitent vassal people (Parts III 1.1.3; IV 1.1.1.2, 2.1.1.3); 3) the suzerain's protection for loyal vassal kings and loyal people (Parts III 1.3.3-4; IV 1.1.2.2 & 2.1.2.4); 4) the consequences both disloyal vassal kings and disloyal vassal people would suffer (Parts III 2; IV 1.2 & 2.2). Furthermore, in the Hebrew books, the language of covenant making includes the validity of covenant with the people (Part IV 1.1.10, 2.1.10.1).

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, no. 11 71 §9.

⁶ Cf. Part III 1.0 fn. 10.

⁷ Roth, *Law Collections*, 76-81.

⁸ *Ibid.*

3.5 The Purpose of the Suzerain's Benevolence

This element would let both vassals and other nations know the supremacy of the suzerain. The Assyrian kings acknowledged that their suzerainty over other nations was given by the gods (Part III 1.7). The suzerain's benevolence encouraged vassals to remain loyal. Although the Assyrian annals do not report the effect of Assyrian kings' benevolence towards their vassals, other nations would have recognized the Assyrian suzerainty. These two elements were mentioned in the Hebrew books (Part IV 1.1.5; 2.1.5).

3.6 The Purpose of the Suzerain's Disciplinary Measure

In the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books there are three identical ideas:

3.6.1 Humiliation

Sometimes, the prestige of rebellious vassal kingdoms was diminished through territorial reduction (Parts III 1.6.1; IV 1.1.6.1, 2.1.6.1).

3.6.2 Restoration

In the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books, the main purpose of the suzerain's disciplinary measures was the restoration of the vassal status (Parts III 1.6.2; IV 1.1.6.1, 2.1.6.2).

3.6.3 Inducement

Although this concept varies in detail between the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books, there is a common idea. That is, the suzerain's discipline would induce his people and other nations to recognize his power (Parts III 1.6.3-4; IV 1.1.6.2, 2.1.6.3).

3.7 The Theocentric Features of Disciplinary Measure

Since treaties were established upon a mutual agreement between stronger and weaker kings in the presence of the gods, a breach of treaty was a violation of divine sanction. This made a military expedition against rebel vassals lawful. Since the Assyrian kings were representatives of the gods, they offered gifts from the booty of their campaigns to the gods. As for Israel, Yahweh was her suzerain, accordingly, all disciplinary measures for Israel were theocentric.

The theocentric disciplinary measures also applied in interstate vassal relationships. Israel exercised her suzerainty over other nations under Yahweh's suzerainty. In Israel's history loyal kings would lead campaigns while relying on Yahweh. David also offered Yahweh gifts from another king and the booty from his

campaigns (see Excursus 2.1.4). On the other hand, a breach of treaty would bring about a nationwide disaster (Excursus 1.3).

3.8 The Sanction of Treaty/Covenant

The language of treaty/covenant expresses the divine sanction of vassal treaties. They were sanctioned in the presence of the gods in the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books, respectively (Parts III 1.8; IV 1.1.8, 2.1.8).

3.9 The Duration of Treaty/Covenant

Lasting obligations confirm the lasting validity of a treaty. Thus, in a case of disloyalty, the suzerain disciplined his vassals. Yet dynastic succession was not automatic; if a vassal failed to remain loyal or died, the Assyrian suzerain chose someone loyal to him as occurred at the dawn of Israel's monarchy.

3.10 The Language of Vassal Treaty/Covenant

3.10.1 Treaty/Covenant-Making⁹

There are six parallel ideas in the Assyrian kings' annals and the Hebrew books. Firstly, the suzerain took the initiative in making an eternal treaty/covenant: "I made them swear by my great gods an oath of eternal vassalship" in the Assyrian annals; "he has made with me an everlasting covenant" in the Bible.

Secondly, since becoming vassals to the Assyrian kings meant they were vassals of the Assyrian gods, the Assyrian kings functioned as mediators for treaty/covenant-making: ". . . I made them vassals of Aššur, my lord."¹⁰ This concept occurs in the Hebrew books: "Joshua made a covenant for the people on that day" and "Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord, the king and people that they would be the Lord's people." In this context another common idea is: "to make a treaty sworn before the gods" in the Assyrian annals, and "he (Josiah) made the covenant in the presence of the Lord" in the Hebrew books

Thirdly, a vassal treaty/covenant is expressed from the point of view of kingship: ". . . I enthroned him over . . ." in the Assyrian annals; "I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever" in the Bible.

Fourthly, the suzerain expressed the vassal relationship in terms of a family relationship: "to establish an oath-bound covenant of brotherhood . . ." in the Assyrian annals; "I will be his father, and he will be my son" in the Bible.

⁹ See Parts III 1.10.1 and IV 1.1.10.1, 2.1.10.1.

¹⁰ Two other synonymous phrases relate to vassals' obligations throughout Assyrian history: the imposition of the heavy yoke of the suzerainty and the imposition of tribute (see Part III 1.10.1).

Fifthly, sometimes, the submission of weaker kings ("he kissed my feet" or "he submitted to my yoke") refers to establishing vassal treaties in the Assyrian annals. The same idea occurs in Joshua's covenant renewal: "We too will serve the Lord, because he is our God."

Finally, the validity of vassal treaty/covenant for the people is reflected in a result of treaty/covenant making: in Assyrian annals, "imposing tribute on the vassal people" or "putting all the land under one authority (Part III 1.5; 1.10.1 4)"; in the Hebrew books, "all the people entered into the covenant" (Part IV 2.1.10.1).¹¹

3.10.2 Treaty/Covenant-Breaking¹²

There are eight common concepts in the two groups of texts:

Firstly, breaking a treaty/covenant involves an attitude: "his heart was obstinate," or "he relied on his own strength," where the Bible says: "his heart turned away from the Lord God of Israel."

Secondly, a breach of treaty is considered as a sin which relates to an object, "to sin against the treaty," "he broke the oath of the great gods" and "transgressed with oath (made before) the gods" in the Assyrian annals. This has a similar parallel in the Hebrew books, "to reject the covenant." Sometimes, in the Assyrian annals the expression "to sin" occurs without an object, which is comparable with "to sin against the Lord," or "to commit all the sins of his father," or "he walked in all the ways of his fathers."

Thirdly, breaking a treaty/covenant refers to failure in keeping stipulations: in the Assyrian kings' annals, "who did not keep the command of Aššur and Marduk," "he did not obey my speech," and in the Bible, "he did not keep what the Lord commanded", "you have not kept my covenant and my decrees," "you despised the word of the Lord," "you have forsaken the commandments of the Lord."

Fourthly, deeds which led to a breach of treaty/covenant are expressed as "doing evil" in the Assyrian annals; "doing evil in the eyes of the Lord in the Hebrew books.

Fifthly, when the Assyrian annals refer to breaking a treaty, phrases such as "to rebel against the suzerain," "not submit to my lordship" or "being unsubmitive to Aššur" are used. These synonymous expressions are comparable to "to forsake the divine suzerain" in the Bible.

Sixthly, a breach of treaty is expressed as "they forgot the goodness which I had bestowed on them" in the Assyrian annals. This idea is comparable to Nathan's

¹¹ The same idea in Part IV 1.1.4, 10.1, 2.1.4.

¹² See Parts III 1.10.2; IV 1.1.10.2, 2.1.10.2.

reproach to David who sinned despite Yahweh's goodness: "This is what the Lord, the God of Israel says: 'I anointed you king over Israel and rescued you from the hand of Saul. I gave you your master's house and your master's wives into your arms. I gave you the house of Israel and Judah. If all this had been too little, I would have given you even more'" (2 Sam 12:7b-8).

Seventhly, a common stock phrase throughout Assyrian history for treaty-breaking was "to withhold tribute." This phrase is expressed from the vassals' point of view, demonstrating their negligence in fulfilling their duties. The same principle is used in the Hebrew books, e.g., "Manasseh led them astray." Manasseh failed to lead the people to follow the Torah.

Lastly, the expression "dissolving the brotherhood" for a breach of treaty is comparable to the expression of unfaithfulness in a marriage relationship (זנה), where Israel is considered as the partner of Yahweh.

Synopsis

The vassalship concept in the Assyrian annals and in the Hebrew books shares common tradition. Although the principal obligations towards the suzerain are identical in both the Assyrian and the Hebrew books, namely to remain loyal through keeping the stipulations, some obligations differ. That is because the suzerain of Assyrian vassals was human, whereas the suzerain of Israel was divine, therefore, religious obligations upon Israel have no counterparts in the Assyrian annals.

Chapter 4

THE TREATY/COVENANT-CURSES FULFILLED IN THE ASSYRIAN ANNALS AND THE HEBREW BOOKS

4.1 Disciplinary Invasion and Results

4.1.1 Congruent Themes

The suzerains disciplined rebel vassals: the Assyrian kings led punitive campaigns, and Yahweh employed other nations or, sometimes, his representatives, to punish disloyal Israel. The following themes relate to results of invasion and defeat.

4.1.1.1 Siege

In both groups of texts, siege was employed to prevent food supplies getting through, thus forcing rebels to surrender (Parts III 2.1.1; IV 2.2.7.1).

4.1.1.2 Famine and Cannibalism

Siege would lead to food shortage, famine and cannibalism (Parts III 2.1.1.3-4; IV 2.2.7.1).

4.1.1.3 Plundering

Agricultural products and possessions were taken away by the suzerain's troops in the Assyrian annals (Part III 2.1.4, 12) and by enemies in the Hebrew books (Part IV 1.2.2, 2.2.7.2).

4.1.1.4 Destruction

The punitive campaigns also brought about the destruction of cities. When vassals persistently rebelled, the suzerain also destroyed temples (Part III 2.1.2.2), as in the case of Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadneza (Jerusalem) (Part IV 2.2.9).

4.1.1.5 Bloody Battle-fields

The outcome of a fierce battle was common, e.g., battle fields were covered with blood and corpses, as in Assyrian history (Part III 2.1.5). As for the Bible, this scene was not always recorded, but it was one phenomenon which accompanied a battle (see also Part VI 2.4).

4.1.1.6 Corpses as Prey of Wild Animals

This commonly occurred in battle (Parts III 2.1.9; IV 1.2.1). If the dead were not buried, wild animals preyed upon them (Part IV Excursus 2.1.6 fn. 5, VI 2.4).

4.1.1.7 Deportation

People of disloyal vassals were deported to other countries (Parts III 2.1.14); IV 2.2.10).

4.1.2 Curses Fulfilled in the Assyrian Annals Comparable with Other Events in the Hebrew Books

4.1.2.1 The Suzerain's Mercy

The idea of solitary survival (Part III 2.1.15), conveying the suzerain's mercy to a disloyal vassal, does not occur in Joshua-Kings. Yet it is comparable to the prophecy in Isa 6:13 about a remnant.

4.1.2.2 Mutilation

Assyrian annals report the punishment of rebels in detail, such as severing parts of body (Part III 2.1.6). Some of these practices appear in 2 Sam 4. There, Ish-bosheth, Saul's son was beheaded by Recab and Baanah (5-8), but they were put to death at David's command for their crime. Their hands and feet were severed, and their bodies were hung by the pool in Hebron (12).

4.1.2.3 Destruction of Tomb

Ashurbanipal's destruction of ancestral tombs of Elamite kings (Part III 2.1.2.2) is comparable to Josiah's reform in Bethel, where he removed the bones of the priests of the Bethel sanctuary and burned them on the altar to defile it (2 Ki 23:16). In the former, libations and burials were denied to the dead and in the latter, burials and the use of the altar.

4.1.2.4 Curses on the Ground

Sometimes, the Assyrian kings spread salt and weeds to make the soil infertile (Part III 2.1.13). The same practice occurs in Judges; Abimelech scattered salt after he destroyed Shechem.¹

4.1.2.5 Lamentation

The lament of the rebel people because of devastation recorded in the Assyrian annals (Part III 2.1.11) is identical with the series of laments Hebrew over the destruction of Jerusalem (Lamentations).

4.1.2.6 Relentless Pursuit

To discipline rebel vassal kings and people, the Assyrian kings pursued rebel fugitives until they overtook them (Part III 2.1.8). The same sort of malediction

¹ See further F. Charles Fensham, "Salt as Curses," *BA* 25 (1962), 48-50.

occurs in Dt 28:64b-68, where in exile the Israelites would suffer a restless life, the consequence of the breach of covenant.

4.1.3 Uniqueness

The unique elements of the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books relate to the different world view and the characteristics of Israel's divine suzerain.²

1) A curse preventing libations to ancestors, an important concern of ancient Near Eastern people, only occurs in the Assyrian annals; Israel was forbidden to make such libations. The punishment employed by Assyrian kings, burning (Part III 2.1.3) and impaling and piercing people alive (Part III 2.1.7) do not occur in the Hebrew books.

2) A change of suzerainty as punishment for disloyalty only occurs in Joshua-Kings. Yahweh handed over his vassal people to a stronger king. Instead of exercising suzerainty over other nations under Yahweh's suzerainty, Israel became a subject under Yahweh's suzerainty (Part IV 1.2.3, 2.2.8), being oppressed and paying tribute to other nations (Excursus 1 & 2). In other words, Yahweh remained supreme suzerain, but allowed other nations to control Israel. Perhaps, this is comparable to transferring some of the cities of a rebel to the control of a loyal vassal (see 4.3 below).

4.2 Revolt

4.2.1 Congruent Aspect

A revolt as the punishment for disloyal vassals relates to kingship in Assyrian and Israel's history. In the former, a successful revolt against a rebel vassal who had become king without the suzerain's approval was considered a punishment which was imposed by divine intervention (Part III 2.2). In the latter, we note: 1) Abimelech's revolt and his death by the Shechemites (Part IV 1.2.5); 2) a quarrel within the royal family over the kingship (Absalom, Part IV 2.2.3, 2.2.5.1); 2) the rebellion of an official against the king (e.g., Jeroboam, Jehu, 2.2.5.2).

4.2.2 Uniqueness

When Israel remained loyal to her divine suzerain, she could continue exercising suzerainty over other nations under Yahweh's supremacy. When the Northern

² The idea of Israel's covenantal relationship with her divine suzerain is not unique. In Assyrian annals, kings understood that they were chosen by the gods to rule the people of their gods. They led campaigns in the name of their gods and brought other nations under the dominion of their gods, which also meant under Assyrian sovereignty (cf. Jeffrey J. Niehaus, "The Warrior and His God," *Faith, Tradition & History*, 299-312). However, the relationship between the Assyrian kings and the gods as a vassal relationship as was not explicitly spelled out, as in the case of Israel with Yahweh.

and Southern kingdoms broke the covenant, Yahweh disciplined both kingdoms through the rebellions of their vassal lands, and they eventually lost their suzerainty (Part III 2.2.5.3; cf. Excursus 1 & 2).

4.3 Reduction of Territory

In Assyrian history the suzerain would take away cities from rebel vassals and give them to loyal vassals (Part III 2.1.16). In Israel's history, Yahweh himself gave a part of the Davidic kingdom to his chosen man Jeroboam (Part IV 2.2.4.1). He also employed other nations to take away cities from the united monarchy and from the Northern and Southern Kingdoms when their kings persistently broke the covenant (Parts III 2.1.16; IV 2.2.4.2).

4.4 Disapproval of Kingship

In both the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books disloyal vassals were replaced by loyal ones (Parts III 2.1.17; IV 2.2.4.1, 2.2.11).

4.5 Annihilation of Dynasty/Family

This curse relates to the annexation of rebels' territory in Assyrian history (Part III 2.1.18). As for Israel, in the pre-monarchy period it is comparable with the destruction of Eli's family (Part IV 1.2.4). In the monarchy period, dynastic annihilation befell Saul and the kings of the Northern kingdom (Part III 2.2.11).

4.6 Annexation of the Territory

The Assyrian kings would annex the territory of disloyal vassals (Part III 2.1.18). Samaria was annexed to Assyria and Judah to Babylonia (Part IV 2.2.11).

4.7 Divine Intervention

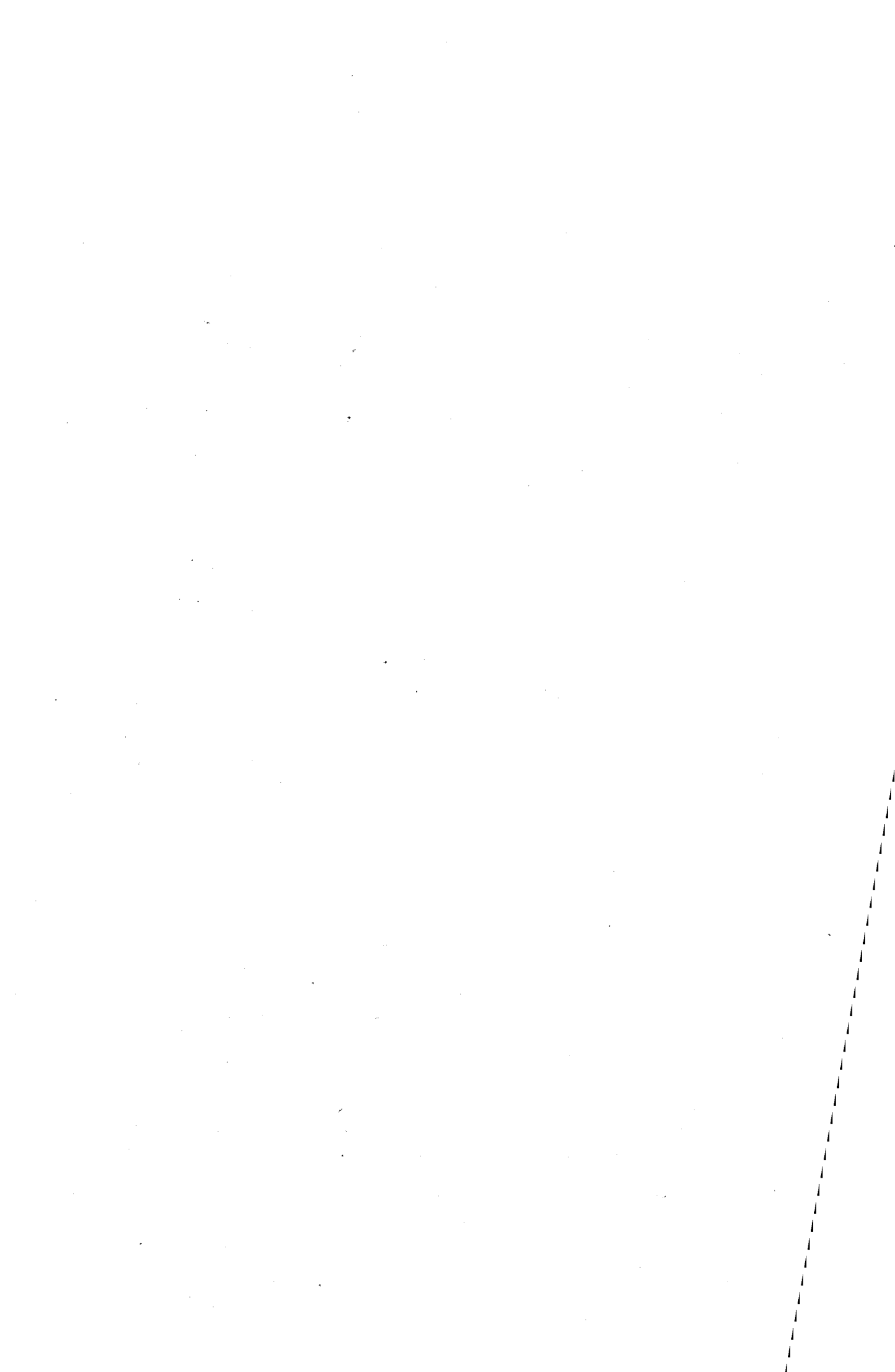
In both texts natural disaster and illness bringing death was inflicted upon rebels through divine intervention (Parts III 2.2; IV 2.2.1-2).

4.8 Implied Curses

There would be a chain effect brought about by all of the above curses: kings would have difficulties during their reign; the span of life would become short; families would be destroyed; Married women would be defiled by enemies. The unique feature of Israel's history was the return of deportees to the Promised Land because of the Davidic promise (see Part VI 4.4 Comments), whereas in Assyrian history deportees had no hope of returning home.

Synopsis

All the concepts of treaty-curses in the Assyrian annals appear in Joshua-Kings, apart from one: curses concerning libations for ancestors. On the other hand, the covenant-curse of being subject to other nations because of the breach of covenant is unique to the Hebrew books. Some treaty-curses do not occur in Joshua-Kings in covenant-contexts (e.g., spreading salt). The other themes of treaty/covenant-curses are congruous in the two groups of texts. That is to say, the curses in the Assyrian annals and the Hebrew books share the common ancient Near Eastern vassalship tradition.



PART VI

SCHOLARLY VIEWS AND COMMENTS

Chapter 1

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CURSES AND THE BIBLICAL COVENANT-CURSES (LEV 26 AND DT 28)

1.0 Introduction

Scholars have argued that the repetitions and the lack of integration of the curses in Dt 28 display several stages of redaction. The discovery of VTE has led some to re-explore Dt 28.¹ Moshe Weinfeld carried out an extensive comparison of VTE and Dt 28. His major contribution is to see Dt 28 as one unit. He also claimed that Dt 28 was copied from VTE because of the similarities in terms of the contents and the sequence of curses. In other words, Dt 28 is a literary product of the 7th century B.C. Although Weinfeld is aware that the curses of VTE "had been drawn from different sources, such as epic literature, incantation texts, and especially boundary stones",² he failed to consider this aspect in his comparison. Therefore, we examine Weinfeld's arguments in the broader context of the ancient Near Eastern world.

1.1 Influence of VTE on DT 28?

1.1.1 The Sequence of Curses

Weinfeld claimed that the striking resemblance between these passages proved that Deuteronomy borrowed the imagery directly from VTE.³ To make this view more convincing, Weinfeld attempted to find further evidence by comparing the sequence of curses in VTE and Dt 28. Here he followed Frankena who concluded from a comparison of Dt 28:20-57 and VTE: the phrasing of some curses in Dt 28 "may be supposed to be an elaboration of an Assyrian 'Vorlage', whereas the sequence of curses in Dt 28 follows roughly the Assyrian text."⁴ Weinfeld advanced Frankena's suggestion while limiting the comparison to VTE 419-30 and Dt 28:26-35:⁵

VTE	Dt 28
419-20	27
422-24	28-29
425-27	26

¹ See Part I 2.1.2.

² DDS, 129.

³ See further our assessment of Steymans' view in Appendix V.

⁴ R. Frankena, "Esarhaddon," OTS 14 (1965), 145.

⁵ DDS, 117-18.

428-29	30a
429-30a	30b
430b	33

From this comparison he concluded that the subject-matter and the sequence of curses are identical in both texts.⁶ Elsewhere Weinfeld argues that "the whole series of curses in Deut 28:23-35 is paralleled in VTE lines 419-30 and even the order of curses is the same in both documents."⁷

Furthermore, according to him, Sin and Šamaš "almost always appear together" elsewhere. He argued that the curse of leprosy in VTE 419-20 is "always associated" with Sin,⁸ whereas the curse of darkness in VTE 422-24 "symbolizes the absence of law and justice" and is connected with Šamaš. The coupling of curses of leprous diseases in Dt 28:27 and the curse of darkness and lawlessness in vv. 28-29, according to Weinfeld, has no logical connection. Therefore, it can only be understood "in the light of the Sîn and Šamaš relationship in Mesopotamian religion."⁹ Since this coupling is also found in a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhê's time and in CH, he said, the connection of the curses in Dt 28:27-29 does not "in itself necessarily prove Neo-Assyrian influence". However, according to him, the subject-matter and the sequence of curses are identical in both VTE and Dt 28,¹⁰ therefore, "there was a direct borrowing by Deuteronomy" from VTE, since "apart from VTE and Deut. 28 no such series of maledictions" has been discovered elsewhere.¹¹ He continued:

The principal curses (vv. 27-35) of this section have been incorporated in an independent literary unit, which opens with curses of leprosy and darkness (vv. 27-29) and closes chiasmally with imprecations of darkness and leprosy (vv. 34-35). Therefore this entire sequence of maledictions paralleling the series of curses in ll.419-30 of the VTE would seem to constitute a separate and distinct group of imprecations [*sic*], which in substance was borrowed from Assyrian treaty forms.¹²

Comments

Weinfeld changed the sequence of Dt 28:27-33 to agree with VTE and, on the other hand, he omitted VTE 421. Consequently, his claim that the sequence of curses in both texts is identical only applies when he has changed the order of curses

⁶ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁷ Weinfeld, "Deuteronomy," *ABD* II, 172.

⁸ *DDS*, 119

⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹² *Ibid.*, 122.

of one text and omitted part of the other. Furthermore, he drew his conclusion from a comparison based on a small number of curses in VTE alone, but Assyrian culture was a continuum of Sumero-Babylonian heritage. Thus, to understand the sequence in VTE, we need to put it in the broader context of Sumero-Akkadian curses. As study of the traditional sources of Neo-Assyrian curses reveals, there is no single curse which was repeated exactly, apart from some curses in building inscriptions (see Part II 2). Moreover, the concepts of curses were never entirely repeated in the same sequence (see Part V 1), not even in lists of curses from a single period. For example, there are four kudurrus from Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time, but none of them presents the same sequence of curses, apart from some couplings of individual curses (see also comments in 1.2.1 below). The longest repetition of the sequence only occurs in Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses: EB and VTE. There, less than half of the curses in EB iv 1-8 follow the same expressions and the same sequence as curses in VTE 457-72. The disparities in the sequence indicate that the scribes in the ancient Near Eastern world arranged them freely (Part V 1.8). Because of this literary fluidity in the curses, the comparison of VTE and Dt 28 can only be made in terms of the concepts; the sequence of curses in both texts should not be altered.

As our comparisons of the sequences display (Part V 1), the basic sequence of curses in the KuMna, VTE and Dt 28 is identical. This indicates a common tradition available in the latter part of the second millennium B.C. and transmitted into the first millennium. Furthermore, the irregularities of the sequence in our comparison (see Part V 1.1) display some curses which only occurring in the KuMna and VTE and in one example, the kudurru corresponds to Dt 28, in another case, VTE to Dt 28. This suggests there were common traditions.

Moreover, the existence of more than one common tradition from the Sumerian period is supported by the comparison of coupling of curses in KuMna, VTE and Dt (Part V 2). For example, one of the common couplings from KuMna and Dt 28, divine anger/curse and destruction, is to be traced back to Sumerian (Part V 2.1.1) and the other, divine anger/curse, destruction and disease, to Middle Babylonian curses (Part V 2.1.2.1). Couplings unique to VTE compared to the other two texts also share common tradition. The coupling of disease and no justice in VTE 418A-23a (see Part V 2.3.1) is attested in inscriptions from the Kassite and post-Kassite periods and in other Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses. In another example, the coupling of annihilation of family line and natural disaster/famine in VTE 435-51a goes back to Sumerian curses (see Part V 2.3.2). There are three couplings in Dt 28 which do not occur in KuMna and VTE: one appears in Old Babylonian curses; the other two are attested in curses of the Kassite and post-Kassite periods

(Part V 2.5.2-3). Furthermore, there are two couplings in VTE only occurring in other Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses, one in EB and the other in AB (Part V 2.2). Because of the short time span, those couplings could have been from the same scribes, or, they could have been taken from a common tradition within the Assyrian literary heritage.

Common traditions also appear in Aramaic and Phoenician curses. Some curses have counterparts in Sumero-Akkadian curses, such as famine, breaking weapons, etc. (see Part II 4.1.3.3). Also simile curses, which appear extensively in Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses, especially in VTE (Part II 3.2), occur in the Sefire stelae (Part II 4.1.2). There are other curses in those inscriptions which are taken from common settings in the ancient Near East (Part II 3.1, 4.1.1, 2.1).

To sum up, there was more than one common tradition of curses in the ancient Near East, on which the scribes drew. The general sequence of curses in Dt 28 and VTE follows common tradition transmitted from the second millennium B.C. However, the sequential disparities between Dt 28 and VTE indicate that the authors of Dt 28 and VTE used traditions freely in their work. Sometimes, the tradition can be traced back to the early third millennium B.C. In most cases, traditions are attested from the early second millennium B.C. (see Part V 2) Moreover, there was also an Assyrian literary tradition, which is only attested in VTE and other Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses.

Now we examine Weinfeld's view on the corresponding sequence of VTE and Dt 28 in detail (see his table above).

Weinfeld matched the Šin-curse, leprosy, in VTE 419-20 to diseases in Dt 28:27. The question arises: are the diseases in Dt 28:27 leprosy? The Akkadian equivalent to גרב in v. 27 has two meanings: leprosy and scab.¹³ According to J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *garābu* (SAHAR.ŠUB.BA) is a deficiency disease, like scurvy,¹⁴ and leprosy in some cases.¹⁵ While the Bible does not describe its symptoms (Lev 21:20; 22:22) גרב is to be related to eczema.¹⁶ As noticed elsewhere, the diseases in v. 27 are skin diseases as are those in v. 35. Thus, גרב and its Akkadian equivalent refer to skin diseases. In this light, Weinfeld's attempt to harmonize Dt 28:27 with the Šin-curses is justifiable.

Weinfeld's comparison of VTE 422-24 to Dt Dt 28:28-29 is drawn from his conviction about the Šamaš-curses. However, his understanding of Dt 28:28-29 in

¹³ CAD G, 45.

¹⁴ RA 60 (1966), 55.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁶ HALAT II, 193.

the light of VTE 422-24 is unsatisfactory. As a matter of fact, VTE 422-23 display two individual curses attributed to Šamaš, in the way the Šamaš-curse occurs in Babylonian curses (see below). To these traditional curses, VTE adds an imperative in 424 "walk about in darkness!"¹⁷ which is associated with the loss of eyesight.¹⁸ In fact a coupling of no justice and loss of eyesight in VTE 422-24 is attested in Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses (see Part V 2.2); yet if we categorize the loss of eyesight under disease, we find the coupling of no justice and disease occurs from the Kassite period onwards (see Part V 2.3.1.2). Furthermore, Weinfeld's interpretation of VTE 422-24 as symbolizing the absence of law and justice is not persuasive. There are seven examples in Babylonian sources available to us, where the coupling of Sîn-Šamaš or Šamaš-Sîn appears, with Sîn always relating to leprosy. The Šamaš-Sîn coupling is first attested in CH xxvii 14-63 (Appendix II §13.nos.11-20), if we understand xxvii 34-40 as a result of Šamaš' judgement upon the evil king (31-33). There, Šamaš relates to his juridical act and to the annihilation of kingship (14-40). Following Šamaš, Sîn is also invoked to deprive the accursed kingship (41-46). This malediction is followed by those of leprosy and its result (41-56) (see Part II 2.16.3.1). In a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time, where the Sîn-Šamaš coupling occurs, Šamaš relates to removal of eyesight (Appendix II §27.nos.1-2). In another contemporary kudurru Šamaš follows Sîn decreeing no justice,¹⁹ which is also attested in a kudurru of Nabû-mukîn-apli's reign.²⁰ This coupling occurs in reverse order in a kudurru of Merodach-Baladan I's time, as in CH. There, Šamaš is related to physical disability: vertigo, deafness, and paralysis in all limbs, Sîn to leprosy (Appendix II §20.nos.2-3). The same reverse order appears in a kudurru of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time.²¹ Here, Šamaš relates to a juridical act; yet he is invoked to give appropriate to the accursed.²² The same coupling appears in a kudurru of Marduk-šapik-zeri's time, where Šamaš is invoked to curse the accursed and to give physical impediments (Appendix II 31.nos.1-2). This evidence shows that when Sin and Šamaš are coupled, Šamaš occurs in relation to three different

¹⁷ Weinfeld's translation VTE 424 "(so that) they will wander about in darkness" is wrong (DDS, 118). *itallakā* is 2. pl. imperative, BaM Bh 3, 192; SAA II, 45.

¹⁸ Weinfeld's interpretation of darkness in VTE 422-24 as a symbol of the absence of law and justice is not justifiable.

¹⁹ BBS 8 47 iv 7-11; "May Šamaš decree the refusal of his right and oppose him with violence!" (10-11).

²⁰ BBS 9 61-62 i 46-ii 3a; "May Šamaš not decree his judgement and his decision!" (Appendix II §33.no.2).

²¹ KB IV 80 iii 15-21.

²² "May Šamaš decide his punishment and oppose him!," in Appendix II §30.no.2.

curses: physical disability (including the loss of eyesight), no justice, justice according to the deserts of the accursed. At the same time, Šamaš and Sîn are associated with another malediction in the earliest example of the annihilation of kingship (CH). When Šamaš relates to 'no justice', namely being invoked to refuse the right of the accursed (fn. 20) or not to decree his judgement and decision for the accursed (fn. 21), it does not necessarily symbolize "the absence of law and justice." It may mean the withdrawal of the divine favour which relates to Šamaš' juridical act. So, we can deduce from the evidence that there were four different traditions about the Sîn-Šamaš coupling available to the authors of VTE and Dt 28. VTE has two traditions of the Šamaš curse, namely: no justice and loss of eyesight, following the Sîn-curse, whereas Dt 28 mirrors the other tradition, where Šamaš relates to the loss of eyesight. Therefore, the identical idea of blindness in VTE 422-24 and Dt 28:28-29 neither proves nor disproves the influence of the former on the latter, or vice versa. Rather both texts share common tradition (see Part II 2.16.5). In addition, the coupling of disease and no justice in VTE 418A-23a follows common tradition (Part V 2.3.1). The coupling of disease and blindness in Dt 28:27-29 also shares common tradition (Part V 2.5.2). Here we have two different couplings following different traditions. Therefore, in view of our analysis, McCarthy's opinion about influence of Mesopotamian treaty material in Dt 28:27-29 and VTE (Part I 2.1.2.2) has no weight, since these two texts are not drawn from any single list of treaty-curses.

Weinfeld's understanding of Dt 28:27-35 in the light of VTE 419-30 is based on his misinterpretation of the chiasmic structure in vv. 27-35. Although vv. 27 and 35 refer to skin-diseases, vv. 28-29 and 34 do not belong to the same category of curses. Grammatically v. 34 is not an independent clause. Its *x-qatal* structure presents a result from the *x-yiqtol* structure of v. 33; that is, what people see will drive them mad. Thus, v. 34 is nothing to do with darkness.²³ Furthermore, Dt 28:31-32 are omitted from his comparison (see above). Therefore, Weinfeld's view about Dt 28:27-35 is not substantiated.

Weinfeld saw a dependence of Dt 28:26 upon VTE 425-27. As a matter of fact, this malediction in both texts may be drawn from a common battle scene in the ancient Near Eastern world (see Part II 3.1.10.2).

Weinfeld related VTE 428-29 to Dt 28:30a, VTE 429-30a to Dt 28:30b and VTE 430b to Dt 28:33. Yet it is better to consider VTE 428-30 and Dt 28:30-34 each as one unit. In fact, the deprivation of possessions in Dt 28:30-34 includes wives, children, cattle and agricultural produce. Each situation of the enemy's

²³ See further Part II 5.4.2.2 fn. 27.

plundering is described vividly, whereas VTE 428-30 expresses the deprivation of wives and possessions in general terms. As seen already in Assyrian annals from the 12th century onwards (Part III 2), the Assyrians dispossessed disloyal vassals (Part III 2.1.4) and took their children (Part III 1.2). In addition, an Assyrian relief displays a scene of the Assyrian soldiers raping an Arab woman.²⁴ So the conquerors' dispossessing defeated people was common. This idea as a malediction is not confined to VTE and Dt 28. It is concisely expressed in a kudurru (see Part II 2.4.9). In view of this, VTE 428-30 and Dt 28:30-34 may have taken from a common occurrence in military campaigns.

Therefore, Weinfeld's attempt to see VTE's influence (419-30) in Dt 28:23-35 and Frankena's view about *an Assyrian Vorlage* behind Dt 28 (Part I 2.1.2.1) are unwarranted. Even he has to admit the order of curses in both documents is not the same, and, moreover, Dt 28:23 (and 24) relates to VTE 528-31 (see above). We find Weinfeld's view unconvincing because of his narrow basis of comparison. Certainly, some curses in VTE and Dt 28 display the same concepts, that allow us to deduce the curses of VTE and Dt 28 may be drawn from common a cultural reservoir.

1.1.2 Dt 28:23

D. J. Wiseman pointed out a resemblance of Dt 28:23 to VTE 528 without any comment.²⁵ Taking up this reference, Borger asserted that the imagery of Dt 28:23 was taken from an Assyrian source.²⁶ Borger's view was followed by Frankena.²⁷ Weinfeld saw the dependence of Dt 28:23 upon VTE.²⁸

Comments

The curses in VTE 528-32a are strikingly similar to those in Dt 28:23, and have no parallel in other Sumero-Babylonian texts. This leads us to re-consider the common conclusion that Assyrian treaty forms influenced Dt. The uniqueness of the expression leads us to seek a context where bronze and iron were used metaphorically in literature of the second millennium B.C., since the other evidence of their metaphorical use from the first millennium B.C. is later than VTE and, thus,

²⁴ See Part VI 2.3 Comments.

²⁵ *Iraq* 20 (1958), 88.

²⁶ *ZA* 54 (1961), 191-92. Borger did not rule out that the similar expression in both texts might have occurred in a treaty between Assyria and Judah.

²⁷ *OTS* 14 (1965), 145.

²⁸ *DDS*, 117. McCarthy did not specify "a treaty" from which Dt 28:23 might be taken, see Part I 2.1.2.2.

not appropriate for our comparison.²⁹ In the Middle and the Late Bronze Ages, Egyptian literature used these metals to describe the unusual strength of the pharaohs; for example, Ramesses II said to his troops before the Battle of Qadesh (c. 1274 B.C.), "Do you not realize that I am your wall of iron!"³⁰ and the hardness of bronze is metaphorically used for the pharaoh.³¹ In Hittite literature, iron is used metaphorically from the middle of the seventeenth century B.C.: the unbreakable words of the Hittite kings are compared with iron.³² Abi-milku of Tyre praised Pharaoh for his protection: "[you are] a brazen wall set up for him [Abi-Milku]."³³

To sum up, the hardness of iron and bronze was well known throughout the second millennium B.C., allowing transference of these metals to describe the sky with brilliant sun-shine and the hardened soil that would make agriculture impossible,³⁴ a drought situation which might occur in much of the Fertile Crescent.³⁵ There are two further observations. Firstly, the metaphorical use of bronze and iron is only attested in the literature of the Levant and Anatolia, not otherwise in Sumero-Akkadian literature. Secondly, all these references come from the second millennium B.C. which may suggest the scribes of VTE used West-Semitic material transmitted into the first millennium.³⁶ And the scribes of Dt 28 would have drawn on the same literary heritage. Thus, VTE and Dt 28 (& Lev 26:19b-20) can be seen to share a common tradition rather than Dt depending upon VTE.³⁷

1.1.3 Dt 28:36-37

Weinfeld followed Frankena who said about the curse of deportation in Dt 28:36-37: "The Assyrian *Vorlage* [of Manasseh's treaty with the Assyrians] had a curse ascribed to Yahweh," like that in EB ascribed to Phoenician gods (iv 14 ff).³⁸

²⁹ Three 6th and one 5th century B.C. contracts mention "the metaphoric use of the words 'iron' to describe a characteristic legal quality of animals donated or rented under specific conditions," Oppenheim, "A Note on *šón barzel*," *IEJ* 5 (1955), 91.

³⁰ J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt III* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906) §403. Millard, "King Og's Bed," in *Ascribe to the Lord*, 490.

³¹ Millard, *ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 491.

³³ W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 147:53.

³⁴ In the Promised Land, bronze heavens would also be brought about by yellowish dust carried by the sirocco wind, see Part II 5.2.3.

³⁵ Cultivation in Babylonia relied on irrigation canals. Therefore, water was always available to produce crops.

³⁶ Watanabe assumed West-Semitic influence on VTE without argument, *BaM Bh* 3, 33-34.

³⁷ *Contra* Borger, Frankena, Weinfeld, (including Hillers and McCarthy, Part I 2.1.2.2).

³⁸ Frankena, "Esarhaddon," *OTS* 14 (1965), 150, cf. *DDS*, 123.

Comments

The idea that their angry gods might cause people to be deported to other countries was widespread long before the Neo-Assyrian era (see Parts II 2.4.9 and III 2.1.14). Therefore, the existence of the curse in EB is not itself sufficient to indicate Assyrian influence on Dt 28:36-37.

1.1.4 Dt 28:38-42

Weinfeld also assumed that the curses in vv. 38-42 may have been included in the Assyrian treaty with Manasseh. According to him,

"unlike vv. 26-35, they have a more local character. Presumably they were sanctioned by the national God, as were the curses in Baal iv: 10-13, which, directed against the characteristic interests of a seafaring state, were to be effectuated by gods of Tyre and not by the Assyrian gods."³⁹

He continued that these curses refer to agriculture "typical of Syria and Palestine, such as olives as well as various agricultural blights peculiar to the these lands, such as the grape worm (תולעת) and the casting of olives (vv. 39-42)."⁴⁰ He saw the counterpart of these curses in Sf I A 27-28. According to him, "these provincial features" are small in Dt 28, whereas "the setting of the curses" in Lev 26 is "distinctively provincial".⁴¹

Comments

Taking an analogy from EB iv 10-13 attributed to the Phoenician gods, Weinfeld assumed that Dt 28:38-42 were attributed to the national God (Yahweh) because of agriculture typical of the Levant (39-40). Certainly, agriculture and plant diseases in vv. 39-40 [and the locust plague] are typical of the Levant, as are the natural disasters in Sf I A 27-28a. But, why should vv. 26-35 have a less local character than vv. 38-42? His view is coloured by the assumption that vv. 26-35 were ascribed to the appropriate Assyrian gods.⁴² However, Weinfeld's distinction of curses in these two units is not valid. Firstly, we need to regard these curses in the light of the whole structure. Vv. 26-35 are repeated in vv. 38-57, and present various themes. Vv. 38-40, 42 repeat the natural disasters of vv. 20-22 and v. 41 the result of defeat of v. 25, whereas the former refers to deportation and the latter to dispersion. Secondly, the ideas in vv. 26-35 are drawn from the common environment of the ancient Near East: corpses as food for wild animals (26) (see Part II

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 123.

3.1.10.2), disease (27, 35 & Parts V 1.1.5 and VI 3 Comments), blindness and its consequence (28-29 & Part II 2.16.5.2) and dispossession (30-34 & Part II 2.4.9 and VTE 428-30 above). Thirdly, the deportation of children (40) occurred commonly in Assyrian annals from the 12th century onwards. The covenant-curses in vv. 38-40, 42 also reflect common environmental problems in the ancient Near East. A locust plague was a serious problem in the Fertile Crescent (see Part II 3.1.2, 4.1.1.1). So the various topics of curses in vv. 26-35 and vv. 38-42, do not give any support for Weinfeld's distinction, since their ideas are drawn from the common environment and practice. Moreover, the idea of "maximum to minimum" in Dt 28:38-40 appears in the Tell Fekhreye inscriptions and Leviticus. The motif of women baking in famine occurs in Tell Fekhreye (Part II 4.2.2.1) and Lev 26:25-26 (Part II 5.4.1.1). The same motif "maximum to minimum" occurs in Sf (Part II 4.1.3.1) and has a Sumerian antecedent and recurs in Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses (see Part II 3.3.3). Therefore, it is impossible to determine the setting of "Syro-Palestine" ("a local character" in Weinfeld's term) or "Assyrian", apart from olive trees and vine which grow more in the Levant than in Assyro-Babylonian soil.

We deal with Weinfeld's distinction between the settings of Dt 28 and Lev 26 in 1.2 below.

1.1.5 Cannibalism

Weinfeld saw a counterpart of the curses in Dt 28:53-57 in AM iv 8-11, VTE 448-50 and Ashurbanipal's annals (Pr. A ix 58-60). He continued: "a salient parallel to the VTE malediction may be found in the use of the word *בִּסְתֵר* in Deuteronomy to designate the manner in which the mother stealthily eats the flesh of her children, an eventuality which is also mentioned in the Esarhaddon curse."⁴³ He also said that a curse of cannibalism in Lev 26 lacks "the political background" which "characterizes the parallel maledictions in Deuteronomy and in the Assyrian treaties".⁴⁴

Comments

The malediction in Dt 28:53-57 is cannibalism and an accompanying phenomenon: hostility among the members of family. A mother would eat her new born baby in secret (*בִּסְתֵר* in 57) and not share it with other family members, and a father would do likewise (54-55). VTE 448-50a present two different curses. The one is the hostility of a mother to her daughter (448): because of shortage of food,

⁴³ *DDS*, 128

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

she would bar the door before her daughter. This malediction, probably, relates to a mother who does not share food with her daughter. The other is cannibalism (449-50a), which would occur as famine became severe. These maledictions in the same order also occur in Atrahasis (see Part II 3.3.1). This evidence shows that the two consequences of famine were common. Therefore, Weinfeld's attempt to see Dt 28:53-57 only in the context of Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses is not persuasive.

Furthermore, according to Weinfeld, cannibalism in Lev 26 lacks "the political background," presumably, because it does not occur in the context of war. In the principal curses of VTE cannibalism occurs in the context of drought and in ceremonial curses without a specific context. In Lev 26 cannibalism appears without mentioning the background, whereas in Dt 28 it occurs in the context of siege. If we see cannibalism in Weinfeld's terms, cannibalism in VTE also lacks "the political background," and its political context only occurs in Dt 28. In fact, since cannibalism occurs without a specific context in Lev 26, all possibilities are open; it could happen in time of famine or siege. Consequently, Weinfeld's comment on cannibalism in the Biblical covenant curses and Assyrian curses is not persuasive.

1.2 Different Origin and Traditions in Lev 26 and Dt 28?

1.2.1 Unique Expressions in Lev 26

Weinfeld gave examples to show why the curses of Lev 26 are provincial, asserting that none of the following descriptions occurring in them is found in Dt 28:⁴⁵ threshing, vintage, sowing (v. 5), wild beasts attacking people and preying upon domestic animals (vv. 6 and 22), deserted roads (v. 22), the rural populace crowding into cities to escape the approaching enemy (v. 25), pestilence (vv. 25b and 30), search for food (v. 26), destruction of sanctuaries and cultic places (vv. 30-31) and eventual devastation of the land (vv. 32 ff). As noticed elsewhere (Part I 2.1.3), other scholars see two different traditions in Lev 28 & Dt 28.

Comments

Are these descriptions really provincial? Weinfeld used the term 'provincial' for curses which do not occur in Assyrian texts and reflect local conditions of the Levant. It is unfortunate that he took a term which has a derogatory sense and implies the Assyrian is in a superior situation. It would be better to use context-specific terms - local Assyrian, local Levantine (or local Syrian, local Palestinian).

Firstly, the expressions "threshing, the vintage and sowing" in Lev 26:5 depict the agricultural cycle of spring, summer and winter. The same agricultural cycle

⁴⁵ DDS, 124.

occurs in Dt 28:38-40 and starts with sowing (winter), harvest (spring) and the vintage (summer).

Secondly, the danger of wild beasts is not unique to Lev 26. There is no plausible argument that its absence from the curses of Dt 28 would indicate a different origin for the curses in Lev 26. As noticed elsewhere, none of the Sumerian-Akkadian curses repeats the identical curses of other inscriptions, apart from some building inscriptions. Moreover, the Israelites mainly occupied the hill-country from the time of the conquest onwards where they and their cattle faced the danger of wild animals in their daily lives (cf. Dt 7:22). If wild animals prevailed, the roads would be deserted, a common danger in ancient world (Part II 3.1.10.1; 4.1.1.3).

Thirdly, plague (Dt 28:21, 27) and food shortage (Dt 28:17, 30b, 33) are opposite of blessings of prosperity in vv. 11-13.⁴⁶

Fourthly, the enemy's siege and Israel's refuge in cities in Lev 26:25 is not unique. Dt 28:52 describes the same situation. It was common in time of war that enemies would besiege cities, and inhabitants would take refuge in fortified cities.

Finally, although the devastation of sanctuaries and the land is not mentioned in Dt 28, this imprecation is known from the Old Babylonian period onwards, the destruction of the land was a common phenomenon of war. The destruction of sanctuary occurred from the Sumerian period, for example, in *The Curse of Agade*, onwards. In the Bavian inscriptions Sennacherib claimed that he destroyed Babylon together with its temples and gods in the course of his eighth campaign.⁴⁷ Ashurbanipal destroyed the temple of Susa in the course of his final campaign against Elam. Therefore, the devastation of sanctuaries and the land are not "provincial", but universal in the ancient Near Eastern world.

Weinfeld's arguments about the unique expressions in Lev 26 in relation to Dt 28 derive from the lexical basis of his comparison of curses in Lev 26 and Dt 28. In fact, all the concepts of his examples occur in Dt 28 (see Part II 5).

Furthermore, scholars' views about the two different traditions in Lev 26 and Dt 28 cannot remain unchallenged. Two other kudurrus of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's (KuMna 2) time have a short list of curses and the same sequence of curses as that of KuMna 1:⁴⁸

⁴⁶ See our comments on Lev 26:26 in 1.2.2 below

⁴⁷ OIP II 84 53-54.

⁴⁸ KuMna 2 = *BBSt* 7 41-42; KuMna 3 = *BBSt* 8 46-48; KuMna 1 = Livingstone's translation (Part IV 1). Curses occurring only in KuMna 2, KuMna 3 or KuMna 1 are italicized.

	KuMna 2	KuMna 3	KuMna 1
Divine Anger/Curse	ii 13-15	iii 23-25	iv 1-5
Annihilation of Family		iii 26-30	iv 6-11 ⁴⁹
Disease	ii 16-31 ⁵⁰	iii 31-32 ⁵¹	iv 12-20 ⁵²
<i>No Burial</i>			iv 21
Disease		iv 7-9 ⁵³	iv 22-23 ⁵⁴
No Justice		iv 10-11	iv 24-28a
<i>Unfavour before the Gods and King</i>		iv 12-14	
<i>Decline of Household</i>			iv 28b
War		iv 21-24	iv 29
Natural Disaster	ii 32-22	iv 3-6	
Famine	ii 33-35		iv 30-v 3
<i>Misery</i>	ii 36-37		
Annihilation of Offspring	ii 38-39 ⁵⁵		v 4-10
<i>Destruction of Boundary</i>			v 11-18
War		iv 28-29	v 19-24
<i>Destruction of Reputation</i>			v 25-28
Disease		iv 15-18 ⁵⁶	v 29-vi 2 ⁵⁷
<i>No Libations</i>		iv 19-20	
<i>Short Life</i>			vi 3-6
<i>Disease</i>			vi 7-13 ⁵⁸

⁴⁹ The malediction of no libations (line 11) is one result of the annihilation of the family line.

⁵⁰ Leprosy ii 16-18; loss of eyesight ii 19-20; mental disease ii 21-24; dropsy ii 25-26; disease ii 29-31.

⁵¹ The Marduk-curse refers to disease in a general sense.

⁵² Leprosy.

⁵³ Leprosy.

⁵⁴ Stomach disease.

⁵⁵ The curses in ii 36-39 present a summary for KuMna 2, since all the gods mentioned in the kudurrus are invoked and similar contents appear in the summaries of other kudurrus, see further Part V 1.1.6.

⁵⁶ Gula-curse.

⁵⁷ Dropsy.

⁵⁸ Gula-curse.

<i>Natural Disaster</i>		vi 14-19
<i>Divine Opposition</i>	iv 25-27	
Alienation of the Gods and its Consequences	iv 30-31 ⁵⁹	vi 20-28
Summary (Divine Curse)	iv 32-35	vi 29-32

Comparing KuMna2 & 1, the basic sequence of both agrees; yet in the former, there are more curses of disease than in the latter. In KuMna 2 & 3, the sequence of divine anger/curse, annihilation of family and disease is same. The sequence of KuMna 3 roughly parallels that of KnMna 1. Each list also has curses not found in the others, for example, misery (KuMna 2), hostility in family (KuMna 2), destruction of reputation (KuMna 1). Such curses are attested elsewhere: no burial (KuMna 1, see Part II 2.8), misery (KuMna 2, e.g., *ZA* 65 (1975), 58 76-87 (from Marduk-šāpik-zeri's time). The malediction of disfavour before the gods and king (KuMna 3) is comparable to the alienation of the gods and its consequences (no.11 in above). To sum up, the lists of curses of the same period share a common tradition, although the length varies. Each list has curses not found in the others. That indicates that the scribes of Marduk-nādin-ahhē's time composed curses creatively by using common traditions (Part V 1-2). Short and long lists of curses co-existed. In the light of this analysis, the short (Lev 26) and the lengthy lists of biblical covenant-curses (Dt 28) could originate from the same time. The basic structure of these two sets of covenant-curses is also identical (see below and Part II 5.1).

1.2.2 Parallel Expressions to Lev 26 in the Sefire Stelae

Weinfeld further argued for the provincial setting of Lev 26 from parallel expressions of curses in the Sefire Stelae:⁶⁰ repetition of protases,⁶¹ the typological number seven (I A:21-24), beasts preying upon people (I A:30-32), pestilence (I B:30;⁶² cf. II B:11), search for food (I A:24),⁶³ eating and not being sated (I A:21-24), and the devastation of the land (I A:32-33).⁶⁴

Comments

⁵⁹ The concept of this curse is similar to that of the result from divine alienation (KuMna 1 vi 20-28). The basic idea is whatever he undertakes may not succeed or his plan may be frustrated.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 125-26.

⁶¹ Cf. I A:14, 25 (והן ישקר מתעאל); I B:23, 27-28, 33, 36, 38; II, B:9, 14, 18; III: 4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23, 27 (שקרתם בעריא זי בספרא זנה), *ibid.*, 125, fn. 3.

⁶² See *ibid.*, 125, fn. 4.

⁶³ See *ibid.*, 125, fn. 5.

⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, 126, fn. 2.

Firstly, all parallels to Lev 26 in Sefire Stelae relate to the conditions for curses. However, these elements cannot be used to support Weinfeld's view, since they also appear in Sumero-Akkadian curses. For example, within the Vulture Stele the conditions of curses are repeated (xvi i 34, ii 8-15; xvii i 42; xviii ii 10-15, etc.).⁶⁵ Some boundary stones display more than one protasis. Furthermore, some Neo-Assyrian treaties show the same feature, e.g., AM and VTE. We see here that the repetition of protases is a common element in ancient Near Eastern curses. In Dt 28 the protasis of curses is repeated twice (vv. 15 and 58).

Secondly, the number seven also occurs in Babylonian literature, as noticed elsewhere (see Part II 4.1.3.1). There a seven year-cycle famine is mentioned. In Gen 40 a seven year famine is also reported. In an Old Babylonian epic the number seven occurring with whirlwinds expresses the power of the whirlwind. Also the powerful Ningirsu is described "[ra]pšam irtim muttabilu sibitam qabli "broad-chested, who leads the seven battles."⁶⁶ This symbolic use of seven appears in the Late Babylonian period in a liturgical text, Nabû's mighty power is praised because of his "killing the seven-headed snake."⁶⁷ The same use of the number seven occurs in Ugaritic texts, for example, Anat struck Yam, the tyrant with seven heads, seven indicating the might of Yam.⁶⁸ In Ugaritic texts, among other meanings of seven, "it was a 'dangerous' number, loaded with strength and danger,"⁶⁹ as in Babylonian literature, shown above. In the Sefire stelae the number seven occurs in the context of famine, whereas in Lev 26 it is used emphatically for Yahweh's severe punishment (Part II 5.4.3). In both cases the number seven has a symbolic meaning referring to severe consequences.⁷⁰ Since "the symbolic use" of the number of seven was wide-spread in the ancient Near Eastern literature, Weinfeld's view that the use of seven is provincial fails, as it is too limited.

⁶⁵ Kitchen, Treaty, Law & Covenant.

⁶⁶ J. Nougayrol, "Ningirsu Vaiqueur de Zû, RA 46 (1952), 90 38,40, translation according to CAD S, 203.

⁶⁷ According to W. G. Lambert, this text is comes "from the period of the Late Babylonian empire or the Persian empire", "The Converse Tablet," in Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Faxwell Albright, 347 16. Also the might of Ninurta is described: "which has seven heads like a serpent, wreaking carnage", CAD S 204. The seven tongues emphasize the dragon's dangerous nature, *ibid*.

⁶⁸ Kapelrud, "The Number Seven," VT 18 (1968), 495.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 499.

⁷⁰ Weinfeld's interpretation of 24b is not appropriate. He says: "this image here seems to be that of members of the family roving about in search of food . . .," DDS, 125 fn. 5. Although ירדגן offers several possible interpretations, there is no reason to interpret line 24b as suggested Weinfeld, see further Part II 4.1.3.1 and fns. 34-37.

Thirdly, 'a beast or preying beasts upon people' was a common phenomenon (see Part II 3.1.10.1, 4.1.1.3).

Fourthly, wholesale slaughter in Sf I B:30 (cf. II B:11) and Lev 26:30 is a common event of war. It was depicted in sculpture and in literature; the former from the Sumerian (see Part II 3.6.4) and the latter from the Old Babylonian periods (see Parts II 2.4.7 and III 2.1.5) onwards.

Fifthly, the concept of "maximum to minimum" concerning eating without satisfaction (Sf I:21-24) does occur in Lev 26:26; in the former it is applied to animals suckling kids and women suckling babies, in the latter to women baking bread. The same concept also appears in the Tell Fekherye inscription (Part II 4.2.1.1, 2.2.1). Furthermore, this idea is attested in Sumerian literature (Part II 4.2.1.1) and in Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses (Part II 3.3.3). So the concept of "maximum to minimum" is not peculiar to Sf and Lev 26 but part of a common tradition. In addition, searching for food ((I A:24) does not occur in Lev 26 contrary to Weinfeld's view.

Finally, a curse of devastation (Sf I A:32-33) could be fulfilled by natural disasters or by war and appears from the Old Babylonian to the Neo-Assyrian eras.⁷¹ At any rate, devastation of the land was a common misfortune, as noticed elsewhere (Part II 4.1.1.2).

In conclusion, our analysis reveals that Weinfeld's arguments about the provincial setting of Lev 26 do not carry weight, since the elements in his arguments are common phenomena in ancient Near Eastern literature. There is no single aspect which might be classed only as "provincial". All Weinfeld's examples share the common environment of the ancient world. Apart from some curses (Part II 5.4.1.1), the concepts of all the curses of Lev 26 occur in Dt 28. Furthermore, the sequence of curses is almost identical. The only difference of order is that cannibalism (Lev 26:29), destruction (Lev 26:30-32) and deportation (Lev 26:33) do not occur in the basic curses in Dt 28:15-37, but only in the repetition of those curses. There, cannibalism (Dt 28:53-57) and destruction (52) occur in reverse order. Deportation (Dt 28:41) is repeated in the summary (Dt 28:63b-64a) and followed by misery in exile. The same order occurs in Lev 26:33, 36-39.⁷² Shortage of food (Lev 26:26) and the expression of drought (Lev 26:19-20 and Dt 28:23-24; Part II 3.3.4) may derive from common traditions. So the covenant-curses of Lev 26 convey identical concepts which occur in an identical order in Dt 28. In this

⁷¹ See further "Destruction of the land" (Part II 2.4.5) and "the Adad-curse" (Part II 2.16.1).

⁷² See Part II 5.1.

light, we can conclude that the covenant-curses in Lev 26 and Dt 28 share common traditions. The conclusion Weinfeld reached:

The difference in the character of the priestly [Lev 26] and the deuteronomic maledictions leads us to infer, then, that the deuteronomic covenant, by contrast with the priestly covenant, was drafted by scribes who were chiefly influenced by Assyrian treaty formulae⁷³ is proved wrong.

1.3 VTE 472-75

According to Weinfeld, VTE 472-75 is the conclusion of 414-71. He also thinks that a series of individual curses in 513-25 "actually belong to the previous section, i.e., 414-71."⁷⁴

Comments

Weinfeld ignored the ruling on the tablets of VTE by which the scribes marked divisions of the text. Following them, we see they intended 472-93 as one unit, putting a line after 472 and 493 but nowhere between. Therefore, the curses without divine names in 476-93 are not separable from 472-75.⁷⁵ Furthermore, there is no reason why the individual curses in 513 ff. should belong to 414-71, since VTE separates ceremonial curses (518-63). Furthermore, the ceremonial curses are repetitive, since their function is to re-enforce the contents of the principal curses. Therefore, scribal presentation of the curses in VTE should be respected.

1.4 Cross Cultural Influence on Ancient Israel

The land of Israel enjoyed cross cultural influences long before it came in contact with Assyria thanks to its geography. Archaeological discoveries reveal the trade relationships of the ancient Near Eastern world and the Hebrew books reflect it. For example, the origin of a cloak included in Achan's loot from Jericho was from Shinar (Josh 7:21) which is "a name for Babylon, a name current in Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia in the second millennium B.C."⁷⁶ According to Millard, "Woollen cloth and garments were a staple of Babylonian trade from early times. 'The textile industry ... was probably the largest in the land and the most important from the point of view of commerce' wrote one authority, of the period just after 2000 B.C. In the 19th century B.C. Assyrian merchants transported fabrics and tin to Anatolia on a regular large-scale basis."⁷⁷

⁷³ *DDS*, 126.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁷⁵ See further Part V 1.1.6.

⁷⁶ Millard, "Back to the Iron Bed," *VTS* 61 (1995), 197.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 197-98.

1.5 Synopsis

Our analysis of Weinfeld's view has demonstrated that his conclusion about the influence of VTE on Dt 28 does not carry weight, because his method is based on a too limited comparison. Furthermore, there is no example of the exact repetition of a list of curses in one text from another in the Sumero-Akkadian literature. Therefore, comparison cannot be made on a one-to-one correspondence of curses in VTE and Dt 28 but on the basis of the concepts of those curses. Applying this method to the Biblical covenant-curses, the curse concepts in Lev 26, which Weinfeld said, are unique, occur in Dt 28. Moreover, comparative studies of curses should be done without changing the sequence in individual texts, as Weinfeld did. And the striking similarities between VTE 528-31 and Dt 28:23 probably share common literary tradition. The common sequences and couplings of curses further indicate that there was more than one common tradition of curses. These common traditions were wide-spread. That is to say all the compilations of East-West Semitic curses share the common cultural reservoir. Nevertheless, the scribes did not copy transmitted traditions slavishly. They expressed curses differently without changing their concepts. This indicates that they used common tradition freely and creatively. Moreover, the fact that the land of ancient Israel enjoyed cross cultural influences long before Israel's settlement supports common traditions in Dt 28.

Chapter 2

THE COVENANT-CURSES IN THE DEUTERONOMIC HISTORY

2.1 The Features of the Covenant-Curses

Weinfeld recognized that curses in "the deuteronomic history," which are similar to those of VTE, "should not necessarily be considered as direct borrowing from the treaties."¹ He continued:

But taking into account that the deuteronomic curses come into effect as a punishment for breaking the covenant, it would be quite reasonable to suppose that these conform with the sanctions of the covenant and were therefore formulated intentionally in the manner of treaty curses.²

Comments

Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses share a long tradition transmitted from the Sumerian period, as demonstrated in Part II 2. They were drawn from different literary sources, as Weinfeld also recognizes.³ This means that treaty curses, as such, did not make a distinct literary genre, since they are part of the literary genre of curses. Yet they were an integral part of the vassal treaty and had a juridical role, as sanctions. The resemblance of a Biblical covenant-curse to one in VTE, therefore, need not indicate the former was influenced by the latter, or, vice versa. As noticed elsewhere,⁴ both VTE and Dt 28 follow common traditions in terms of structure. In addition to that, the fact that the punishment follows a breach of covenant/treaty is not peculiar to treaties. The role of covenant/treaty-curses shares common tradition from the Sumerian period onwards (see Part I.1). Therefore, Weinfeld's attempt to see covenant-curses in the light of treaty-curses alone cannot be supported.

2.2 Historical Events according to the Divine Words

Following von Rad, Weinfeld stated that the presentation of the fulfilment of historical events for Israel "in accordance with the word of God which preceded them" was the product of *dtr* edition.⁵ He further found a parallel to this concept in Ashurbanipal's annals: "The divine word, which they (the gods) had uttered in remote days, they then revealed for the coming generations."⁶

¹ *DDS*, 129.

² *Ibid.*, 130.

³ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁴ Part V 1, 2.

⁵ *DDS*, 130.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 130; see *Assurbanipals*, Pr. A 58 vi 116-18.

Comments

Weinfeld also claimed that the Deuteronomist applied the concept of the divine word "as an active force begetting future events", a concept existing already "in the early strands of Pentateuchal literature".⁷ That is to say, in Weinfeld's theory the concept about the results of the divine word in Israel's history is older than his parallel in Ashurbanipal's annals. However, he failed to allow for that in his comparison.

In fact, the concept of historical events realized according to the divine word goes back to the Sumerian period. According to one text, "Enmetena, ruler of Lagash, nominee of Ningirsu, at the just command of Enlil, at the just command of Ningirsu, and at the just command of Nanshe, constructed that (boundary-) channel from the Tigris to the Nun-canal."⁸ And this concept continued throughout the second millennium B.C.⁹ Furthermore, Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser I onwards claimed that they led military campaigns against disloyal vassals according to the command of the gods (see Part III 1.7). In this light, the case of "Absalom's rebellion and violation of his father's concubines (2 Sam 16:22) as retributive punishment for David's adulterous act with Bathsheba", for example, which Weinfeld along with other scholars considered to be a dtr interpolation, has in fact a traditional background, reaching back to the third millennium B.C. Moreover, this retributive punishment is justifiable in the light of the covenant. David as the representative of Israel, the covenant community, to the divine suzerain had limited power. He was not allowed to mistreat any member of the covenant community (cf. Dt 17:18-20), since he was a co-vassal in relationship to the covenant members (see Part IV 2.1.3.8 (5)). Therefore, David's crime was a breach of covenant, resulting in Yahweh's punishment. Furthermore, to revolt against the accursed was a fulfilled curse, e.g., in the Assyrian annals, the rebellion of an official against a vassal, who had been disloyal to Assyria, was perceived as retributive punishment from the treaty gods (see further Part III 2.2 fn. 95). So the retributive punishment in 2 Sam 16:22 need not be a dtr interpolation "as the consequence of the word of God which foreordained it", as Weinfeld asserted.¹⁰

2.3 Sam 12:11 and VTE 428-29

⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸ Jerrold S. Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions*, 55.

⁹ See further B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods*, 53-67.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

The curse (2 Sam 12:11) in this oracle is, he said, identical with that of VTE 428-29.

Comments

The concept of 2 Sam 12:11 and VTE 428-29 is indeed identical. However, the idea of enemies' taking wives is not confined to VTE. The concept of possessing the accursed's house occurs in an Old Assyrian inscription and recurs in a pregnant form in a kudurru of Nebuchadnezzar I's time (see Part II 2.4.9). There, taking wives of the accursed may be included, although taking women belonged to the accursed (concubines in 2 Sam and wives in VTE) is not mentioned. This indicates that the concept of these two passages shares a common tradition. Furthermore, the publicity of defilement of concubines in 2 Sam 12:11 is much wider than VTE 428-29 envisages; in the former the whole nation would know of it, whereas in the latter it occurs in the presence of the accursed. But the situation in 2 Sam 12:11 and VTE 428-29 is identical: war - the former was a civil war and the latter a disciplinary military expedition. This does not, however, indicate influence of VTE on 2 Sam 12:11, or vice versa. Rather both texts may be drawn from a common practice, which occurred in war.

Moreover, there is a scene depicted in a relief in Ashurbanipal's palace where some Assyrian soldiers rape an Arab woman. However, not a single scholar asserts that VTE 428-29 was interpolated by *a later Assyrian editor (or author)* retrospectively, after some Assyrian soldiers had raped an Arab woman.¹¹ The curses in VTE envisaged the raping of the womenfolk of the accursed something which took place when Assyrian kings campaigned against disloyal vassals. This punitive measure corresponds to the anticipatory, prohibitive-protective and punitive role of curses (Part I 1). Then, applying the same principle to the Biblical text, the prediction of 2 Sam 12:11 can be traced back to the covenant curse in Dt 28:30aα. In other words, when David had broken the covenant, Nathan announced the consequence, which was partly fulfilled in Abasalom's revolt.

2.4 1 and 2 Kings and VTE

The similarity between the Biblical malediction "who dies in the city the dogs shall eat" (1 Ki 14:11; 16:4; 21:24) and the dogs shall eat Jezebel in the *heleq* of Jezreel and none shall bury her (2 Ki 9:10; cf. 1 Ki 21:23)¹² and that in VTE (483-

¹¹ SAA II, 47 fig. 13.

¹² Other examples according to Weinfeld, 1 Ki 14:10-11; 16:3-4; 21:24; 2 Ki 9:9-10), DDS, 24.

84, 451) led Weinfeld to consider this Biblical curse as a deuteronomic interpolation.¹³ Weinfeld argued that the Biblical malediction has pre-deuteronomic origin, but:

It was undoubtedly the Deuteronomist who converted it into a stereotyped curse on the dynasties of Jeroboam and Ahab, in conformity with his method of employing political imagery current at that time.¹⁴

Furthermore, according to Weinfeld, the resemblance between the simile curses in 1 Ki 14:15 and VTE 630 displays the latter's influence on the former.¹⁵

1 Ki 14:15

VTE 630:16

And the Lord will strike Israel,
so that it will be like a reed
swaying in the water.

may they [the gods] make you
sway like reeds in water.

Weinfeld continued that "the deuteronomic interpolation" about "Ahab's blood spilling on to the chariot and overflowing it in 1 Kgs. 22: 35 and 38 can also be understood in the light of the VTE imprecations" (612-15).¹⁷

Comments

If corpses lay unburied, dogs would eat them. This scene is also attested elsewhere (see Part II 3.1.11.2). This common scene is turned to a malediction for Ahab's household and vassals disloyal to Assyria.¹⁸ These two different passages mirror a scene which occurred commonly. So the curse for Ahab's family need not be a dtr insertion, as Weinfeld asserted.

As Weinfeld noticed, the expression "like a reed swaying in the water" does not appear elsewhere, although reeds are used in a simile curse of the destruction of the wrongdoer in Hittite treaties¹⁹ and Esarhaddon's inscriptions.²⁰ However, this does not give any criterion for a deuteronomic interpolation, which followed VTE. Rather, the resemblance of these maledictions is to be attributed to a common tradition: 1) Israel and Assyria knew the environment where reeds grew - the former in the Jordan Valley and Hulah basin of the promised land and the latter along the

¹³ *Ibid.*, 131-32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

¹⁶ *SAA II*, 57.

¹⁷ *DDS*, 133-34.

¹⁸ The malediction for Ahab's family corresponds to the covenant-curse in Dt 28:26.

¹⁹ *HDI*, no. 6A 44 §15.

²⁰ See *CAD Q* 87-88; Weinfeld, *DDS*, 133, fn. 2.

tributaries of the Tigris; 2) reeds waving in the wind are employed to illustrate destruction in treaty-curses from the second millennium onwards. Moreover, since this simile curse indicates the destruction of Israel, it corresponds to the covenant-curses of war (Appendix III 7).

As a matter of fact, Weinfeld's reference to the curses concerning Ahab and VTE presents a common scene in the battle field.²¹ Ahab was wounded while fighting in the chariot (1 Ki 22 34-35a), the blood from his wound ran on to the floor of the chariot (35b). Can this scene be confined to the Assyrian battle field? Chariots were commonly used in war from the latter part of the second millennium B.C. Ahab's situation was typical of that which would occur in any battle. This malediction is comparable to the covenant-curses of defeat (Dt 28:25-26 in Part II 5.4.2.2).

In the light of this analysis, Weinfeld's view about the Deuteronomic interpolation of the three Biblical maledictions following VTE is not conclusive, since the curses in both texts share common tradition and battle circumstances.

2.5 Simile Curses in the Deuteronomic Literature

Weinfeld considered that the simile curses of VTE and Sf influenced those in DtrH.²² Although he further traced back the simile curses to a Hittite treaty elsewhere,²³ he failed to see them in other cuneiform curses.

As noticed elsewhere, simile curses are attested from Sumero-Akkadian and Aramaic literature; and similes are taken from the common ancient environment, customs and daily life.²⁴ Although Weinfeld also regarded these as sources of simile curses,²⁵ he failed to conclude that the Biblical simile curses also follow common ancient Near Eastern tradition. That is to say, the occurrence of simile curses in VTE, Sf and the Bible need not indicate the influence of VTE or Sf on the Biblical simile curses.

The phrase "like an eagle swooping down" illustrates the immediate punishment of Yahweh by bringing a nation from far away because of Israel's breach of covenant (Dt 28:49).²⁶ The destruction of Jeroboam's house is described: "as one burns dung, until it is all gone" (1 Ki 14:10),²⁷ i.e., it burns slowly, so the destruc-

²¹ See Part II 2.4.7, 3.1.10.2.

²² *DDS*, 134-37.

²³ "The Loyalty Oath", *UF* 8 (1976), 400-01.

²⁴ See Part II 3.2, 4.1.2.

²⁵ *DDS.*, 135.

²⁶ Cf. *DDS*, 135.

²⁷ Cf., *Ibid.*, 134.

tion takes a long time. Together with the simile of a reed swaying in the water above (1 Ki 14:15) the former was taken from the common environment and the latter from a scene of daily life.²⁸ Furthermore, the malediction on Jeroboam's house corresponds to the covenant-curse of Yahweh's anger, which would bring about the destruction (Dt 28:20).

There is another simile curse which is taken from daily life but does not occur in Sumerian-Akkadian curses: "I will wipe out Jerusalem as one wipes out a dish, wiping it and turning it upside-down" (2 Ki 21:13), referring to the destruction of Jerusalem. According to Weinfeld, the phrase "turning it upside-down" corresponds to the idea in Sf I C 21c-25, where the gods are invoked to overturn the house of the accursed one and make its lower part its upper part.²⁹ However, the idea of this malediction is so simple it could have occurred easily in daily life; thus, the source of the simile curse in 2 Ki 21:13 and Sf I C 21c-25 lies rather in their common environment. This malediction is also comparable with the covenant-curse of war (see above).

To sum up, simile curses are wide-spread in the ancient Near Eastern literature from the Sumerian period onwards. The resemblance of simile curses in the Bible, Sf and VTE is to be attributed to the common tradition and environment. Therefore, the occurrence of simile curses in Kings need not be *dtr* interpolations.

Synopsis

Our analysis demonstrates that Weinfeld's view of the covenant-curses in the deuteronomic history as deuteronomic interpolations, is unsatisfactory. Although the expressions of the executed covenant-curses resemble those in VTE, they occurred elsewhere long before VTE. Therefore, a comparative study of these curses (including simile curses) with other ancient Near Eastern curses needs to be undertaken in a much broader context of ancient Eastern literature than has been done by Weinfeld.

Moreover, since "the deuteronomic history" depicts Israel's covenant relationship with Yahweh, both the prophesied and the fulfilled covenant-curses for Israel's breach of covenant should be understood primarily in the light of the covenant-curses (Lev 26; Dt 28), before comparing them with other ancient Near Eastern curses.

²⁸ Animal dung was used for fuel in the ancient Near Eastern world.

²⁹ DDS, 135.

Chapter 3

THE ROLE AND THE ORIGIN OF COVENANT-CURSES IN THE LIGHT OF GREEK OATHS

Weinfeld claimed that "public anathema" in Dt 27:14-26 and 28:16-19 parallel those in Greek literature of the 6th century B.C.:

it is indeed interesting that both types of public anathema - cursing the violators of the oath and banning transgressors - are attested in Greek amphictyonic oaths, concerning the temple of Apollo of Delphi. . . . If anyone should violate this, whether city, private man or tribe let them be under curse . . . that their land bear no fruit; that their wives bear children not like those who begat them, but monsters; that their flocks yield not their natural increase; that defeat await them in camp and court and their gathering place[, . . .]¹

Weinfeld further saw parallels to blessings and curses in Dt 28:3-6, 16-19 and in the Greeks' oath at Plataeia of 5th century B.C.:

If I observe what is written in the oath my city will be free of disease; if not it shall be sick . . . ; and my [land] shall bear [fruits]; if not, it shall be barren; and the women shall bear children like their parents; if not they shall bear monsters; and the flock shall bear like the flock; if not [they shall be] monsters.²

The themes in this Greek oath: fertility of the soil, women, and the flock are, said Weinfeld, identical with those in Dt 28:16-19.³ He further claims:

The element of coming and going in Deuteronomy is identical with the element of success and failure in camp, court, and agora in the Greek oath. Furthermore the element of sickness which occurs in the oath of Plataeia appears in an identical series of blessings and curses in the ancient epilogue to the Covenant Code in Exod 23:25-26: . . . ⁴

Weinfeld concluded:⁵

To all appearance, this genre of blessings and curses has its origin in the tribal confederation based on covenant; hence the similarity to the blessings and curses of the amphictyonic oaths in Greece. The stereotyped series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3-6, 16-19 thus belongs to the ancient Shechemite covenant ceremony which is elaborated by the Deuteronomic author of 28:7-14, 20-69. These Deuteronomic expansions have a lot in common with the Assyrian and Aramaic treaties of the 8th-7th centuries B.C.E. and thus are clearly later than the short stereotypic blessing and curses which have their parallels in the Greek tribal milieu.

Comments

¹ ABD II, 172; the translation is taken from Charles D. Adams, The Speeches of Aeschines, Aeschin. 3 110-11.

² ABD II, 172; the translation is taken from Peter Siewert, Der Eid von Plataiai, 6-8 39-46a.

³ ABD II, 172.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

First of all, while the categories of the topics of curses corresponding to blessings are indeed identical between Dt 28 and the Greeks' oath at Plataeia, city, soil and fertility, the contents vary. The first curse (and blessing) in Greek oath at Plataeia refers in fact to disease, whereas the curse Dt 28:16 (blessing v. 3) involves the urban and rural lives of Israel in unspecified ways. The second concept of curse, namely no harvest, is identical: in the Greek text, the cause is unfertile soil, whereas Dt 28:17 refers to the result. The third Greek curse "they (women and the flock) shall bear monsters" refers to deformed offspring, whereas those in Dt 28:18 affect most of creation: agricultural products, offspring of human and cattle. The topics of all these commonly occurred in ancient Near Eastern curses.⁶ Furthermore, Weinfeld's conclusion from a parallel of sickness occurring in the beginning of the oath of Plataeia and in Ex 23:25-26 is ill-based. The basic ideas of these two passages are disease and fertility. These two aspects were basic concerns for ancient people and, therefore, turned to curses to prevent evil deeds from the Sumerian period onwards (see below & Part II 1-2). In addition, the frequent occurrence of the curse concerning disease in literature reflects the ancient world, where "epidemic disease often accompanies social and environmental disruption."⁷ That is to say, the related ideas in Greek oaths and Dt 28 are to be explained as arising from the common interests and conditions of ancient society. The similarities are interesting, but inasmuch as they all concern basic aspects of any ancient agricultural community's life, they do not imply any connection. Furthermore, in Weinfeld's comparison, the last curse in the Greek amphictyonic oath, compared with Dt 28:19 (blessing v. 6), does not have a counterpart blessing. This malediction desires the annihilation of the people in every respect. However, the malediction of coming in and going out (Dt 28:19) is general, referring to all sorts of daily activities, which would include restrictions imposed by war. Moving in and out freely through the city-gate was a privilege for citizens, since slaves were only allowed to go in and out with their owners' permission, e.g., CH xv-xx. This freedom would be taken away if the country was under the hegemony of other nations; for example, this cursed state occurred in Israel under the Midianites, when people hid themselves in caves and did agricultural activity in secret (Judg 6, see Part IV 1.2.2). So in times of other

⁶ We also find the same themes in Hittite treaties, e.g.: "If you, Alaksandu, transgress these words of the tablet which stand on this tablet, then these Thousand Gods shall eradicate you, together with your person, your wife, your sons, your land, your cities, your vineyard, your threshing floor, your field, your cattle, your sheep, and together with your possessions. They shall eradicate your progeny from the Dark Earth, HDT, 87 §21.

⁷ Robert M. Martinez, "Epidemic Disease, Ecology, and Culture," in The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature, 444.

nations' hegemony, juridical and business acts performed at the city gates would cease, as well as in time of war. In this light, the curse in Dt 28:19 and the Greek oath share the same concepts concerning legal acts and war, although the former is more comprehensive than the latter.

In the ancient Near East, there was a long tradition of blessing and curses, e.g., to protect inscriptions and to maintain vassal-relationship. For example, in Shalmaneser I's building inscriptions blessing is followed by curses (A.O.77.3):⁸ *daššur ikribēšu išeme* "Aššur will listen to his prayer" (41-42a), *daššur bēlu šarrūssu liskip šumšu zēršu ina māti luhalliḡ* "May Aššur, the lord, overthrow his sovereignty (and) destroy his name (and) his seed from the land" (44-46). Here, although the blessing and curse do not correspond literally, they correspond to each other, since the concern of ancient kings was to maintain kingship and dynasty. In vassal treaties, e.g., the treaty between Shattiwaza and Suppiluliuma:⁹

Curses

- 44: If I, Prince Shattiwaza, and the Hurrians do not observe the words of this treaty, and of the oath,
 45-47: let me, Shattiwaza . . . and us Hurrians . . . have no progeny!
 48: . . . let us . . . not return to our place!
 49: Let me, Shattiwaza, . . . and us Hurrians, . . . , ascend to heaven like smoke!
 50: . . . let me, Shattiwaza, . . . , and the Hurrians, . . . , have no progeny!
 51: . . . let us not return to our place!
 52a: . . . my throne shall be overthrown!
 52b: If we do not observe this treaty and oath, the gods, lords of the oath, shall destroy us . . .

Blessings

- 53c-54: If we observe this treaty and oath of His Majesty, Suppiluliuma, . . . ,
 55-56a: the gods . . . shall go with us, exalt us, protect us, and be good to us!
 56b-57a: Let our lord(!) Shattiwaza go in front, and let us enjoy a bountiful harvest in his protection!
 57b-58a: Let us experience goodness and peace! The Storm-god, . . . , shall be our helper for eternity!
 58b-59a: Let Shattiwaza, us Hurrians, . . . , experience joy of heart and peace of mind for eternity!
 59b-62: As His Majesty, Suppiluliuma, . . . , loves his lands, . . . , shall love us . . . !

The curses of offspring (45-47) and annihilation of the land/dynasty (48-49) are repeated in the following curses: the former line 50 and the latter in lines 51-52b. These curses correspond to blessings: the former to the request for greatness of the land and protection (55-56a) and the latter to prosperity and joyful and peaceful life in the land (56b-62). Moreover, this model, namely, a series of curses correspond to blessings, matches better that of Dt 28 occurring in reverse order, than Weinfeld's example, in which individual curses and blessings alternate.

⁸ RIMA I, 191; also *ibid.*, A.O.77.4, 193 49-55; *ibid.*, A.O.77.17, 206 11b-13; *ibid.*, Tn.I A.O.78.13, 258 54-65, etc.

⁹ The translation is according to Beckman, *HDT* no. 6B 49 §11.

Secondly, Weinfeld's comparison of Yahweh's promise regarding disease and fertility with the oath of Plataeia illustrates major concerns of ancient Near Eastern people. In other words, the parallel of Ex 23:25-26 together with its related elaborated passage (Dt 7:13-15) to the oath of Plataeia does not provide any basis to conclude a later origin of 28:20-69, as argued by Weinfeld.

Thirdly, as we have seen above, "the stereotyped series of blessings and curses" already occur in a treaty of the second millennium B.C. Curses in Dt 28:16-19 and vv. 20-69 are indeed related to each other, as Weinfeld noticed. However, their concepts do not allow for chronological distance between them. Moreover, as noticed elsewhere, in the ancient Near Eastern literary tradition, identical curses from the same period are expressed differently. Weinfeld's connection of "the tribal confederation based on covenant" and the Greek amphictyony through the similar concepts of curses is not persuasive, since those concepts share the common tradition existing from the third millennium B.C. onwards. His conclusion that "the Deuteronomic expansions" of Dt 28 are later than "the short stereotypic blessing and curses" cannot be accepted, since "the Deuteronomic expansions" have close parallels in a long-lived, common ancient Near Eastern tradition.¹⁰

Fourthly, Weinfeld's recognition of "public anathema" in Deuteronomy and Greek literature of the 6th century is nothing special. As a matter of fact, the punitive-protective role of curses is common in literature from the Sumerian period onwards. There, curses were employed to protect building inscriptions, treaties, cultic objects, boundary-stones, tombs, etc.: anyone who violated them, is cursed publicly (see Part II.1). In view of this, "both types of public anathema - curing the violators of the oath and banning transgressors in Greek amphictyonic oaths" are a continuum of those of ancient Near Eastern tradition. In addition, the role of curses in Dt 27 and 28 should be compared primarily with the roles of ancient Near Eastern curses, since Israel was geographically, culturally, and linguistically part of the ancient Near Eastern world. "Public anathema" in Greek literature might be seen as echoing of the Near Eastern tradition.

Synopsis

The punitive-protective role and the concepts of curses cited by Weinfeld can be traced back to the third millennium B.C. That is to say the role and function of curses in Deuteronomy and in Greek oaths draw from the common ancient Near Eastern cultural reservoir. The type of curses with corresponding blessings in

¹⁰ See Part V 1-2.

Deuteronomy resembles much more those of ancient Near Eastern curses than that of Greek oaths.

Chapter 4

THE DEUTERONOMIC HISTORY

4.0 Introduction

Hebrew history in Joshua-Kings presents prophecies which were not completely fulfilled (e.g., Yahweh's promise of the Promised Land), raising the question of why they were included. Modern scholarship tries to give an answer through the dtr theory.

The so called dtr editorial work relates to the elements of the covenant concept. The covenant concept existed in the ancient Near Eastern world long before Josiah's time. Therefore, a comparative study of the ancient Near Eastern vassal treaties may shed light on the tension between the original prophecies and their incomplete fulfilment. Taking Weinfeld's presentation of the deuteronomistic exposition of Israel's history as typical, we observe he does not examine the identical concept of vassalship in any other ancient Near Eastern literature, so we try to fill this gap while exploring Weinfeld's view on the deuteronomic history in the light of the vassalship concept in Assyrian history.

4.1 Punitive Prophecies/Warnings

According to Weinfeld, Dtr harmonized the failure of the complete fulfilment of the original prophecy through his editorial work.¹ Weinfeld considered the predictions of covenant-curses in Joshua-Kings as dtr ideological messages, concerning divine retribution, which are put in the mouths of prophets, or which are editorial summaries.² These deuteronomic prophecies, he said, provide "the ideological grounds of theodicy" and designate the decisive periods of Israel in Joshua-Kings. Here, Weinfeld follows Noth.

Comments

The dtr prophecies in Weinfeld's theory are in fact the prophecies of punishment for Israel's disloyalty to her divine suzerain. Their function was to bring king and people to repentance, although they would still suffer the consequences of their disloyalty, e.g., Nathan's prophecy and David's repentance. In other words, the divine suzerain did not always punish his disloyal people immediately after their breach of covenant; he benevolently gave them opportunities to return to the vassal status. This feature also occurs in Assyrian history. Assyrian kings did not always

¹ *DDS*, 22.

² *Ibid.*, 3.

mention about sending messengers to warn rebel vassals. Sennacherib dispatched messengers together with troops to Jerusalem to persuade Hezekiah to submit while campaigning at Lachish (2 Ki 18:17-37).³ Esarhaddon also mentioned in his letter to Aššur that he had written to the disloyal vassal of Šubria three times prior to his disciplinary campaign.⁴ The same concept also occurs in Assyria's relation to Elam under Ashurbanipal. When the Elamite king rebelled, Ashurbanipal could hardly believe that the Elamite had broken the vassal treaty, since he had supported Elam in famine by providing food and allowing refugees to live in Assyrian territory, sending them back to Elam when the famine was over (see Part II 1.3.4). Having received news about the rebellion of the Elamite king repeatedly, Ashurbanipal was still very reluctant to lead a campaign against Elam and he dispatched a messenger to Elam first (Pr. B iv 27-42).⁵ So the Assyrian kings gave opportunities to rebel vassals to submit.⁶ This practice is not peculiar to Assyria. Muršiliš in his annals mentioned that he sent warnings to the people of Puranda whose king, a Hittite vassal, rebelled by challenging Muršiliš to war. He urged them to turn away from their king and to return to their vassal status.⁷

To sum up, the punitive warnings/prophecies present the consequences of breaking treaty/covenant. Therefore, the sending prophets by Yahweh to forecast punishment for Israel's disloyalty is not unique. Moreover, as we see below, conditions were attached to a suzerain's benevolence. The punitive prophecies and the summaries of the consequences of Israel's disloyalty, revealing that Yahweh's original promise was not fully materialized in history, could have existed prior to Josiah's reform.

4.2 Deuteronomic Valedictions

Following Noth, Weinfeld said that Joshua's parenetic address (Josh 23), Samuel's farewell (1 Sam 12) and David's testament to Solomon (1 Ki 2:3-4) were "designed to serve as guides for future generations" by Dtr.⁸ He continued: "it was

³ See further Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 228-33.

⁴ *Asarhaddons*, 103-04, ii 29-32. The Assyrian vassal of Šubria provided refuge for fugitives from Urartu. In this case, the former should have handed them over to Ursā, his co-vassal. Giving shelter to the fugitives from Urartu indicates that king of Šubria was hostile to Urartu. This again means a breach of treaty with Assyria. See further Part III 1.4.13.

⁵ *Ashurbanipals*, 95 and see Part III 1.3.4.

⁶ Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser I onwards might have applied the same diplomatic principle to save expense of campaigns, although there is no earlier document available which mentions warnings to disloyal Assyrian vassals.

⁷ Albrecht Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, 58.

⁸ *DDS*, 11-12.

only a later compiler who apparently thought fit to attach Joshua's covenant with the people (ch. 24) which the national mind had come to regard as his last testament."⁹

Comments

Weinfeld's recognition of the lasting validity of the instruction in those speeches is, in fact, justifiable in the light of the covenant concept. The historical dimension of the instruction in those valedictions relates to the lasting validity of the covenant. That corresponds to the lasting validity of the vassal treaty in the ancient Near Eastern world. For example, once weaker states became vassals to Assyria, their lands were subject to Assyria forever (see Part III 1.9). Furthermore, the validity of covenant for the people in Josh 24 is not unique. This validity corresponds to the validity of vassal treaties for people in the ancient Near Eastern world from the second millennium B.C. For example, the same idea runs through Assyrian history from Tiglath-pileser I onwards (see Part III 1.5).

The difference between the Biblical texts and Assyrian annals is that the former were written from the vassal's point of view, the latter from the suzerain's. In the latter, therefore, we do not find a speech like the ones in the Bible. However, the concept of the lasting validity of covenant/treaty is identical.

Moreover, analogies to the literary device of the deuteronomic valediction of Josh 23 and 1 Sam 12 occur in the accounts about relationships between suzerain and vassals in the second millennium B.C.¹⁰

4.3 The Deuteronomic Summaries

Following Noth, Weinfeld continued:¹¹

... significant historical periods not dominated by great prophetic leaders are summarized by the editor himself as part of his exposition. We meet with these editorial summaries in the passage prefacing the period of the judges (Judg. 2:6 ff) and in the editor's description of the fall of the Northern Kingdom (2 Kgs. 17:7 ff), the former anticipating the general course of the historical period about to commence, the latter reviewing the period that had just terminated."

⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰ Having compared Josh 23 and 1 Sam 12 with the Tukulti-Ninurta epic and the Hittite annals of Muršiliš II, J. Niehaus claimed the following three categories of thought were identical in the speeches: "the righteousness of Yahweh (Joshua 23), or of His representative, Samuel; the past unrighteousness of Israel; exhortation to obedience, with threats of divine judgement if Israel is disobedient. The Assyrian and Hittite examples present three parallel ideas: the righteousness of the god's representative; the past and present unrighteousness of the antagonist; the call for divine judgement on the unrighteous," *The Deuteronomic Style* vol. 2, 333.

¹¹ *DDS*, 12-13, cf. Part I 2.2.1.1 (1).

Weinfeld further claimed that the deuteronomic editor summarizes the religious policy of Ahab in 1 Ki 21:25-26.¹²

Comments

Weinfeld does not define the end of the deuteronomic summary which begins in Judg 2:6; presumably, it includes 3:6. However, the "anticipatory deuteronomic summary" (Judg 2:6-3:6) for the period of Judges is not unique in the ancient Near Eastern context.¹³ This sort of anticipatory synopsis of an historical period appeared in the Assyrian annals from the second millennium B.C. In Shalmaneser I's annals, the anticipatory summary is: his self-introduction, his role as priest and king, followed by the synopsis of success in his military expeditions (lines 1-21).¹⁴ Thereafter, the record of his individual campaigns follows.¹⁵ The same scheme occurs in the annals of Tukulti-ninurta I and Tiglath-pileser I¹⁶ and runs slightly modified throughout the Assyrian kings' annals. It was written at the time when annals were compiled from campaign records made en route, not inserted later. In this light the anticipatory summary of Judg 2:6-3:6 can be considered as contemporary with the compilation of the book of Judges.

Moreover, the structure of individual accounts in Judges presenting the cycle of Israel's sin, Yahweh's punishment, Israel's dependence and Yahweh's deliverance by Judges corresponds to those in Assyrian annals, for example:¹⁷

¹² DDS, 18.

¹³ *Contra* Weinfeld, *ibid.*, 13.

¹⁴ RIMA I A.O.77.1 182-83.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 183-84.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Tn.I A.O.78.1, 233-24 i 1-ii 8-13; RIMA II Tigl.I A.O.87.1 12-13 i 1-61.

¹⁷ RIMA II 14. Hoffmann employed the schematic presentation of the reign of individual kings to substantiate exilic authorship:

1. *Einführungsformel, bestehend aus den Teilen:*

- a. *Synchronismus*
- b. *Antrittsalter des Königs*
- c. *Regierungsdauer*
- d. *Name der Königsmutter (nur Juda)*

2. *Wertungsformel*

3. *Kultnotiz*

4. *Politisch-militärische Berichte bzw. Prophetische Berichte*

- a. *Notizen über innenpolitische Ereignisse a. Weissagungen, Prophetenworte (Aufstände, Revolutionen)*
- b. *Berichte über außenpolitische Ereignisse b. Erfüllungsvermerke (Kriege, Feldzüge)*
- c. *Prophetenerzählungen*

5. *Schlußformel, bestehend aus den Teilen:*

- a. *Quellenhinweis*
- b. *Tod and Begräbnis*
- c. *Nochfolger, Reform und Reformer, 33-35.*

Campaign against Katmuhu (Tigl.I: A.0.87.1)¹⁸

- Breach of treaty: i 89-91a
- Summary of campaign: i 91b-ii 1a
- Detailed description of campaign against vassal: ii 1b-55
- Result of campaign: ii 56-62

Judges 3:12-30

- Breach of covenant: v. 12a
- Summary of punishment: vv. 12b-14
- Repentance and Yahweh's mercy: v. 15a
- Detailed description of campaign against the enemy: vv. 15b-29
- Result of campaign: v. 30

These two accounts concerning the punishment of disloyal vassals display an identical structure, although the contents differ.¹⁹ Furthermore, not all the events are written in this scheme either in the Assyrian kings' annals or Judges. For example, in the same inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, brief statements mentioning merely the conquest and its result describe his disciplinary campaign against the lands of Isua and Daria (I.A.0.87.1 iii 88-91).²⁰ In Judges similar summaries tell of Shamgar's achievement (3:31) and Jair's rule over Israel (10:3-5). Moreover, in the Assyrian annals, the military accounts are recorded with and without the structural pattern. For example, in Tiglath-pileser I's annals the account of the campaign against the

Within this structure, according to Hoffmann, the basic elements are no. 1, 2 and 5. No. 4 is sometimes omitted. According to Hoffmann, it is impossible to trace back all the concrete statements of cult notices to tradition or literary source, since individual cult notices present free, deuteronomistic further- or even new-creation (*ibid.*, 37). However, if we compare Hoffmann's schema with Judges 3:12-30, there are common elements, apart from the introduction and finale formulae in kings. For example, the text about Rehoboam in Ki 14:21-24, "the evaluation" (v. 22, in Hoffmann's schema no. 2) and "the cultic notice" (vv. 23-24, no. 3) correspond to Judg 3:12a; "the political notice" (vv. 25-28, no. 4) to Judg 3:12b-14. The difference is individual aspects in 1 Ki 14:21-24 are much more elaborate in comparison to Judg 3:12-30. In the texts for Jeroboam (1 Ki 12:26-14:19), in contrast to Hoffmann (cf. *ibid.*, 62), we have a much longer description of the same schema of Judg 3:12-30: 1 Ki 12:26-13:34 is comparable with Judg 3:12a; 1 Ki 14:1-18 with Judg 3:12b-14. In addition, the introduction and final formulae for kings are comparable to those in Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles. There, sometimes, Assyrian and Babylonian kings' reigns are mentioned synchronically and also the deaths of kings, Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 71 ff. That is to say, the schema of kings' activities in Kings does not necessarily support exilic authorship. This feature may indicate that Assyrian and Hebrew historians used a common traditional method for historiography.

¹⁸ The same style occurs in Asn.II's annals, see on the discussion of a doublet in Part V 1.7.2 and fn. 26.

¹⁹ Sometimes, the description of the campaign against the enemy is summarized, e.g., Judg 3:7-11: breach of covenant (v. 7), summary of punishment (v. 8), repentance and Yahweh's mercy (v. 9), description of campaign against the enemy (v. 10) and result of campaign (v. 11).

²⁰ RIMA II, 19.

land Haria and the army of the Paphu is written without a scheme.²¹ When the Assyrian vassal of Qumānu became disloyal, Tiglath-pileser I led a punitive campaign. The account of this campaign also lacks a scheme and reports what happened.²² These two styles of narrating military expeditions run through the Assyrian annals. In view of this structural parallel, the so-called "deuteronomic summary" in Judg 2:6 ff may have existed from the second millennium onwards.

Weinfeld's view on 2 Ki 17:7 ff cannot remain unchallenged, since "the retrospective summary" reviewing the period just terminated is not peculiar to the Bible. It is also attested in the Assyrian annals from the second millennium B.C. onwards. In Tukultī-Ninurta I's annals a paragraph follows the records of his military campaigns and summarizes them (A.0.78.1 iv 24-36).²³ Similar summaries occur in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I (A.0.87.1 vi 39-54),²⁴ and Ashurnasirpal II (A.0.101.1 iii 113b-26a).²⁵ Furthermore, the text describing Sargon's Eighth Campaign displays a summary of the military expedition against Urartu.²⁶ However, the retrospective summary does not occur in the annals of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal. From these cases, we can deduce that "the retrospective summary" of a period was common from the 13th down to the 8th century B.C. Therefore, the evaluation of the fall of the northern kingdom in 2 Ki 17:7-23 could have been written soon after the event. Consequently, the anticipatory and retrospective summaries of a period need not be considered as projections of the deuteronomic editor, as Weinfeld asserted.

4.4 Purpose of the Deuteronomic Expositions

Weinfeld further argued:²⁷

The purpose of the editorial expositions of the Deuteronomist was to summarize the decisive periods of Israelite history, in effect, dividing the history of Israel, (starting with the conquest) into three distinct parts: the period of the conquest, which is reviewed in Joshua's valedictory address (Josh 23); the period of the judges, which is outlined in the deuteronomic introduction in Judg 2:11 ff and summarized in 1 Sam 12; and the monarchy summarized in 2 Ki 17:7 ff and 21:10-15).

Comments

²¹ *Ibid.*, A.0.87.1 18 iii 35-65.

²² *Ibid.*, A.0.87.1 24-25 vi 22-38.

²³ *RIMA* I, 236-37.

²⁴ *RIMA* II, 25.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 221-23.

²⁶ Mayer, *MDOG* 115 (1983), 111-12 415-25.

²⁷ *DDS*, 13.

Changes occurring in the history of Israel signify different periods, e.g., the change of leadership, the conquest and settlement, establishment of kinship. Since Israel's welfare in the promised land depended on her loyalty to the divine suzerain, it was self-evident that leaders would emphasize the importance of loyalty to the divine suzerain at the juncture of institutional change, or before death.

As depicted above, the kind of editorial expositions for a period, such as the *dtr* literary creativity, does not exist in ancient Near Eastern literature, e.g., in Assyrian historiography. The summaries of "the decisive periods" of Israel may be understood as contemporary with the compilation of the books (see above). The end of the period of conquest is in fact marked in Joshua 23-24, where he renewed the covenant with Yahweh. In this way Joshua put the significance of obedience to Yahweh at the core of Israel's life in the promised land. The same concept occurs in 1 Sam 12. There, at the juncture of the institution of kingship, Samuel accentuated the loyalty of people and king to Yahweh and the consequence of disloyalty.

Moreover, 2 Ki 21:10-15 does not summarize the history of the Judean kingdom; this passage displays the prediction of Yahweh's punishment for Manasseh's breach of covenant, the destruction of the Judean kingdom. The question arises: does this prediction nullify Yahweh's promise of a lasting dynasty to David? According to 2 Sam 7:13b-16,²⁸ although Yahweh's promise coincides with his discipline, if Davidic kings became disloyal, the Davidic dynasty would endure. That is to say Yahweh's promise cannot be nullified by his vassals' failure to fulfill their obligations.²⁹ The same concept is fully elaborated in the concept of vassalship in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of temple (1 Ki 8:14-61). There, the divine suzerain is asked to forgive the penitent vassal people³⁰ and to bring them back from exile (33-34). Furthermore, Yahweh should cause conquerors to show compassion to the penitent vassal people in exile (37-40).³¹ Thus, Yahweh's benevolent actions toward Israel would show his sovereignty in the world. In other words, Yahweh's punishment for Israel's breach of covenant would not annihilate the Davidic dynasty

²⁸ See below.

²⁹ See Part IV 2.1.1.5 (2).

³⁰ Each member of the community is a vassal to Yahweh. Thus, in Solomon's prayer at the temple-dedication, the people are described as עֲבָדֶיךָ "your servants" (8:36), and the individuals involved in juridical cases are also designated עֲבָדֶיךָ "your servants" (8:32).

³¹ The purpose of Yahweh's discipline is (37-40): natural calamities, or plague, or enemy invasion were means used by Yahweh to discipline the vassal-people (cf. Dt 28:21). These were not simply retributions for their disloyalty to Yahweh, but corrections and instructions for them to live according their status. That is, to fear Yahweh all their life in the land (see above 8:37-40).

despite the worst punishment, namely exile, when Israel became penitent. Yahweh's punishment for Israel, however severe it might be, would cause Israel to repent.

Thereafter, the divine suzerain confirmed Solomon's pleas and his presence in the temple (1 Ki 9:3). That is to say the divine suzerain's benevolence would sustain the Davidic dynasty, even in spite of the worst punishment, exile. However, Yahweh gave more weight to the importance of the vassal-king's obedience; this was a pre-condition for the divine suzerain's establishment of the dynasty for ever (4-5). Moreover, the affirmation of Yahweh's presence in the temple coincides with Israel's prosperity in the land, that again was associated with the Davidic Dynasty. The prosperity of the land and dynasty were inseparable. Thus, rejection of the dynasty due to the vassal-king's breach of the treaty would involve ejecting Israel from the land and destruction of the temple (7). And another consequence would be Israel's shame among the nations (7-9).

In conclusion, Solomon in his prayer put more weight on Yahweh's benevolence, whereas Yahweh in his reply emphasizes his vassal's obligation. Yahweh's promise for the Davidic dynasty would continue in spite of his punishment for disloyal vassals. The prediction of Yahweh's punishment for Manasseh's sin (2 Ki 21:10-15) is to be understood in this context. Furthermore, although Judah became a Babylonian province (Part IV 2.2.12), there was a hope for her restoration. After 37 years of exile, king Jehoiachin was well treated by the Babylonian king (Amel-Marduk). In the light of Solomon's pleas for Yahweh's benevolence towards the penitent people (see above) Jehoiachin's release suggests that the king could have been penitent. This allusion could anticipate the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, since in the ancient Near Eastern world, the suzerain might favour a rebel vassal king and restore his dynasty, e.g., Sennacherib enthroned Ethba'al, son of Luli, when his father rebelled (Part III 1.1.1 fn. 12).³²

Therefore, Israel's history was divided naturally into periods, e.g., the period of conquest, settlement and Judges, and this can be seen as a result of the country's development and not of a later deuteronomic outline.

4.5 The Mantic/Authentic and Deuteronomic Prophecies?

³² Von Rad stated that Jehoiachin's release signified "an Omen for the Deuteronomist, a fact from which Yahweh can start again, if it be his will. . . the passage must be interpreted by every reader as an indication that the line of David has not yet come to an irrevocable end," *Studies of Deuteronomy*, 90-91. However, Wolff denies Jehoiachin's release implies a messianic hope, it only means that the God still deals with his people, "Das Kerygma," *ZAW* 73 (1961), 185.

The mantic word of God [the pre-deuteronomic prophecy] uttered by the prophets relates, according to Weinfeld, to the personal fate and future of individual kings, which was woven into the deuteronomic editorial work.³³ The deuteronomic word of God deals with the fate of their dynasties; "in other words, it concerns his historical destiny - his place in the divine historical scheme".³⁴

The death of Jeroboam's son (1 Ki 14:12) is, according to Weinfeld, a fulfillment of the mantic/authentic prophecy, whereas the deuteronomic prophecy relates it to the destruction of Jeroboam's house (1 Ki 14:7-11) and Israel's exile (1 Ki 14:14-16).³⁵

Weinfeld claimed that the prophecy of "the transference of Ahab's punishment to his son has come down to us only in a deuteronomic redaction and not in its original version."³⁶ He assumed that Elijah's original prophecy (1 Ki 21:17-29) only referred to the transference of Ahab's punishment caused by his murder of Naboth (1 Ki 21:19): "not Ahab's blood, but that of his son was to be shed in Naboth's field".³⁷ This original prophecy was fulfilled "not on the person of Ahab but on the person of his son."³⁸ According to Weinfeld, Dtr altered "the transference of Ahab's punishment":

In his version the punishment that was to be transferred to his son was not the punishment incurred by the murder of Naboth, but that resulting from Ahab's historical sin, whereas Naboth's blood and the curse of Elijah were to devolve on Ahab himself. This indeed was the Deuteronomist's purpose in describing Ahab's death in 1 Ki 22:38 . . .³⁹

For Weinfeld, 1 Ki 22:35b, 38 are the dtr interpolation connecting "this incident with Elijah's prophecy in 21:19."⁴⁰

He further asserted that the deuteronomic editor included, on the other hand, "the cultic pollutions which Ahab had introduced into Israel through the influence of his wife Jezebel, his propagation of the sins of Jeroboam (1 Ki 16:30-3; 21:20b-6)" and the punishment of his dynasty.⁴¹

According to Weinfeld, the prophecy to Elijah concerning the anointing of Jehu was pre-deuteronomic (1 Ki 19:15-16). The prophecy concerning the destruc-

³³ DDS, 16.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

tion of Ahab's house was, on the other hand, deuteronomic (2 Ki 9:7-10a), put into the mouth of the prophet-disciple.⁴² Weinfeld continued that Dtr regarded the curse on Jezebel, which is inserted into the dtr word of God (1 Ki 21:23; 2 Ki 9:10),⁴³ "as the fulfilment of his stereotyped curse to explain that Jezebel's body was not found because it was eaten by dogs."⁴⁴

Comments

Weinfeld's distinction of the mantic and deuteronomic prophecies cannot be justified in the matter of succession. Presumably, the son of Jeroboam predicted to die, was the heir, since nation-wide mourning was also predicted (1 Ki 14:13). A further prediction concerning cutting off every male from Jeroboam (1 Ki 14:10) means the destruction of Jeroboam's dynasty. The complete destruction of Jeroboam's dynasty is re-enforced by two other prophecies: 1) the establishment of another dynasty over Israel (14); 2) Israel's exile (15-16). However, there is a tension in these prophecies; if Yahweh raises another king over Israel, then, how is Israel's exile to be understood. The divine suzerain promised Jeroboam a lasting dynasty over Israel for the purpose of humiliating the Davidic dynasty (1 Ki 11:37-39).⁴⁵ Therefore, the punitive prophecy for Jeroboam's dynasty inevitably relates to that of his people's fate.

Moreover, the personal fate of Jeroboam and the effect of his behaviour toward the divine suzerain - the historical dimension of dynasty in Weinfeld's term - share, in fact, the common ancient Near Eastern tradition. In royal inscriptions, the curse of dynastic destruction is expressed in terms of the destruction of offspring from the third down to the first millennium B.C (see Part II 2.1). Furthermore, a suzerain dethroned a disloyal vassal and enthroned someone who promised loyalty. Sometimes, the suzerain deported the people of disloyal vassals (Part III 1.1.1, 2.1.17). To sum up, the personal fate of a king, the destiny of his dynasty and people (country) are interrelated.

Therefore, Weinfeld's view on these three aspects as separate accounts, which are edited by Dtr is not persuasive. Furthermore, the deportation of rebel people

⁴² *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁵ But the period of the humiliation of the Davidic dynasty is limited (39), which further means that the northern kingdom will not endure forever, see further Part IV 2.2.12.

already occurred in the third millennium B.C.,⁴⁶ and was a common punishment inflicted by the Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser I onwards.

Weinfeld's suggestion on Elijah's announcement of the divine punishment for Ahab concerning his murder of Naboth (1 Ki 21:19) is not convincing. There is, first, no reference that wild animals licked Naboth's blood. Second, Weinfeld takes במקום אשר in 1 Ki 21:19 as an adverbial phrase "in the place where".⁴⁷ However, it can be interpreted as a conjunction "instead of" (*anstatt daß*);⁴⁸ then, the translation of 1 Ki 21:19 is: "instead of dogs licking up Naboth's blood, dogs will lick up your blood; indeed yours!" במקום אשר does not refer to the place where Naboth died, rather the worst curse, which could occur to anyone, would happen to Ahab. Consequently, it was fulfilled: "וילקו הכלבים את-דמו" "dogs licked up his (Ahab's) blood" when his chariot was washed in Samaria (1 Ki 22:38).⁴⁹

Yahweh postponed Ahab's punishment concerning the destruction of his dynasty, namely: no burials for Ahab's household, dogs would devour Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel; and dogs would eat those belonging to Ahab who die in the city, and the birds of the air would feed on those who die in the country (1 Ki 21:23a-24).⁵⁰ That is to say members of Ahab's house would die as a result of violence. This punishment was postponed (29): הראית כי-נכנע אחאב מלפני יען כי-נכנע מפני: "Have you noticed how Ahab has humbled himself before me? Because he has humbled himself, I will not bring this disaster in his day, but I will bring it on his house in the days of his son". Furthermore, Weinfeld's phrase "the transference of Ahab's punishment to his son" is not justifiable. But Joram followed the way of Jeroboam, even if he was not as wicked as his parent (2 Ki 3:1-3). Therefore, the destruction of Joram's kingship by Jehu is, first of all, to be seen as a consequence of his disloyalty to Yahweh. That is to

⁴⁶ Kitchen pointed out long ago in his article "Deuteronism" that "the concept and practice of exile was *always* a potential threat to the Hebrews and other politically "small" groups for most of the second and first millennium B.C. . . .," in *New Perspectives*, 5. In view of this, therefore, the concept and practice of exile is not necessarily a later dttr prophecy.

⁴⁷ DDS, 18.

⁴⁸ This interpretation also occurs in Hos 2:1. Here, the expression במקום אשר as "in the place where" does not make sense, since the context treats of Israel's relation to Yahweh (see further Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea*, 30). The preceding text illustrates Israel's (northern kingdom) unfaithfulness and Yahweh's rejection of his people (1:1-8). Then, Yahweh's *Heilsansage* for the northern kingdom (2:1) and the unification of the Judeans and Israelites (vv. 2-3) follows. The phrase במקום אשר להם אתם (v. 1bα) "instead of saying 'You are not my people'" refers to Israel's past experience from the perspective of the future; then, Israel's restoration follows: יאמר להם בני אל-חי "they will be called 'Sons of the living God.'" See other examples in HALAT II, 592.

⁴⁹ See further Part VI 2.4.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*

say, Joram's death did not mean the end of Ahab's dynasty. The dynastic annihilation of Ahab materialized with the death of all Ahab's male descendants (2 Ki 10:6-8) together with Jezebel's death (2 Ki 9:33). Since Jezebel's death was part of the annihilation of Ahab's dynasty, there is no reason to consider it as a later dtr insertion (see Part VI 2.4.1). Furthermore, the curse of no burial occurred in ancient literature from the second millennium B.C onwards (see Part II 2.8). Therefore, Ahab's punishment was not simply transferred to Joram.

Moreover, Yahweh postponed Ahab's punishment, because he was penitent when he heard of the punitive prophecy. The same concept appears in the ancient Near Eastern world: the suzerain allowed rebel vassal to maintain his dynasty, when penitent. But, according to Assyrian annals, if they persistently rebelled, either the dynasty was replaced by another dynasty (see Part III 2.1.17) and perhaps people were deported (Part III 2.1.14), or the land was annexed to Assyria (Part III 2.1.18).

4.6 The Prophetic Oration and the Deuteronomic Re-Construction of the Prophetic Words?

Taking up von Rad's view, Weinfeld stated the central concept of the dtr historiography is that "the fateful events in the life of the nation happen as a consequence of the divine word which foreordained them."⁵¹ He claimed:

. . . the Deuteronomist presents his clear-cut scheme of Israelite history, beginning with the settlement, and culminating with the destruction of the Judean state. Every national achievement or failure in this scheme is the result of the prophetic word of God which foreordained it."⁵²

Weinfeld continued that the Deuteronomist "began his work under the shadow of the fall of Samaria and concluded it after the fall of Jerusalem" and that the deuteronomic editor exposed the national disasters as the consequences of the sins of Israel and Judah and their kings.⁵³ Weinfeld presented the dtr scheme as it follows:⁵⁴

- | | |
|--|---|
| - Joshua's conquest (Josh. 1:1-9) | Israel's inability to dispossess of the Canaanites (Judg 2:20-21) |
| - Saul's election | His rejection (1 Sam 15:28) |
| - The promise of an everlasting dynasty to David (2 Sam 7) | The secession of the northern tribes from Davidic dynasty (1 Ki 11:11-13) |
| - The promise of kingship to Jeroboam | The extinction of his dynasty (1 Ki 14:7-11, 13-16) |

⁵¹ *DDS*, 15.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

(1 Ki 11:31-39)

- The establishment of Baasha's dynasty And rejection (1 Ki 16:1-4, 7)
- The destruction of Ahab's house The establishment of Jehu's house (2 Ki 9:7-9)
(1 Ki 21:20b-29)
- The fall of the northern kingdom The destruction of Jerusalem and Judean state
(1 Ki:14:15-16; 2 Ki 17:7-23) (2 Ki 21:10-15; 22:16-17)

According to Weinfeld, in the scheme of the dtr history, if they thought the first promise of God had failed to materialize, the Deuteronomists constructed a second word of God, or altered the preceding one to harmonize it with historical fact.⁵⁵ Weinfeld saw this pattern in Joshua's conquest and Israel's inability to dispossess the Canaanites. The promise of the land given to the patriarchs is, according to Weinfeld, reaffirmed in Josh 1:1-9; 13:1-6a. This promise was partly fulfilled in the dtr account (Josh 10-11), "for Joshua had only conquered the land" "from Mount Halak, that rises to Seir, as far as Baal Gad in the valley of Lebanon (11:17; 12:7)." The rest of the land was to be conquered after his death (Josh 23).⁵⁶ According to him:⁵⁷

"To save the credit of the first promise, the Deuteronomist re-constructed a second word of God which nullified the first one: 'So the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and he said, 'Because this people have transgressed my covenant which I commanded their fathers, and have not obeyed my voice, I will not henceforth drive out before them any of the nations that Joshua left when he died . . .'" (Judg 2:20-21).

According to Weinfeld, "this editorial use of the 'negative prophetic cycle' runs through the whole of deuteronomic literature."⁵⁸

Comments

Israel's history indeed displays decisive events which divide it into periods. However, Weinfeld's view on the dtr history as the consequence of the foreordained, prophetic word of God is one-sided. Although the history from Judges down to 2 Kings presents the fulfilment of the prophetic divine words, the divine word cannot be detached from the historical context in Israel's life. This is to say, the prophetic divine words relate to the loyalty and disloyalty of Israel to Yahweh. As noticed elsewhere, the history of Israel depicts Israel's relationship to Yahweh in the suzerain-vassal concept. This idea already existed long before the period of Israel's monarchy and characterized, for example, Assyrian policy for her vassals from the 12th down to the 7th century B.C.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 23. Other instances used in Weinfeld's arguments will be discussed in our comments.

4.6.1 Conquest and Israel's Inability to Dispossess

Joshua 1:1-9 displays two concepts: 1) Yahweh's promise to grant the Promised Land and his support for taking it (1-5); 2) Yahweh's command to Joshua regarding his task, obligation (6-8) followed by the promise of his presence in Joshua's act (9). Thus, vv. 1-9 form an inclusio. Yahweh's benevolence - providing a home-land (1-5) and his support in possessing it (9) - would encourage Joshua to take responsibility for that task. This is connected with an obligation mentioned in vv. 6-9, although the three ideas - task (6), obligation (7-8) and promise (9) - are interrelated, Joshua's obligation, keeping the Torah followed by its purpose and results is emphasized; Joshua would only succeed in fulfilling his task if he remained loyal to Yahweh by keeping the Torah, which would again coincide with Yahweh's support.⁵⁹ This way to success, however, implies failure if the obligation was neglected. Therefore, we see the cause-effect relation in vv. 6-9.⁶⁰

Weinfeld failed to recognize a crucial point in Josh 1:1-9, namely Yahweh's benevolence is conditional, since he explained the partial fulfilment of Yahweh's promise concerning the Promised Land in Joshua through the dtr editorial work. That is to say that Joshua's success in fulfilling his responsibility and Israel's success in dispossessing the Canaanites, depended on keeping the Torah. Furthermore, these concepts are not unique to the Bible. The concept of vassals' success in exercising their kingship occurs in the Assyrian annals. There, suzerains would show benevolence to vassals who remained loyal to Assyria by fulfilling obligations.

⁵⁹ Cf. Richard Hess, *Joshua*, 73.

⁶⁰ The analysis of Josh 1:6-9:

		.6 חזק ואמץ (benevolence)
	כי אתה תנחיל את-העם הזה את-הארץ	
	אשר-נשבעתי לאבותם לתת להם	
	רק חזק ואמץ מאד (vassal's obligation)	.αa7
	לשמר לעשות ככל-התורה	
	אשר צוך משה עבדי	
	לא-תסור ממנו ימין ושמאול	γa
	למען תשכיל בכל	b
	אשר תלך	
	לא-ימוש ספר התורה הזה מפיד (o")	.αa8
	והגית בו יומם ולילה	
	למען תשמר לעשות ככל-הכתוב בו	γa
(result)	כי-אז תצליח את-דרכך ואז תשכיל	b
	הלוא צויתך חזק ואמץ (o")	.9
	ואל-תערץ ואל-תחת	
	כי עמך יהוה אלהיך בכל	(b")
	אשר תלך	

Josh 13:1-6a displays, on the other hand, the land still to be conquered. In the light of Josh 1:1-9, for Israel this meant that conquering the rest of the territory required Israel to remain loyal to the divine suzerain. That is to say the full realization of Yahweh's promise depended on Israel's obedience.

Moreover, the conquest accounts in chapter 10-11 present a *Blitzkrieg* of Joshua. Joshua defeated the Canaanite coalitions of major cities in the southern and northern parts of the land but he did not subjugate cities in these regions. These two chapterpericope, furthermore, do not claim the complete conquest of the promised land. The tension between Yahweh's promise (1:1-9), the partial conquest (10-11) and the territory still to be taken (13:2-5) are only to be understood in light of the covenant concept. The realization of Yahweh's promise, benevolence, depended on Israel's loyalty.⁶¹ This tension is not unique in the Bible, as already seen above. Therefore, there is no reason to consider Josh 10-11 as a dtr account. As a matter of fact, the conquest account in these chapters shares the common tradition of the conquest accounts in royal inscriptions from the 13th century B.C. onwards.⁶²

However, Israel never possessed the entire Promised Land. David controlled the northern territory, namely the Aramean kingdoms from the Euphrates (Josh 1:4) by vassal relationship (see Part IV Excursus 2).⁶³ The policy should have been consolidated in the following eras by remaining loyal to Yahweh, but after Solomon's reign, Israel lost control completely over that territory. Therefore, there was a constant power struggle between the divided monarchy and the Aramean kingdoms.

The same cause-effect relationship is revealed in Judg 2:20-21. Joshua's successful conquest came to an end with the allotment of the land to the tribes of Israel (Josh 21). Now, the Promised Land was given to Israel, if not all of it. It was Israel's responsibility to drive out the Canannites while remaining loyal to her divine suzerain. Since she was disloyal (Judg 2:19), Yahweh did not drive out Israel's enemies from the Promised Land. This is the chain of cause-effect following Israel's disloyalty, which resulted in Yahweh's withdrawal of support in Israel's

⁶¹ The region of Syria (13:5) became Israel's vassal under David and Solomon. However, Solomon in the latter part of his reign lost control over Syria as the result of disloyalty to Yahweh (see Part IV 2.2.5.3 (1)).

⁶² K. Lawson Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 198-237.

⁶³ Cf. N. Na'aman, *Borders & Districts*, 39-73.

campaign against her enemies.⁶⁴ This is not peculiar to Israel. The concept of the suzerain's intervention to protect vassals also appears in Assyrian history (see Part III 1.3.1-3).

To sum up, Weinfeld's distinction between the *dtr* and pre-deuteronomic concepts is artificial, since the two passages do not refer to the same situation; Josh 1:1-9 refers to Yahweh's benevolence and his command to remain loyal for Israel, whereas Judg 2:20-21 displays Yahweh's punitive word for Israel's disobedience in the process of settlement in the promised land. Joshua's success in conquest depended on his keeping the Torah. The same principle was valid in the time of Israel's settlement.

4.6.2 The Davidic Dynasty and the Northern Kingdom

Weinfeld stated that the promise of an everlasting dynasty to David was never entirely fulfilled because of the schism of the monarchy.⁶⁵

To nullify the previous oracle a prophecy was therefore added which again explained the inconsistent turn of events as a consequence of sin, in this instance the sins of Solomon (1 Kgs. 11:11-13).

Comments

The Davidic promise was, however, accompanied by Yahweh's intention to discipline David's descendants in case of disloyalty. According to 2 Sam 7:13b-16:

- b13. וכננתי את-כסא ממלכתו ער-עולם (benevolence)
 a14. אני אהיה-לו לאב והוא יהיה-לי לבן (b")
 αb. אשר בהעותו (cause: disloyalty)
 βb. והכחתי בשבט אנשים ובנגעי בני אדם (effect: punishment)
 15. וחסדי לא-יסור ממנו (b")
 כאשר הסרתי מעם שאול אשר הסרתי מלפניך
 16. ונאמן ביתך וממלכתך ער-עולם לפניך (result of b")
 כסאך יהיה נכון ער-עולם (r")

Yahweh's promise of an everlasting dynasty to David involves his discipline if David's offspring become disloyal (13bβ), while putting weight on his benevolence

⁶⁴ Judg 2:20-22:

20. ויחר-אף יהוה בישראל ואמר
 יען אשר עברו הגוי את-בריתי (cause)
 אשר צייתי את-אבותם
 ולא שמעו לקולי
 21. גם-אני לא אוסיק להודיש איש מקניהם מן-הגוים (effect)
 אשר-עזב יהושע וימת
 22. למען נסות במ את-ישראל השמרים הם את-דרך יהוה ללכת במ (purpose)
 כאשר שמרו אבותם אם-לא

Yahweh's withdrawal was intended to test Israel (v. 22).

⁶⁵ DDS, 23.

which would sustain the Davidic dynasty. According to v. 15, the Davidic dynasty will not be annihilated like that of Saul. Consequently, the Davidic dynasty will continue (v. 16). Therefore, the secession of the northern tribes from the Davidic dynasty was Yahweh's punishment for Solomon's breach of covenant (1 Ki 11:11-13).

This sort of punishment was one of the common punishments of suzerains for disloyal vassals in the ancient Near Eastern world; for example, Sargon and Sennacherib reduced the territory of rebel vassals and distributed it to other loyal vassals (see Part II 2.1.16). In most cases, when a vassal persistently rebelled, his dynasty was eventually annihilated (see below). That is to say the suzerain's benevolence was conditional: the vassal's kingship was approved on condition of loyalty.

However, unlike Saul's dynasty and other vassal dynasties in the ancient Near East, the Davidic dynasty would last forever, despite Yahweh's discipline for David's disloyal descendants because of Yahweh's promise of an everlasting dynasty (Part IV 2.1.1.5). Therefore, the Davidic dynasty was not annihilated even after Nebuchadnezzar's campaign (see Comments in 4.4 above). In the ancient Near Eastern context Yahweh's promise of an everlasting dynasty to David together with punitive measures when his descendants became disloyal is not unique. In Hittite history Hattusili III promised a lasting dynasty to one of his vassals; yet this promise would not spare his successors from punitive measures in case of disloyalty, but his dynasty would continue (see Part IV 2.2.1.5 fn. 28).

Therefore, Weinfeld's claim of the *dtr* re-construction of the second prophecy (1 Ki 11:11-13) to nullify the first prophecy is not necessary.

4.6.3 Approval of Kingship and Rejection

This concept is common in vassal-relationships from the second millennium onwards. As noticed elsewhere, a vassal-treaty had perpetual validity from the suzerain's point of view while from the vassal's point of view his kingship depended on his loyalty to his suzerain. Saul's election and his rejection (1 Sam 15:28) are to be seen in this light.

Since the dynasty of Jeroboam ended with death of his son, according to Weinfeld, *Dtr* added a second prophecy to nullify the first prophecy of establishing Jeroboam's dynasty forecasting the destruction of Jeroboam's house and Israel's exile.⁶⁶ However, the destruction of Jeroboam's house and Israel's exile were the consequences of Jeroboam's disloyalty, and the same sorts of curse commonly

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

occurred in the ancient Near Eastern world (Part II 2.1). As we have seen above, the suzerain's benevolence was conditional. This benevolence would be sustained, when vassals were loyal. When they were not, the suzerain's benevolence towards them would cease, and they would be punished. The destruction of Baasha's and Ahab's dynasties is to be understood in this light.

According to the dtr prophecy, claimed Weinfeld, the sons of Jeroboam would die a violent death and their corpses would be eaten by dogs (1 Ki 14:10-11). But this confirmed "the pre-deuteronomic mantic prophecy" about Jeroboam's son who died through illness (above). "To avoid the contradiction the Deuteronomist added" another prophecy (13).⁶⁷ Why should this be a dtr addition? The punitive prophecy for Jeroboam's house is given in the context of Jeroboam's inquiry about his son's recovery. The curse predicted for Jeroboam's house is general and exclusive (1 Ki 14:11): wild animals will eat "anyone of Jeroboam's house who dies (מתה) in the city, or in the field". Then, the prophecy of the death of Jeroboam's sick son (13) follows, but he will be buried. There is no reason to see "a deuteronomic harmony" in these two punitive prophecies.

Furthermore, kings in the northern kingdom who were usurpers, e.g., Baasha and Jehu, were used by Yahweh to punish preceding disloyal dynasties. In the ancient Near Eastern world-view this sort of divine intervention to punish disloyal vassals is considered as a curse. For example, in CH the god Enlil is invoked to incite a rebellion against the accursed king (Appendix II §13.nos.4, 30, by Enlil, Ištar). The same idea recurs in Assyrian history (see Part III 2.2 fn. 95).

Moreover, the approval of kingship and the annihilation of dynasty were essential components in the relationship between suzerains and vassals. There is no document handed down to us conveying this concept as a later exposition of scribes long after the events had happened. Therefore, Weinfeld's understanding of Yahweh's discipline of disloyal vassals as "the Deuteronomist's reconstruction of the second prophecies to nullify the first" cannot be accepted.

4.6.4 The Fall of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms

The Northern Kingdom was annihilated when Assyria annexed it, as she had done to disloyal vassals from Tiglath-pileser I down to Sennacherib (Part II 2.1.18).

As for the southern kingdom: the prediction of destruction was the result of the Davidic kings' breach of covenant (2 Ki 21:10-15; 22:16-17). But the Judean kingdom continued to exist. Weinfeld therefore considers that a second prophecy

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

was necessary "to qualify the threat of the divine punishment".⁶⁸ Woven into Huldah's words, it "declared that Josiah's pious submissiveness had led to the punishment being postponed until a later time (2 Kgs. 22:19-22)."⁶⁹ However, Weinfeld fails to see two aspects. First, in the history of the northern and southern kingdoms, the divine suzerain did not always discipline disloyal vassal kings immediately. At times, his discipline occurred immediately, e.g., David, and at other times it was postponed, as we have seen in Ahab's case. Second, this long-suffering of Yahweh relates to his benevolence, which should also lead disloyal vassals into penitence (see above I). These two aspects share common tradition in the vassal relationship in the ancient world, e.g., in Assyrian history. Therefore, Weinfeld's argument does not convince.

4.7 Deuteronomic Historico-Nationalistic Interest?

Elijah's prophecies about the anointing of Hazael over Aram and of Jehu over Israel (1 Ki 19:15-16) are, according to Weinfeld, pre-deuteronomic, fulfilled in 2 Ki 8:7-15; 9:1-13, respectively.⁷⁰ But since Dtr, stated Weinfeld, was "only concerned with the historico-national perspective of the prophecies, he took no interest in the prophecy regarding Hazael, king of Aram, and consequently left it untouched."⁷¹ Weinfeld continued that Dtr then added Jehu's task to destroy Ahab's house.⁷²

Comments

Weinfeld's view on the dtr historico-national interest is based on his idea of the distinction between the mantic (pre-deuteronomic/authentic) and dtr prophecies (see above). However, Weinfeld contradicts himself. The fulfilment of the prophecy regarding Hazael in 2 Ki 8:7-15, which Weinfeld thinks is the fulfilment of the pre-deuteronomic prophecy, comprises, in fact, the prophecy of Hazael's anointing and his task (1 Ki 19:15, 17). In 2 Ki 8:7-15 Elisha revealed to Hazael how he would devastate the northern kingdom (12), telling him of his rise to kingship (13). Does not this, Hazael's anointing over Aram, have a historical purpose? Is it not also contrary to his view on the pre-deuteronomic and deuteronomic concepts, since he says that the former treats only of the personal fate of the king and the latter of the nation-wide event?

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 20.

Moreover, the prophecy of the anointing of Hazael (1 Ki 19:15) cannot be detached from that of his task (17). Furthermore, the prophecies of the anointing Hazael and Jehu (1 Ki 19:15-16) are fulfilled in the same sequence (2 Ki 8:7-15, Hazael; 9-10:1-30, Jehu). As a matter of fact, the prophecy concerning Hazael reveals Yahweh's suzerainty over other nations. According to the covenant-curses, e.g., Dt 28:36-37, 49-50), Yahweh would employ other nations to discipline Israel if she persisted in rebellion against him.

Therefore, the distinction between the pre-deuteronomic and deuteronomic in Weinfeld's view is artificial. His claim about the Deuteronomist's historico-national interest is not valid.

4.8 Timeless Validity of the Punitive Deuteronomic Prophecies?

Weinfeld claimed:

that while the authentic prophecies treat primarily of matters personally affecting the king or the royal family, the deuteronomic prophecies treat of matters of historico-national significance. The admonitions and maledictions in the deuteronomic prophecies all bear a schematic stamp and generally have no reference to the circumstances of the time and place in which they are uttered. They are applicable to all the kings of Israel and could have been addressed to each and any one of them. The sin theme, for example, is identical in each one of these orations: the sin of Jeroboam I, i.e. his repudiation of Jerusalem's supremacy and his institution of the cult of the calves, as sin for which all the kings of Israel were held accountable. The punishment of this sin is also the same for almost all of the Israelite dynasties: the corpses of the royal house shall be consumed by dogs and the birds of heaven. The genuine prophecies, on the other hand, are integrally connected with the historical circumstances in which they are uttered and arose from the actual situation reflected by them.⁷³

Comments

Although some aspects of Weinfeld's observations in Joshua-Kings can be upheld, such as the identical sin themes, prophecies regarding kings' personal fates and the whole nation, etc., his view on these topics is not without alternative.

As argued above, Weinfeld's distinction between the authentic (mantic) and deuteronomic prophecies is unacceptable, since the fates of dynasty and people cannot be separated. Therefore, "the deuteronomic prophecies" may have arisen from actual, historical situations as much as "the authentic prophecies".

If so, is using the sin of Jeroboam as a paradigm for the sins of other kings unique? The Assyrian annals offer no example of a rebel vassal whose disloyalty is used as a paradigm for other disloyal vassals, because Assyrian kings were satisfied with vassals, as long as they fulfilled their obligations, especially, paying annual tribute. When they broke treaties, their acts were described by stereotyped concepts. For example, "breaking the oath of the gods" occurs from Tiglath-pileser

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 21.

down to Ashurbanipal.⁷⁴ Another concept, "to rebel and sin against the suzerain" also runs throughout Assyrian history. However, the paradigmatic use of the sin of the king occurs in historical omens. For example, Naram-Sin was seen as the cause of the downfall of Akkad through his violence against Ekur and Enlil.⁷⁵ From the Old Babylonian period onwards, he became a paradigm in omen texts.⁷⁶

Although the content of the concepts differs, the same principle is employed in the Bible, i.e., the sin of Jeroboam. Since he was the first king of the northern kingdom, the description of his disloyal behaviour became the paradigm for successive disloyal kings parallel to the Assyrian uses of stereotyped concepts for breaking a covenant/treaty.

The punishment of this sin - dogs and birds shall eat the corpses of the royal house - is, according to Weinfeld, identical for almost all the dynasties of the northern kingdom. As a matter of fact, this curse applies only to the annihilation of the dynasties related to Jeroboam, Baasha and Omri. Each of the first two dynasties is annihilated in the first generation (1 Ki 15:29; 16:11-12). As for the Omri dynasty, this curse was predicted in Ahab's reign. Yet thanks to his repentance, the curse was postponed and fulfilled in the third generation of Ahab (2 Ki 9:32-33, 36). Thereafter, the dynasty of Jehu lasted for four generations according to Yahweh's prophecy (2 Ki 10:30; 15:11-12), and the dynasty of Menahem for one generation (2 Ki 15:17-23). Other dynasties did not survive their founders. Furthermore, the Bible is silent about what happened to the corpses of royal families, apart from Ahab's. Even if we suppose that they were given to wild animals, that does not need be artificial, made up by Dtr(s), as Weinfeld assumed. It was common that when corpses were not buried, wild beasts would prey on them (Parts II 2.1.9; 3.1.10.2).

As noticed elsewhere, the manner of dynastic annihilation corresponds to that in the Assyrian annals: the destruction of a disloyal vassal's dynasty brought about by a usurper was perceived as divine punishment (Part III 2.2).

We conclude that Weinfeld's distinction between authentic prophecy and deuteronomic prophecy cannot be countered. The prophecies affecting the personal fate of the king and royal family and the historico-national dimension are one coin with two sides and, thus, inseparable. Therefore, Weinfeld's claim about the timeless validity of the dtr prophecies is artificial.

⁷⁴ This idea is expressed in Tigl.I's annals as "not being submissive to Aššur," Part III 1.10.2.

⁷⁵ Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*.

⁷⁶ Erle Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, 77, 81 tablet v. 47, 88.

4.9 The Covenant-Concept

As already noticed (Part IV 3), the evolved covenant-concept advocated by Wellhausen and his followers including McCarthy is not satisfactory (see Part I 2.2.2.2 (1)). Furthermore, Mendenhall's view (Part I 2.2.2.2 (1)) that the Davidic covenant replaced the Sinai covenant in the Southern kingdom can not be accepted: 1) the Davidic kings were also obliged to keep the covenant stipulations as were the people, as already seen. The performance of kingship was judged in the light of the covenant, which was established in Sinai and renewed in the Plains of Moab. Moreover, the Davidic covenant cannot be detached from the Sinai covenant, since the lasting dynastic promise is given on the basis of the existence of the kingdom in the Promised Land. The well-being and prosperity of the dynasty depended on Davidic kings' loyalty to Yahweh.

4.10 Synopsis

The dtr theory presented by Weinfeld is an attempt to harmonize the prophecies and their partial fulfilments in Joshua-Kings. His theory is artificial, since it treats Israel's history apart from its ancient context. As a matter of fact, the discrepancy between the original prophecies and their incomplete fulfilments can find solutions in the covenant concept which existed already long before Israel entered the Promised Land. Yahweh treated Israel as ancient Near Eastern suzerains treated their vassals.

PART VII

SYNTHESIS AND IMPLICATIONS

Difficulties in Old Testament studies have arisen because our culture and thoughts are different from those depicted in the Old Testament. The paradigm shift of thinking occurring in the 18th century has created a gulf between religion and history: history should not be coloured by religion. Old Testament studies have generally driven along this road ever since the paradigm shift. Consequently, theological elements in historical narratives are regarded as particular interpretations or later additions and eliminated from discussions of history. However, considering that the world-view of the Old Testament does not match the modern, it is vital to understand the compositions as wholes and put Biblical compositions, like any other ancient texts, in their ancient contexts - not the reverse!

1. Covenant-Curses

Scholars generally view the role of the Biblical covenant-curses as retrospective. That is, the covenant-curses were partly written after the two disasters of the Northern and Southern kingdoms to explain them; and accounts of Yahweh's punitive acts against Israel were written after these events (see below). However, the genre of curses and the kind of historiography presented in Joshua-Kings are not confined to Israel. To avoid misinterpreting the covenant-curses, we need to see them in the light of ancient Near Eastern curses. The location of Israel opened her to the cultural influence of the great civilizations present there long before she settled down. The retrospective view of the role of the covenant-curses is the opposite of the role of curses unanimously attested from the Sumerian period onwards in the ancient Near East. As we have seen, in ancient Near Eastern inscriptions, curses have an anticipatory, prohibitive-protective role. Curses are articulated to protect important objects against future violation. The same principle of curses is used to protect the relationship between suzerain and vassals. In addition to that the anticipatory, prohibitive-protective, punitive role of curses corresponds to the definition of curses, namely divine punishment for evil deeds, in ancient Near Eastern inscriptions. However, this schema was not rigid. The curse can be cancelled by a deity (see Part I 1). We found the same principle in the relationship between Assyrian kings and their vassals and between Yahweh and Israel his vassal, respectively. The Assyrian suzerain forgave his penitent rebel vassals, the divine suzerain repentant Israel. This analysis shows there is an alternative to scholarly attempts to view the covenant-curses retrospectively in the context of two of Israel's national disasters. As with the role of ancient Near Eastern curses, so we should understand the role of the Biblical covenant-curses as anticipatory, prohibitive-protective and punitive.

Since the discovery of VTE, scholars have asserted its influence on Dt 28. Following Frankena, Weinfeld proposed re-arranging the curses in Dt 28 to match the

order of VTE; or Steymans (Appendix V) made a wholesale comparison between two texts. Any similarity between them is regarded as the result of VTE's influence upon Dt 28. That is to say, Dt 28 used VTE as its *Vorlage* and translated directly from VTE (Weinfeld, Steymans) or interpreted VTE in some cases (Steymans). Although those scholars included Akkadian curses in their study, they failed to place Israel in a broader ancient context. The Promised Land already enjoyed multicultural influences long before it came in contact with Assyria, as we have seen. The cross-cultural context suggests any attempt to see the Biblical covenant-curses in relation to VTE alone will be unbalanced. In addition to that, Assyria also enjoyed multi-cultural influence, as noticed elsewhere. Thus, it is crucial to place both groups of texts in their broader context. Certainly, the sequences of curses and the contents of some curses are similar in the two texts. Neo-Assyrian treaty-curses display the traces of common traditions. Even motifs of many unique Neo-Assyrian curses are taken from the common culture and environment of the ancient Near East. This feature is not peculiar. Some West-Semitic curses and the majority of the Biblical covenant-curses share common traditions, while others derive from the environment and culture, and some are unique.

According to our comparison between KuMna, VTE and Dt 28 (Part V 1), the three lists of curses have a common structure. Within the common structure, there are variations in terms of sequence and contents (Part V 2). The order of some curses is common between MnKna and VTE, or between MnKna and Dt 28, or between VTE and Dt 28. All three texts also have curses which do not occur in other texts, respectively; yet the contents of these curses are attested elsewhere in Akkadian curses or are drawn from common environment, apart from three unique curses in VTE (Part II 3.6). There are two striking similarities between Dt 28 and VTE. The one expresses the curse of drought. The other is a lengthy summary of curses which appears in both texts. However, it is impossible to determine whether one influenced the other. In the former case, the curse in both texts shares a common literary tradition found in the second millennium B.C. In the latter, the summary of curses is not confined to VTE and Dt 28, but it is attested in inscriptions from the second and first millennia B.C., although there is a difference in length between Dt 28 & VTE and those inscriptions. The fact that these two texts have the lengthy summary does not necessarily indicate that VTE must have influenced Dt 28, or vice versa. Rather both texts may share a common model.

In view of these analyses, any attempt to make Dt 28 dependent on VTE in both contents and sequences loses weight. The covenant-curses in Dt 28 could have originated between the 15th and the 7th centuries B.C.

Lev 26 & Dt 28 are commonly assigned to different traditions or settings (see Part I 2.1.3). Now according to our comparison these two sets of covenant-curses have a common structure with variations within it, as is the case with other lists of ancient Near Eastern curses (see above). The curses occurring only in Lev 26, or Dt 28, are also attested in ancient Near Eastern curses. The structural difference of Dt 28, marked by a repetition, results from the emphasis on the serious consequences of breaking the covenant. Therefore, Lev 26 and Dt 28 can be seen to belong to a common tradition, not different ones.

Turning to the structure of Dt 28, scholars understood Dt 28 to end in v. 45-46 (Steuernagel), or v. 45 (Plöger), whereas Seitz saw three divisions (15-46; 47-57; 58-68), as noticed (Part I 2). However, the comparison between Dt 28:15-68 and Akkadian curses has given us a clue for understanding the structure of Dt 28. KuMna and VTE make the summary of curses: in the former by calling upon all the gods mentioned in the kudurru and in the latter by ruling. In Dt 28 the summary is introduced by a conditional phrase (v. 58). The conceptual comparison of the principal curses in three groups of texts uncovered a unique structural element in Dt 28:38-57 (Part V 1.7.2). In addition, the sequence of the covenant-curses in Lev 26:14-39 and Dt 28:15-68 is identical according to the concepts of curses. The difference is that the latter expands the conceptually identical curses of the former. This feature is not unique. The same feature appears in kudurrus, as noticed (Part VI 1.2.1). In other words, the different length of curses need not indicate different traditions (*contra* Noth and his followers, Weinfeld, Parts I 2.1.3; VI 1.2). A lengthy set of curses can be an expansion of a short set of curses from the same period and follow a common model. Moreover, the idea of a gradual expansion of Dt 28:15-68 is not persuasive at all (*contra* Steuernagel, Plöger, Seitz, Part I 2.1.1), the comparison of Dt 28 with East- and West-Semitic curses has revealed that view is erroneous (see Part I 2.1.4). Contextual study in the light of ancient curses provides us with a better understanding of Biblical covenant-curses in terms of structure and contents.

2. The Covenant-Concept in the Hebrew Books

The diversities of themes in Joshua-Kings have led scholars to diverse theories about Israel's history in Joshua-2 Kings. Scholars have attempted to harmonize the diverse themes and discrepancies and to understand the correlation between the events and their interpretation.

2.1 Stylistic Elements

The consensus among scholars about Joshua-Kings is that Dtr added the theological interpretation into pre-existing texts, although the dating and the number

of dtr redactions in Joshua-1 Samuel 7 vary among scholars (Part I 2.2). Noth's criteria for the dtr literary style (see Part I 2.2.1.1) are widely accepted, distinguishing between events and interpretations. Chapters in Judges relating structural patterns characterize the dtr redaction, while those lacking them are said to be later (Part IV 1.0). A similar method is applied in 1 Sam 8-2 Kings. Scholars have also attempted to determine the chronology of redaction in Kings by employing theological concepts (Part I 2.2.1), phraseology (Part I 2.2.1.3 (2) and 2.2.1.4) and schema (Part I 2.2.1.1 (2) and 2.2.1.2 (1)). All these attempts were made on an internal basis and disregarded the ancient context of Joshua-Kings.

According to our studies, the frequent repetition of phrases and vocabularies is not peculiar to the Hebrew books. These elements are characteristics of ancient Near Eastern literature, as in the case of the Assyrian annals (Part III 1.10). Therefore, these characteristics cannot be used to determine dtr style (*contra*, Noth, Part I 2.2.1.1 (1)). Furthermore, the different style in the evaluation formulae of kings need not indicate different redactors (*contra* Nelson) or redactional layers (*contra* Weippert) in the light of Assyrian historiography, where longer and shorter phrases and different styles occur contemporaneously (Part III 1.10).

As we have seen (Part VI 4.3), the structural patterns in Judges and Kings follow a common literary method, employed in historiography from the end of the second millennium B.C. onwards. As noticed already (Part III), Assyrian scribes compiled the annals from records of military expeditions made en route. In the process of compilation, they sometimes commented on the cause and the success of campaigns. Therefore, the descriptions of events and their comments are contemporary and interwoven in Assyrian historiography. In the light of this, the so-called dtr theological interpretation or theological summaries need not be separated from the historical events chronologically in Joshua-Kings, since they are one coin with two sides (Part VI 4.3, 6; *contra* Noth and his followers, Westermann).

The structural schema in Judges-2 Kings is not specifically dtr. As we have seen (Part VI 4.3 and fn. 17), the Assyrian annals present a similar schema from the 12th century B.C. onwards. Scholars have regarded Judges 17-21 which lack the schema as an appendix and later than other dtr chapters (Part IV 1.0). However, these chapters are not necessarily later. In the Assyrian annals, we find the record of military accounts written with and without a structural pattern (Part VI 4.3). In view of this, chapters without and with the structural schema in Judges-Kings need not be attributed to different times. They may have been compiled contemporaneously.

Furthermore, the theological schema "prophecy-fulfilment" need not be a dtr concept (*contra* von Rad, Weinfeld, Dietrich, Weippert). This idea has, in fact, a long tradition in the ancient Near Eastern concept of vassalship (Part VI 4.1).

Other widely accepted features of dtr style are anticipatory and retrospective summaries of events and eras (Part I 2.2.1.1; Part VI 4.3). These sorts of summaries also occur in the Assyrian annals, so they are not peculiar to the Hebrew books. Therefore, the so-called theological interpretation need not be separated from the event (*contra*, e.g., Westermann).

2.2 The Diversity of Themes in Joshua-Kings

As is well known, the diverse themes in Joshua-Kings contradict one another. Some scholars took Yahweh's adverse judgement and Israel's apostasy as the criteria for understanding Israel's history (Noth and his followers). Others regarded one aspect of vassal kings' obligations to Yahweh as the pivot in understanding Israel's history, namely reforms (Cross and his followers) - including negative reform (apostasy), which was prohibited (Hoffmann). In both cases, Yahweh's adverse judgement is attributed to the exilic redactor. In the view of Cross and his followers, Israel's obligations and the consequences of her failure in fulfilling them are juxtaposed. Certainly, these two themes are not synonymous. Nevertheless, they form a unity without a chronological distance. On the whole, the positive passages, such as the success of conquest, the positive portrait of David, reforms, etc., are attributed to the pre-exilic (Noth and his followers and Cross and his followers) or the main dtr redaction (Smend and his followers), the themes about conditions and failure in keeping them (sins), Yahweh's judgement, Yahweh's intervention etc., to the exilic redactors. However, to emphasize one theme over other correlated themes or the separation of various themes in terms of chronology may distort the understanding of Israel's history. As a matter of fact, attempts to interpret Israel's history on an internal basis are one-sided. However significant those themes are, scholars all failed to see them in their coherent context. The main dilemma in these attempts is the removal of the accounts of the events in Joshua-Kings from their original contexts and interpretation of them according to a modern world-view.

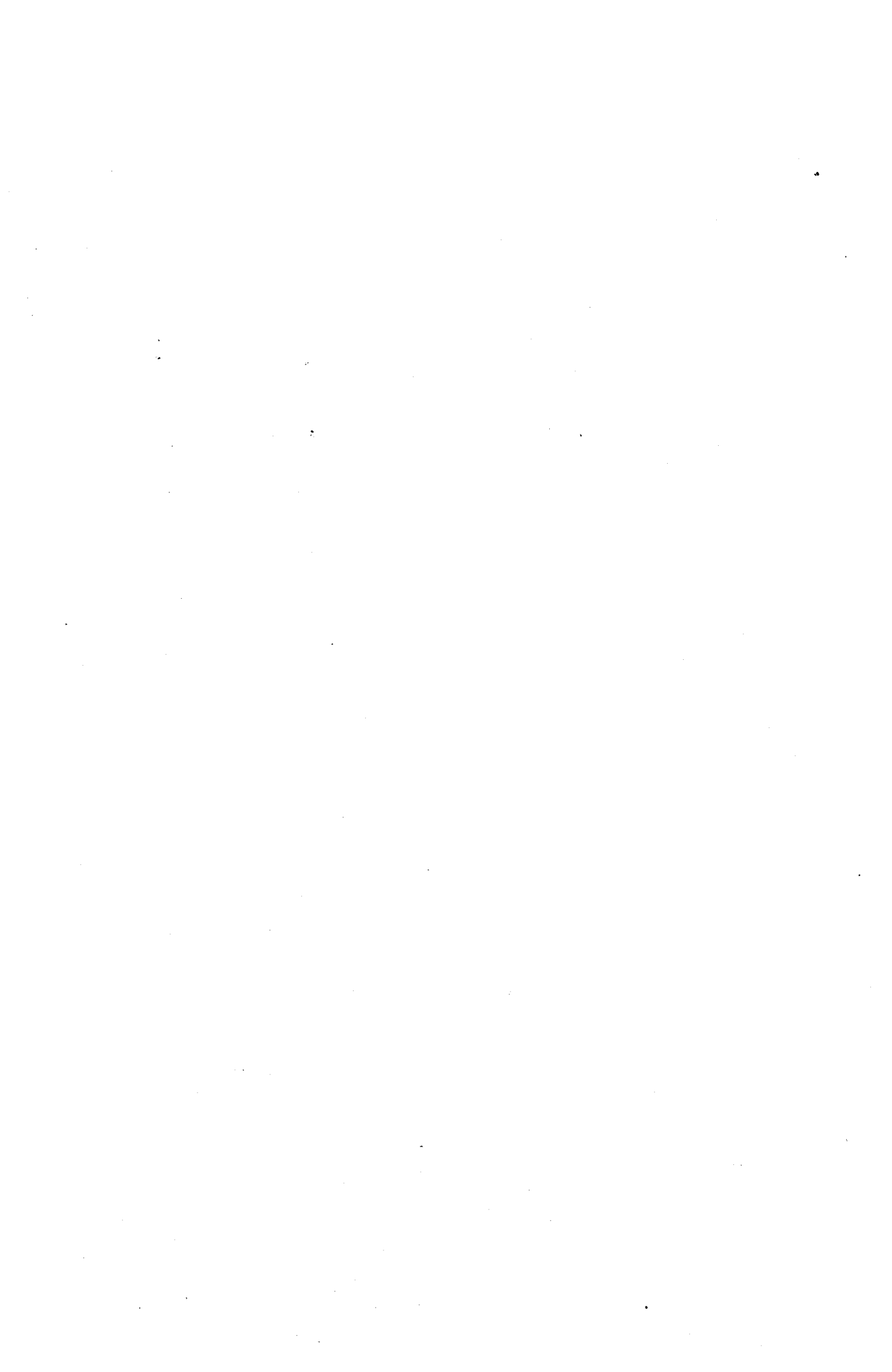
To avoid interpreting Israel's history apart from its ancient context, we have compared Joshua-2 Kings with Assyrian annals which were written using the concept of vassalship attested earlier in Hittite vassal treaties. In the annals the Assyrian kings and their vassals were mutually obliged to support each other; the former did not mount military expeditions against the latter nor were the latter free to undo the vassal relationship. Assyrian vassals also had obligations towards each other, no invasion of the co-vassals' territory, no alliance with rebel vassals, etc. In cases of disloyalty, the Assyrians disciplined vassals. Yet the Assyrians were lenient towards penitent rebel vassals. The suzerain's benevolence regarding the succession depended on the loyalty

of vassals; it was conditional. Moreover, other displays of the suzerain's benevolence should encourage vassals to remain loyal. Yahweh's judgement or Israel's obligations should be seen in their contexts in the light of the vassalship/covenant concept. Israel had obligations towards her divine suzerain and also towards her co-vassals, members of the covenant community. These elements are the same principles which were valid for Assyrian vassals. Like the various themes, such as, the suzerain's benevolence, or his punishment for disloyal vassals, which coexist in the Assyrian annals, individual themes should neither be separated, nor should they be detached chronologically by attributing them to different redactors. In the covenant-context the various themes form a unity, namely: Yahweh's benevolence, Israel's obligations in keeping the Torah and Yahweh's adverse judgement following Israel's breach of covenant. Therefore, to take one theme as a core to shed light on Israel's history, or to explain the growth of her historiography - e.g., Josiah's reform (Cross and his followers), cultic reform (Hoffmann), Jehu's revolt (Campbell) - is not justifiable.

2.3 Israel's Covenant Relationship with Yahweh

Scholars following Wellhausen's view detached the covenant concept from its historical context and regarded it merely as a theological concept developed fully in the Exile. According to Wellhausen's theory, the covenant concept originated in political crises and evolved, gradually providing further ground for a growth of Israel's historiography. In this Wellhausenian soil, as a matter of fact, the dtr theories have flourished. That is, the diverse elements of the covenant-concept gradually came together (see Part I 2.2.2). The extreme view is that Israel's history is a series of reforms, which is purely a projection of an exilic, dtr author (Hoffmann). However, the dtr theories stand or fall with the understanding of the Wellhausenian covenant concept. This concept can only be maintained if the geographical and cultural context of Israel is disregarded. Placing Israel's history in Joshua-Kings in its original context shows how Israel's relationship to her divine suzerain shares common traditions of vassal treaties. As we have seen (Part IV), in the light of the covenant-concept, the diversities of themes co-exist without any chronological difference. Furthermore, the covenant-concept is consistent throughout the pre- and monarchy periods (Part VI 4.9). Therefore, the theory of the gradual development of the covenant-concept cannot be accepted (*contra*, Wellhausen and his followers, including McCarthy). Moreover, the Davidic covenant was inseparable from the Sinai covenant. In other words, the former did not replace the latter, since the Davidic kings were obliged to keep the Torah; thus, the stipulations of the Sinai covenant were relevant for the well-being of the kingdom (*contra* Mendenhall, Part I 2.2.2.2

(1)). Furthermore, the anticipatory, prohibitive-protective and punitive roles of the covenant-curses in the light of ancient Near Eastern curses also fit into the covenant concept, namely, Yahweh's adverse judgement would follow Israel's breach of covenant. Moreover, the various elements of the covenant-concept should not be dismissed as merely theological concepts. In the light of the diverse elements of vassal treaties reflected in the Assyrian annals, there is no reason to deny the diversities of themes in Israel's covenant with Yahweh could belong to a single historical moment. Since they describe Israel's relationship to her divine suzerain, they are inevitably theological concepts. In other words, we should not separate the theological concepts and historical setting of the covenant-concept from one another.



APPENDIX I

THE ROLE OF CURSES IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN LITERATURE

SUMERIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§1. Kitchen, Treaty, Law & Covenant

no.1. Eannatum of Lagash & Ruler of Umma xxiii i 24:

u₄-da mu-bal-e

If I do transgress,

no.2. *ibid.*, xxiii ii 1-9:

[^dutu] l[ugal]-m[u-ra] a-ba du₁₁-ga-na a-ba šár-ra-na lú um[ma^{ki}-a] inim-da gur-ra-da-am₆ u₄-a-dù
inim an-gál u₄-da inim-bašu i-bal-e

(If) for any reason, for any cause, a leader in Umma goes back on this agreement [against utu], m[y
ki]ng; if he opposes (or) contests the agreement; if he sets aside this agreement,

§2. NBW I

no.1. Gudea Statue B 172-77 7 60-8 43

alan-gu₃-de₂-a-ensi₂-lagaš^{ki}-ka lu₂ e₂-ninnu-^dnin-gir₂-su-ka in-du₃-a lu₂ e₂-ninnu-ta im-ta-ab-e₃-e₃-
a mu-sar-ra-be₂ šu ib²-ta-ab-uru₁₂-a za₃-mu-du₁₀-ka lu₂ dingir-mu-gim dingir-ra-ni ^dnin-gir₂-su
lugal-mu un-ga₂ gu₃ u₃-na-de₂-a di-ku₅-a-ga₂ šu i₃-ib₂-bal-e-a nig₂-ba-ga₂ ba-a-gi₄-gi₄-da en₃-du-
KA-keš₂-DU-mu mu-mu u₃-ta-gar mu-ni ba-ga₂-ga₂ kisal-^dnin-gir₂-su-lugal-ga₂-ka eš₃-gar-ra-bi
bi₂-ib₂-TAG₄.TAG₄-a . . . gu₃-de₂-a ensi₂-lagaš^{ki}-ka lu₂ inim-ni ib₂-kuru₂(=KUR₂)-a di-ku₅-a-na
šu i₃-ib₂-bal-e-a

Whoever removes the statue of Gudea from the Eninnu, the ruler of Lagaš, the man who has built the
Eninnu of Ningirsu, and defaces the inscription on it, the man who tears (the statue) out, the man,
who, (if) at a good new year festival as my god (me) his god Ningirsu, my lord, called him out
among the people, ignores the claim which was set by me, who may dispute my distribution, who
removes my name from my collected songs and inserts his name, who destroys the ... in the courtyard
of Ningirsu, my lord, . . . the man, who alters the arrangement of Gudea, the ruler of Lagaš,

no.2. Gudea Statue B 158 1 13-16:

ensi₂-inim bi₂-ib₂-gi₄-gi₄-a me-^dnin-gir₂-su-ka ba-ni-ib₂-la₂-a

A ruler of the city who withdraws it (the regular offering) and diminishes the divine power of
Ninirsu,

no.3. Gudea Statue K 222 3 9-10:

sa₂-du₁₁-bi ba-ni-ib₂-la₂-a

(Whoever) diminishes its (=the statue) regular offering,

§3. NBW, II

no.1. Urnammau 28 131 2 1-5:

lu₂ ^dnanna-[a] in-da₅-kuru₂-[a] lugal he₂-[a] ensi₂ he₂-[a]

The man, whether he is a king or a ruler who opposes Nanna,

no.2. Ibbisuen A 288 9-10 65-70:

lu₂ a₂-nig-hul-dim₂-ma ib₂-ši-ag₂-e-a du₈-mah unu₂-gal u₃ ki-ezem-ma-^dnanna-ke₄ bi₂-ib₂-
TAG₄.TAG₄-a

The man who commands a misdeed against it (the golden vessel) and removes it from the exalted cultic pedestal and the place of festivals of Nanna,

OLD AKKADIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§4. RIME II

no.1. Maništūsu E2.1.3.1 76 53-55:

ša ṭuppam šú₄-a u-ša-sà-ku-ni

As for the one who removes this inscription,

no.2. Sargon E2.1.1.2 15 120-23

ma-ma-na ṣalmam šú₄-a u-a-ha-ru

As for anyone who sets aside this statue,

no.3. Narām-Sîn E2.1.4.5 101-02 ii 1-23:

ma-na-ma šu-mi na-ra-am^dsu'en da-nim^l šarru ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im u-ša-sà-ku-ma al ṣalmim na-ra-am^dsu'en da-nim šu-šu i-ša-kà-nu-ma ṣalmi-mi-me i-qá-bi-ù ù awēlam^{lam} na-kà-ra-am u-kál-la-mu-ma šum-šu-me pi₅-ši_x(SU₄)-ma šu-mi šu-kug-un i-qá-bi-ù

As for the one who removes the name of Narām-Sîn, the mighty king of the four quarters, puts his (own) name on the statue of Narām-Sîn, the mighty. and says, 'It is my statue,' or shows (it) to a foreigner and says: 'Erase his name and put my name (on it),

OLD BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§5. RIME IV

no.1. Anubanini E4.19.1.1 705 i 9-12:

ša ṣalmīn annīn u ṭuppam ušasakū

He who removes these two images and inscription,

no.2. Būr-Sîn E4.1.7.3 71 12-17:

lú a-gú-bi su^dna-na-a-ta íb-ta-ab-zi-zi-a šà-ge-kára-šè ù in-gá-gá-a ù íb-zi-re-a

(As for) the man who takes away this *agu* (plate) from the body of the goddess Nanāia and either uses it for offerings or destroys it,

no.3. Warad-Sîn E4.2.13.13 222 105-114:

á-ni-hul-da-ni-ta íb-ta-kúr-ru-a dingir-kúr-ru-a ù lugal-e gaba-ri-ni-ta ni-ba ba-ab-sum-mu-a mu-sar-ra-a-ba šu bí-íb-<ùr>-ra-ge mu-ni íb-sar-re-dè 𐎠𐎢𐎵 -bal-lá-ba-ke₄-<eš> [l]ú-kúr šu ba-an-zi-zi

He removes it (throne) on account of his malevolence, (and) gives it as a gift to another deity or a king who is his peer, (or) [er]ases its inscription, (or) <because> of this curse incites [an]other to write his inscription on it,

no.4. Warad-Sîn E4.2.13.14 223-24 1-11:

[l]ú á-ni-hul-dím-ma] [í-b-ši-ág-ge₂₆-a] n[í-dím-ma-mu] [í-b-zi-re-a] [é-ni-GA-ra] i-ni-í[b-ku₄-ku₄-a] áš-bal-a-ba-ke₄-eš lú-kúr šu ba-an-zi-zi-a u₄-ezen-siskur-ra-ka URUDU.ni-dúr-bùr-bi è-dè íb-TAG₄.TAG₄-a

(As for) the on[e] who g[ives orders to do evil against it, has my] ha[ndiwork destroyed, brings it into a storehouse] (or) because of this curse incites another to do so, neglects to bring out the copper vats on the day of the offering festival,

no.5. Kudur-mabuk E4.2.13a.2 268 24-42:

ana mātima ana warkīt ūmi ša bīt agurrim šuāti inuma iltabirū la udannanūšu asurrašu la ikaššarū dalassu inasahū sippišu inasū pisannašu ina maqātim ana ašrišu la uterrū ina idat lemūtīm inaqqarūma uššišu šamšam ukallamū ana nipi eršetim utarrūšu

(As for) the one who in future, until distant days, when this baked brick house has become old, does not strengthen it or repair its foundation, who rips out its door leaves and tears out its door jambs, who does not put back its fallen-down *drain-pipe*, who with evil intent destroys (it) and exposes its foundation to the sun, who turns it into a field of wild growth,

no.6. Iahdun-Līm E4.6.8.2 607 118-136:

ša bītam šatū ušalpatū ana lemūtīm u la damiqtim ikupūšum asurašu la udananū maqtusu la ušzazū u nindabam iparasūšum šumi šaṣram ipašitū šumšu la šaṣram išaṣarū u ušaštarū u ašum errētīm šanīm ušahazū awīlum šū lu šarrum lu šakanakum lu rabīnum lu awilūtum šumša awīlam šatū

(As for) the one who destroys that temple, who ... it to evil and no good, who does not strengthen its foundation, does not set up what has fallen down, and cuts its regular offerings off from it, who effaces my name or has it effaced and writes his own name previously not there, or has it written there, or because of (these) curses incites another to do so, that man, whether he be king, viceroy, mayor, or common man,

no.7. Takil-ilissu E4.11.2.2 674 58-61:

ša temmeni ukkašū šumi šaṣram udapparūma šumšu išaṣtarū

(As for) the one who takes away my foundation inscription, and removes my inscribed name and writes his own name,

§6. CH xxvi 18-44:

šumma awīlum šū awātiya ša ina nariya ašuru la iqūlma errētiya imēšma erret ilī la idurma dīn adīnu uptassis awātiya uštepil ušurātiya uttakkir šumi šaṣram ipšitma šumšu išaṣtar aššum errētīm šināti šaniamma uštāhiz awīlum šū lu šarrum lu bēlum lu iššakkum ulu awilūtum ša šumam nabiat

If that man do not keep my words which I wrote in my inscription, and forget my curses, not fear the curses of the gods, and erase the law which I regulated, change my words, alter my engraved image, remove my inscribed name and inscribe his own name, charge another man because of the curses, whether a king, or a lord, or governor, or any person at all,

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KASSITE AND POST-KASSITE PERIODS

§7. BBSt 6 35 ii 26-36:

matima ana arkat ūmē lū ina mārē ^mhab-ban lū mamma šanumma ša ana šakinūti ša mātⁿnamar išakkinū lū kīpūt mātⁿnamar ištu šihir rabi mala bašū alāni ša bīt-karziabku ša šarru ina ilik mātⁿnamar uzakkū šarra u ilānišu lā iptalhūma utterūma ilka iltaknū u šum ili u šarri ša šaṣru uptašitūma šanam iltatru lū sakla lū sakka lū sama lū limnu amēlu ama'aruma ^{abn}narā annā ina abni inaqqarū išāti ušaqlū ana nāri inasukū ina eqli lā amari itamirū

Whenever in the future one of the sons of Khabban, or any other man, who may be appointed as governor of Namar, or as prefect of Namar, be he small or great, whoever he may be, with regard to the cities of Bīt-Karziabku, which the king has freed from the jurisdiction of Namar, does not fear the king or his gods, and again places them under (its) jurisdiction, or obliterates the name of a god or of the king, which is inscribed (hereon), and writes another (in the place thereof), or employs a fool, or a deaf man, or a blind man, or a knave, and smashes this memorial with a stone, or burns it, or throws it into the river, or hides it in a field where it cannot be seen,

§8. BBSt 11 78 ii 1-22:

matima ina labar ūmē lū šakin tēmu lū guzannu lū bēl pahāti lū zazakku lū qīpūt māt tām̄ti mala bašū lū mamma bēlē itī ša da-³-ta qišāti u šulmana ina šumu mātāti šināti u pakiran eqli imakharuma idib-bubu ušadbabu kišata niširta išakkanu mišra kudurra usahu eqlu ul nadinma ul mašihmi iqabbū abanⁿnarā annā ša ^mgu-la-eres^{es} ibnima ina pānišu ilāni rabūti ukinū aššū arāti limnēti ša ina libbi

šaṭru ipalahūma sakla sama gišhaba lā muda ušiššūma ultum ašrišu unakarū ana nāri inassūma ina eršiti itamirū ašar lā [a]māri išakanū

Whensoever in times to come an administrator, or a governor, or the governor of a province, or a-official, or any officials of the Sea-Land that there may be, or any owners of adjacent estates, who accepts bribes, gifts or presents in respect of these lands, or of any claimant to the estate, and makes a claim, causes curtailment or diminution (therein), or destroys land-mark or boundary-stone, or says 'The field was not presented,' or 'It was not measured,' or, with regard to this memorial, which Gula-eresh has made and on whose face he has set the great gods, because of the evil curses which are inscribed thereon a man has fear and therefore causes a fool or a blind man, or a rogue, or one who does not understand, to take (this stone) up, and he changes it from its place, or casts it into the river, or hides it in the earth, or sets it in a place where no man can see it,

§9. BBS 5 28-29 iii 20-25:

ina eršiti iqibbirū ina qāt ^mmarduk-zakir-šumi u zēršu ūtušū lū ana ili [lū] ana pihāti ušašrakū
(Who) bury it in the earth, or remove from the hand of Marduk-zakir-shumi or his descendants it, or have it presented to a god or to the province,

§10. Reschid and Wilcke, "Marduk-šāpik-zēri," ZA 65 (1976), 56 i 41b-43c:

u narā annā ina mahar ^dšamaš u ^dsin ilāni rabūti itabat itaqar ihtēpi uptarrir
(whoever) annihilates, destroys, smashes, (and) breaks to pieces this stela before Šamaš or Sin, the great gods,

§11. BBS 7 40-41 i 31-ii 12:

matima ina arkat ūmi lu aklu lu luputtū lu hazannu lu mušerišu lu gugallu lu a-a-um-ma kipu ša illamma ina eli bit-ha-an-bi išakkanūma ana tabal eqlē annāti uzunšu išakkanū ipakkirū ušapqarū itabbalū ušatbalū ana idi limutti izzazzūma eqlē šināti ana pihātišina ūtarrū lu ana ili lu ana šarri lu ana išakki šarri lu ana išakk ^{amel}šakin lu ana išakki bīt ṭemišu lu ana mamma šanamma išarrakū kiššata niširta išakkanū eqlē ul niditti šarrima iqabbū u aššu arrāti šanamma ušahhazūma sakla sakka nu³-a gišhabba lā šemā uma'arūma ^{aban}narā annā ušaššūma ana nāri inamdū ana būri inassukū ina abni ubbatū ina išāti iqallū ina eršiti itammirū u ašar la amari itammirū

Whensoever in the future an agent, or a governor, or a prefect, or a superintendent, or an inspector, or any official whatsoever, who will rise up and be set over Bīt-Khanbi, directs his mind to take away these lands, or lays claim to them, or causes a claim to be made, or takes them away or causes them to be taken away, or sides with evil and returns those lands to their province, or presents them to a god, or to the king, or to the representative of the king, or to the representative of the governor, or to the representative of his council, or to any other man, or causes curtailment or diminution, or says, 'The lands were not the gift of the king,' or because of the curse causes another to take them, or sends a fool, or a man who is deaf, or one who is feeble-minded, or a vagabond, or one who is without intelligence, and he causes him to remove this memorial-stone, or casts it into a river, or puts it in a well, or destroys it with a stone, or burns it,

§12. Livingstone, "Marduk-nāddin-ahhē," ii 23-iii 1-31:

manama arkū lū aklu lū luttu lū mairru sa pihāti lū ina ahhē mārē kimte nisūti u salati ša bīt milikku aiumma ša ellamma ina muhhi eqlē šuātu idabbubū ušadbabu ibaqqiru itabbalu ina eqlē šuātu kisāta miširta išakkanū 1 ikū mišra u kudurra usahhu ana ilī išarrakū ana pihat šarre ina annū lū ana ramanšuma išakkanū u lū narū šāšu šitir šumi ipāšitū lū ina abnē ubbatū lū ina šipir nikilti uhallaqū lū ina išāti išarripū lū ina epi itammirū lū ana mē inamdū u aššu arrāati ipallahūma sakla sakkanū³-a ahā u lamutā um'arūma narū šuātu ultu ašar šaknu unakkarūma ašar šanamma išakkanū ana puzri ana bīt ekleti ašarrēbu u eqlu šuātu ul niditi šarre

Whoever in the future, whether he is chief or a ruler or an officer of the province or (anyone) of his brothers, sons kin of the family, clan, or relatives of the district of Milikku; whoever raises up or causes (anyone) to raise up or bring (a claim), or claim that field, (or) cause curtailment (or) diminution from that field (or) assign one ikū (from) the boundary or boundary stone to present (it) to the

god (or) to offer to an official of the king, or to settle (it) on himself, and if (anyone) obliterates the inscribed name of this stela, or erases with stones, or smashes (it) during craft work or burns (the kudurru) with fire, or buries (it) in sand, or casts (it) into the water, or because he fears curses, he sends a fool, a deafman, an enemy or an evil man to change this stela from (its) erected place and puts (it in) another place (or) causes (it) to enter into a secret or a dark place, where it can not be seen, or he says that field is not the king's gift,

§13. Weidner, "Keilschrifttexte," *AfO* 16 (1952-53), 37 19:

ša dababa annâ innû

Who bends this legal arrangement,

§14. *BBS*t 9 69 v 1-5:

ša abanⁿarâ annâ lu ana nâri inamdû lu ana bûri inassukû lu ina abni ubba[tû] lu ina išâti iqallû lu aššu arr[âti] ipallahûma sakla la šemâ [.....] ušaššûma ašar la amari ita[mmirû]

Whosoever casts this stone record inot a river, or puts it in a wall, or destroys it with a stone, or burns it with fire, or because of the curses fears and causes a fool, or man without intelligence, [or a], to take it up and hide it in a place where it cannot be seen,

§15. Page, "Merodach-baladan I," *Sumer* 23 (1967), 53 ii 1-24:

matima ana ahrat nišî ana labar ûmi lû šakkanakku ša[kin] âlbu-ti lû hazan pihâti lû gugallum lû šâkin tēmi lû nagîru lû laputtû lû šabē ekalli lû amēl^lšaqu šarri lû ina amēl^lrabûti šut ekalli ša illamma ina muhhi eqli šuâtum idabbubû ušadbabû itabbalû ušatbalûm ana pihâti išarrakû ana mamma ušaddanû ana tēmišu ukannû

Whoever in future generations in days to come, a governor appointed to the town of Buti, or a prefect of the province, or a canal inspector or an administrator or a herald or a foreman or any palace workmen or a chief minister of the king, or any of the important officials of the palace, who may arise, and concerning that estate testifies or causes (someone else) to testify (and thus) takes away or causes (someone else) to take away (estate) or gives it to the province or causes it to be given to anyone else or disposes of it at his own discretion,

§16. Rykle Borger, "Merodachbaladans I," *AfO* 23 (1970) 2-3 ii 18-19:

ina ûmi ešēdi šeam ušat(?)ba(?)kû(? lu ??)

(Whoever) let grain shed at the harvest,

§17. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone*, 148 iii 17-26:

matima ana ûmē darûti ana ahrat nišē apâti lû rê'û lû šakkanakku lu aklu lu šapîru lu ridû lu hazannu šarqi eqlu šuātu inamdûma ana ikili ir'âti uma'âru šamma ina limnîti ušahazû ubânišu ana limutti itarrašû ina ilki dikûti šabat amēlu hirî nâra baqan šamma kallî nâri u tabali

Whenever one (who dwells) in human habitations, be it a ruler or a potentate, a governor or a regent, a levymaster or a magistrate, overthrows the grant of this field and in order to secure the use of the pasture land sends some one and with evil intent causes (its) seizure, stretches out his finger to do evil, under the obligation of a levy permits a canal or land-officer to seize a canal digger or to cut down plants,

§18. *BBS*t 9 v 1-5:

ša abanⁿarâ annâ lû ana nâri inamdû lû ana bûri inassukû lu ina abni ubba[tû] lû ina išâti iqallû lû aššu arr[âti] ipallahûma sakla la šema [.....] ušaššûma ašar la amari ita[mmirû]

Whosoever casts this stone record into a river, or puts it in a wall, or destroys it with a stone, or burns it with fire, or because of the curses fears and causes a fool, or man without intelligence, [or a], to take it up and hide it in a place where it cannot be seen,

§19. *BBS*t 36 126 vi 32-44:

mannu arku ša ina ekalli šaltiš izzazzūma nidinti šarri ^mnabû-aplu-iddina upaqqarūma ana šanimma išarrakū ina libbi akāli nušurra išakannūma ana pihāti imannū lū ana ramnišu utarrū u ina mimma šipir limuttim ^{aban}narū šuātu uhallaqū

Whosoever in the future enters into the palace as ruler, and annul the gift of king Nabû-aplu-iddina, or presents it to another, or makes deductions from the allowances, or reckons it as the property of the governor, or takes it for himself, destroys the tablest by any evil act,

ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§20. RIMA I

no.1. Erišum I A.0.33.1 21 39:

qabi watartim ina mušl[āl]e

The one who lies (lit. 'talks too much') in the Step Gate,

no.2. Erišum I A.0.33.1 20 lines 23b-24a:

ša ina bēti tūmē šikram imasū

Whoever mashes beer in the house of the twin (beer vats),

no.3. Šamši-Adad I A.0.39.1 50 99-113:

ša temmenīya u narēya šamni la ipaššašū niqām la inaqqūma ana ašrišunu la utarrūšunūti ūluma narēya ūnakkarūma šumī ūšasakūma šumšu išaṭṭarū ina epērim iqebirū ana mē inaddū

Whoever does not anoint my clay inscriptions and my monumental inscriptions with oil, does not make a sacrifice, does not return them to their places, (but) instead alters my monumental inscriptions, removes my name and writes his name (or) buries (the monumental inscriptions) in the earth (or) throws (them) into the water

no.4. Adad-nārāri I A.0.76.11 145 28-29:

ša šumī ^maššur-ubal-liṭ abīya u šumī šaṭra ušamsakū

(As for) the one who discards the name of Aššur-uballiṭ (I), my forefather, and my inscribed name,

no.5. Shalmaneser I A.0.77.1 186 163b-64a:

ša narīya unakkarū šumī šaṭra ušamsakū

He who removes my monumental inscriptions (and) discards my inscribed name,

no.6. Tukultī-ninurta I A.0.78.22 270 59-62b:

ša dūram šātu abātuma narēya u šumī šaṭra ušassakū ^{āl}kār-^mtukultī-^dninurta mahaz bēlūtiya umaššarūma inaddū

He who destroys that wall, discards my monumental inscriptions and my inscribed name, abandons Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, my capital, and neglects (it),

no.7. Tukultī-ninurta I A.0.78.5 245-46 94-110:

ša šumī šaṭra ipaššitūma šumšu išaṭṭarū narēya ušamsakū ina ašri šanima ašar la amari iškānū ša mima amat lemutte ihasasāma epušu lu ilāni ašribut ^{āl}aššur ina isinnē ana ekallīya ana erēbi ikallū ana ekalli šanītema išasū ekallam šīati umaššarūma inaddūši

He who erases my inscribed name and writes his (own) name; (who) discards my monumental inscription and puts (it) in another place where there is no visibility; who conceives of and does anything injurious; or (who) prevents the gods who dwell in the city Aššur from entering my palace during the festivals (and) summons (them) to another palace; (who) abandons that palace and neglects it,

no.8. Tukultī-ninurta I A.0.78.23 274 125-135a:

ša anhut bēt siqurrati u bēt ^daššur bēliya la uddašūma narēya u šumi šaṭra ušamsakū bēt siqurrati šāti ina la amāri muššūri u la kešēri iabatūši mimma amat lemutte ihasasāni ana pāni bēt siqurreti šāti u ana pāni bēt ^daššur bēliya ušaparakū

He who does not restore the ziqqurrat and the temple of the god Aššur, my lord, but discards my monumental inscriptions and my inscribed name; destroys that ziqqurrat by not looking after it, abandoning it, (and) not reconstructing it; conceives of anything injurious (and) puts it into effect to the disadvantage of that ziqqurrat and the temple of the god Aššur, my lord,

§21. RIMA II

no.1. Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.17 253-54 v 54b-88:

ša kī pī mušarīya annē la epašū tamet šīriya uštenū šalmam šuātu i'abbatuma ušamsakū ina piššāte ikatamūšu ina epēri iqabirūšu ina ištāti išarrapūšu ina mē inadūšu ana kibis umami u meteq būli išakkanūšu tamet šīriya ummanāte ana amāri u šāse ikallū u ina pān šumē šaṭrēya manma kī lamari u la šāse iparrikū aššum izzirti šinātina nakra aha[a (x) a-i]a-a-ba lemna lu bēt kīli lu amelūta šikin napišti um'arūma ušahazū ipapitū iṣappirū lišānišu ana barti uštenū ana hulluq šalmiya annē u tamēti ana šunne uzunūšu išakanūma libbašu imallikūšu u lū amēl¹ṭupšarru lu amēl¹bārū lū mamma šanū šalmu šuātu hulluq ša pišu la epaše iqabbaššu u ša pišu išemmū ša mimma amat lemnūti ihasasāma ana epšetia u šalmiya uma'arū anāku la idi iqabbū(*) ina šarrūti < šu > pānišu ana batte išakanūma šalmišu i'abbatūma ihharammaṭū amattu ša pišu uštenū u ana šalamiya šuātu limniti ilte'ū

As for the one who does not act according to this inscription of mine (but) alters the ordinances of my text; (who) destroys this monument, discards (it), covers it with oil, buries it in dust, burns it with fire, throws it in water, puts it in the path of beasts or the track of animals; (who) prevents scholars from seeing and reading the ordinances of my inscription, bars anyone access to my inscription in order that it might not be seen and read; (who), because of these curses, instructs and incites a stranger, a foreigner, a malignant enemy, a prisoner, or any living being so that he *destroys*, chisels away, changes its wording to something else; (who) makes his mind and decides to destroy this monument of mine and to alter my ordinances and (therefore) commands a scribe or diviner or anyone else, 'Destroy this monument! Its dictates are not to be observed!' and whoever heeds his statements; (who) conceives anything injurious and orders (it to be done) to my works and my monument; (who) says, 'I know nothing (of this)' and during his sovereignty diverts his attention elsewhere with the result that his monument is destroyed and smashed (or) the wording of its text altered; or (who) seeks (to do) evil against this monument of mine,

no.2. Ashurnasirpal II A.O.101.32 297 18b-19a:

ša šumī šaṭri ipaššitū nešē šuātūnu unakarū ina mē inaddū ina ištāti išarrapū ina bēti kili la amāri išakkanū u mimma awat maništi(?) ekurram šuātu ušaparakū

As for the one who erases my inscribed name, removes these lions, throws (them) in the water, burns (them) with fire, puts (them) in a prison where they cannot be seen, (or) commits atrocities against this temple,

§22. OIP II 84 57b-58:

matima rubū arku ina šarrāni mārēya ša epišti epušu usah(text šam)hū riksate arkusu ipaṭṭarū mē pattāti šatīna ultu tamirti ninua^{ki} malakšīn

If ever there is a future prince among the kings, my sons, who destroys the work which I have done, (and) breaks the treaty I have (hereby) made with him, diverts the course of the water of those canals from the plain of Niniveh,

§23. Assurbanipal

no.1. 354-56 b 9:

ša šumē šaṭru ipaššitū šumšu išaṭṭarū

Whoever removes the script of my name (and) writes his name, may Nabû, the scribe of the universe, annihilate his name,

no.2. *Ibid.*, 356 c 11:

mannu ša itabbalū u lū šumšu itti šumīya išaṭṭarū,

Whoever takes away (the tablet) or writes his name next to my name,

§24. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil & Millard, La Statue de Tell Fekherye

no.1. 15 16b-17:

manu ša šumē unakkarū u šumšu išakkanū

Whoever erases my name and puts his name,

no.2. 16 26b-28a:

ša šumī issu libbi unūte ša bīt ^dadad bēliya ipaššitūni

Whoever erases my name from the furnishings of the temple of Adad, my lord,

§25. SAA II:

no.1. AM 11 iii 23b-25:

šumm[u ^mšap]al [iss]u ^maššur-nērārī la kenūni šummu lib[bak]a [issu] ^maššur-nērārī šar māt aššur lā šakinūni

no.2. AM 11 iv 1-3:

ina qibit ^maššur-nērārī šar māt aššur ana nakrišu ilak[ūni] ^mmati³-ilu adi rabēšu emūqēšu mugirre[šu] ana gamurti libbišu la ešūni la illak[ūni]

[If the Assyrian army] goes to war at the orders of Aššur-nerari, king of Assyria, and Mati³-ilu, together with his magnates, his forces and his char[iotry] does not go forth (on the campaign) in full royalty,

no.3. AM 11 iv 17-18:

šumma ^mmati³-ilu marēšu rabēšu ša ina adē ša ^maššur-nērārī šar māt aššur ihaṭṭūni

If Mati³-ilu, his sons, or his magnates who sin against this treaty of Aššur-nerari, king of Assyria,

no.4. AM 12 v 1-4:

šummu mūtinni la muatka šummu ba[laṭi]nni la balatḫani kī ša balātu ša napištka mārēka rabēka ku[nu]ni balātu ša ^maššur-nerari mārēšu rabēšu la tu¹[b]a³ūni

If our death is not your death, if our life is not your life, if you do not seek (to protect) the life of Aššur-nerari, his sons and his magnates as your own life and the life of your sons and officials,

no.5. VTE 45 410-13:

šumma attunu tunakar[ā]ni ana ^dgirra/ tapaqidā[ni] ina mē tanadāni/ ina epi ta[karrarāni] ina mimma šipir nikilti/ tabatāni tuhallaq[āni] tasapanāni

If you removes it, consign it to the fire, throw it into the water, [bury] it in the earth or destroy it by any cunning device, annihilate or deface it,

no.6. VTE 50 513-17:

šumma attunu ina libbi adē annūte ša ^maššur-ahu-iddina šar māt aššur bēl[kunu] [ina] muhhi ^maššur-bāni-apli mari šarri rabī ša bēt ridūt[e] [ahh]ēšu mar³e [ummišu ša ^mašš]ur-bā[ni-apli] mari sarri rabū ša bēt ridūti u rē[hti marē] šīt libbi ša ^maššur-[ahu-iddina šar] māt aššur/ bēlkunu issēkunu [iškunū]ni tahatā[ni]

If you sin against this treaty which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, [your] lord, [has concluded] with you concerning Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, (and concerning) his [brother]s, sons by [the same mother as Ass]urba[nipal], the great crown prince designate, the re[st of the off]spring of Esar[haddon, king] of Assyria, your lord,

no.7. VTE 57 632-34:

šumma attuni ^maššur-ahu-iddina šar māt aššur/ u ^maššur-bāni-apli šarru rabū ša bēt ridūti/ u ahhešu [marē ummī]šu ša ^maššur-bāni-apli/ šarru rabū ša bēt ridūti rēhti marē/ šīt libbi ša ^maššur-ahu-iddina šar māt aššur/ turammāni ana šumēli u illakūni tallakāni

If you forsake Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designat, (his brothers, [sons by the same mother] as Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, and the other sons, the offspring of [Esa]rhaddon, king of Assyria, and go to rights and to lefts,

no.8. Zaicutu Treaty 62 12a-24:

ša abūt la dēqtu [la t]asalāni teppašāni [nikl]u la danqu dababu [la t]ābu ina muhhi ^maššur-bani-apli šar māt aššur bēlkunu ina lib]bi libbikunu tanakkilaninni [tadabbub]ani ussuktū [la dē]q¹tu milku la t]ābu ša sihibarte [ina libbiku]nu ina muhhi ^maššur-bāni-apli šar māt aššur bēlkunu [tamall]ikani tadab-bubani [issi xxx]x 2-e ina muhhi dūki [šá ^maššur-bāni-apli šar] māt aššur bēlkunu tadabbuba[ni]

Whoever you fabricate and carry out an ugly and evil thing or a revolt against your lord Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, conceive in your hearts and put into words an ugly [sch]eme or an evil plot against [your lord] Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, deliberate [in yo]ur [hearts] and formulate an ugly suggestion and evil advice for rebellion and insurrection against your lord Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, (or) plot [with] another [...] for the murder of your lord [Assurbanipal, king] of Assyria,

no.9. AB 67 rev. 3-4:

kī anīni ana adē a[nnūti] ša ^maššur-bāni-apli šar māt aššur itti bēlini nīmissu nīpass[asu xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]

If we [transgress], break, erase, [or ...] t[his] treaty [with Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, our lord],

HEBREW TEXTS

§26. Biblical Texts

no.1. Lev 26:14-15:

ואם לא תשמעו לי ולא תעשו את כל-המצוות האלה ואם-בחקתי תמאסו ואם את-משפטי תגעל נפשכם לבלתי עשות את-כל-מצותי להפרכם את-בריתי

If you do not obey me and carry out all these commandments, and if you reject my decrees and abhor my ordinances and fail to carry out all my commandments and so break my covenant,

no.2. Lev 26:27:

ואם-בזאת לא תשמעו לי והלכתם עמי בקרי

If in spite of this, you do not obey me, but continue to be hostile towards me,

no.3. Josh 6:26bα:

... אשר יקום ובנה את-העיר הזאת את-יריחו בבחרו

... who rises up and build this city Jericho,

no.4. Ezra 6:11aα:

ומני שים טעם די כל-אנש די יהשנא פתגמא דנה

And I issued a decree: 'If anyone who violates this edict,

no.5. Ezra 6:12a:

... רי ישלח ידה להשניה לחבלה בית-אלהא דך די בירושלם

... who lifts his hand to change (this decree) or to destroy this house of God in Jerusalem!

§27. SSI I 24 2b-3:

ארור האדם אשר יפתח את זאת

Cursed be the man who opens this (tomb)!

ARAMAIC INSCRIPTIONS

§28. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil & Millard, La Statue de Tell Fekherye

no.1. 23 11b-12a:

וזי ילד שמי מנה וישים שמה

Whoever defaces my man and put his name,

no.2. 23 16b-17a:

שם מן ילד שמי מן מאניא זי בת הרד

Whoever defaces my name from the equipment of Hadad's temple,

§29. SSI II

no.1. 10 18b-21:

ומ[ן] [י]הגע נצבא זנה מן [קר]ם אלור ויהנסנה [מן] [אש]רה או מן ישלח . . .

and whoever removes this stele from Ilwer's [presence], and drags it away it [from its place], or whoever sends . . . ,

no.2. No. 18 95 i 5-8:

מן את תהנס צלמא זנה וארצתא מן אשרה

Whoever you are who drag this picture and grave away from its place,

§30. Fitzmyer, Sefire

no.1. Sf I 13 14b-15:

והן ישקר מתעאל בר עתרסמך מלך ארפד לבר האיה מלך כתך וה[ן] ישקר עקר מתעאל [לעקר בר גאיה ...]

If Mati'el, the son of 'Attarsamak, the kin[g of Arpad] be false [to Bir-Ga'yah, the king of KTK, and i]f the descendant of Mati'el be false [to the descendant of Bir-Ga'yah ...],

no.2. Sf I C 16b-20:

ומן ליצר מלי ספרא זי בנצבא זנה ויאמר אהלד מן מלו האו אהפך טבתא ואשם [ל]לחית ביום זי יעב ד

Whoever will not observe the words of the inscription which is on this stele or will say, "I shall efface some of his (its) words," or "I shall upset the good relations and turn (them) [to] evil," on any day on which he will d[o] so,

no.3. Sf II C 1b-10a:

[ומן י]אמר להלדת ספריא [א]לן מן בתי אלהיא אן זי י[ר]שמן ו[י]אמר אהאבר ספר[י]א ולמ[ן]. [א]האבר אית כתך ואית מלכה ויזחל הא מן לר ספר[י]א מן בתי אלהיא ויאמר לזי לידע אנה אגר אגר ו[י]מאר לר [ספ]ריא אלן מן בת י[א]להיא

[and whoever will] give orders to efface [th]ese inscriptions from the bethels, where they [wr]itten and [will] say, "I shall destroy the inscriptions and *with impunity* shall I destroy KTK and its king," should that (man) be frightened from effacing the inscriptions from the bethels and say to someone who does not understand, "I shall *reward* (you) *indeed*," and (then) order (him), "efface these inscriptions from the house of the gods,

PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§31. SSI III

no.1. Ahiram 14 2:

ואל מלך במלכם וסכן בס<כ>נם ותמא מחנת עכי גבל ויגל ארן זן

Now, if a king among kings or a governor among governors or a commander of an army should come up against Byblos and uncover this coffin,

no.2. Kilamuwa 34 i 14a:

י אש ישב תחתן ויזק בספר ז

Who shall sit in my place does harm to this inscription,

no.3. Karatepe A 50-52 iii 12-18a:

ואם מלך במלכם ורזן ברזנם אם ארם אש ארם שם אש ימה שם אזור בשער ז ושת שם אם אף יחמד אית הקרת ז ויסע חשער ז אש פעל אזור ויפעל ל שער זר ושת שם עלי אם בחמדת יסע אם בשנאת וברע יסע השער ז

Now, if a king among kings, or a prince among princes, or any man who is a man of renown, effaces the name of Azitiwada from this gate and puts up his own name, or more than that, covets this city and pulls down this gate which Azitiwada made, and makes another gate for it and puts his own name on it, whether it is out of covetousness or whether it is out of hatred and malice that he pulls down this gate,

no.4. Yehawmilk 106 13b-15:

ואם אבל תשת שם אתך ואם תסר ׀לא׀כת זא ׀ותס׀ג את ה׀—׀ ז דל יסרה עלת מקם ז ותגל מסתרו

And if you do not put my name beside your own but remove this work and [shift] this [(pillar)] along with its base from this place and uncover it hiding-place,

APPENDIX II

TRADITIONAL SOURCES OF NEO-ASSYRIAN TREATY-CURSES

SUMERIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§1. NBW I, Gudea Statue B

no.1. 178 9 5:

nam-tar-ra-ni he₂-da₅-kuru₂(=KUR₂)-ne
May they alter his determined fate!

no.2. 178 9 6-7:

gu₄-gim u₄-ne-na he₂-gaz
May he be killed at this, his day, like a cow!

no.3. 178 9 8-9:

am-gim a₂-huš-na he₂-dab₅
May he be captured in his wild vigour like an aurochs!

no.4. 178 9 10-11:

giš^šdur₂-gar lu₂ mu-na-DU-a-ni sahar-ra he₂-em-ta-tuš
May he be in dust set (from) the chair, which man set for him!

no.5. 178 9 15-16:

mu-ni e₂-dingir-ra-na-ta dub-ta he₂-em-ta-gar
May his name be removed from the tablet out of the temple of his god!

no.6. 178 9 19:

IM an-na he₂-da-a-gi₄
May the rain be retained in heaven!

no.7. 9 20:

a ki-a he₂-da-a-gi₄
May the water be held back in the earth!

no.8. 178 9 21:

mu-nu-gal₂-la ha-mu-na-ta-e₃
May years of shortage be approaching him!

no.9. 178 9 22:

bal-a-na še-gar he₂-gal₂
May famine rule in his reign!

§2. NBW I, Gudea Statue C

no.1. 182-84 4 9-12:

d₁inanna nin-kur-kur-ra-ke₄ sag-ga₂-ni ukkin-na nam he₂-ma-KU₅-e
May Inanna, the lady of all lands, curse his head in the assembly!

no.2. 184 4 13-15:

gišgu-za-gub-ba-na suhuš-bi na-an-gi- 𒀭ne₂𒀭

May she [Inanna] not consolidate the foundation of throne erected for him!

no.3. 184 4 16:¹

numun-a-ni 𒀭he₂-til𒀭

May his seed come to an end!

no.4. 184 4 17:²

bal- 𒀭a𒀭 -ni 𒀭he₂-ku₅𒀭

May his reign be cut off!

§3. NBW I, Gudea Statue 244 S 3 8:

mu-ni he₂-eb₂-ha-lam-e-n[e]

May they (the gods) annihilate his name!

§4. NBW I, Urnammu 28 131, 2 13-14:

nam-ti-il nig₂-gig-ga-ni he₂-na (g)

May life be an evil for him!

§5. NBW II, Urnammu 40 145 14-15

𒀭 𒀭bil₃𒀭 -ga-meš₃-e nam ha-ba-da-KU₅-e³

May Gilgameš curse (him)! - Also Ibbisuen A 9-10 71-72, Steible, vol. 2, 288.

§6. NBW II, Urnammu 47 150 4 2-4:

uru-ni-da sag-ki- 𒀭ni𒀭 ha-ba-da- 𒀭gid₂𒀭 -[de₃]

May he (Nanna) look at his city with anger!

OLD AKKADIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§7. RIME II Sargon E2.1.1.2 15 112-19

𒀭enlil u 𒀭šamaš išissu lišūka u zēršu lilquta

May Enlil and Šamaš tear out his foundation and destroy his offspring!

§8. RIME II Sargon E2.1.1.2 15 127-28⁴:

kakkēšu lišbir

May he (Enlil) break his weapons!

§9. RIME II Narām-Sîn

no.1. E2.1.4.5 102 ii 24-iii 8:

𒀭sin bel šalnim ša u 𒀭ištār-annunītum an 𒀭enlil 𒀭ilaba 𒀭[s]in [𒀭]šamaš 𒀭nerigal 𒀭ūm 𒀭ninkarak ilu rabūtum in napharšunu arratam lamutam liruruš

¹ Also Utuhegal 7 (H. Steible, part 2, 330).

² Also Utuhegal 7 11-12 (H. Steible, part 2, 330).

³ Also Šulgi 46 12-16 (H. Steible, part 2, 199); Šulgi 65 7-14 (*ibid.*, 199); Ibbisuen A 9-8 71-72 (*ibid.*, 288).

⁴ Also *ibid.*, Sargon E2.1.1.6 20 48-49, 7 22 33-34.

May Šin, the owner of this statue and Ištar-Annunītum, An, Enlil, Ilaba, Šin, Šamaš, Nergal, Um(um), Ninkarak, the great gods in their totality, curse him with an terrible curse!

no.2. E2.1.4.5 102 iii 9-13:

hattam ana ^denlil šarrutam ana ^dištar a ukīl

May he not hold the sceptre for Enlil and the kingdom for Ištar!

no.3. E2.1.4.5 102 iii 14-16:

mahriš ilišu a ilik (DU)

May he not walk before his god!

no.4. E2.1.4.5 102 iii 17-22:

^dninhursagga u ^dnintu zikram u šumam [a] idinašum

May Ninhursag and Nintu not grant him a son and an heir!

no.5. E2.1.4.5 102 iii 23-26:

^dadad u ^dnisaba širihšu a ušešira

May Adad and Nisaba not let his furrow flourish!

no.6. E2.1.4.5 102 iii 27-32:

^denki nāršu a limdud

May Enki not make his canal full!

§10. Al-Fouadi, "Bitwāta¹," Sumer 34 (1978), 122-129.

no.1. 54-59:

zēršu lilq <ut> ma išissu lišuhū aplam u šumam ai dinnūšum

May they not give him an heir and offspring! May they take his seed and annihilate his foundation!

no.2. 60-61:

balaṭum lu ikkibšu

May life be hateful to him!

OLD BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§11. UET I nr. 100 22 26-31:

lu-ba ^dnannar lugal-mu ^dnin-gal nin-mu nam-ha-ba-an-da-tar-ru-ne

May Nannar my king and Ningal my lady curse that man!

§12. RIME IV Iahdun-Līm E4.6.8.2 608 149-52:

^daa kalatum bēltum rabitum lu muleminat awātišu ina mahar ^dšamaš ana daritim

May the bride Aa, the great lady, put in a bad word about him before Šamaš forever!

§13. J. Kohler & F. E. Peiser, Hammurabi's Gesetz I; A. Deimel, Codex Hammurabi; Martha T. Roth, Law Collections

no.1. xxvi 45-49:

anum rabūm abu ilī . . . melimmī šarrūtīm liṭeršu

May great Anu, father of the gods, take the royal sheen from him!

no.2. xxvi 50-51:

haṭṭašu lišbir

May he break his scepter!

no.3. xxvi 52:

šimātišu lirur

May he curse his destiny!

no.4. xxvi 53-63:

^denlil bēlum mušim šimātim . . . tēšī la šubbim gabarah halāqīšu ina šubtišu lišappihaššum

May Enli, the lord, who determines destinies, . . . incite against him even in his own residence disorder that cannot be quelled and a rebellion that will result in his obliteration!

no.5. xxvi 64-72:

palē tānēhim ūmī iṣūtim šanāt hušahhim iklet la nawārim mūt niṭil īnim ana šimtim lišimšum

May he determine as his fate a reign of grief, days of sweat, years of famine, darkness without light, sudden death!

no.6. xxvi 73-80:

halāq ālišu naspuh nišīšu šarrūssu šupēlam šumšu u zikiršu ina mātim la šubšām ina pīšu kabtim liqbi

May he declare with his venerable speech the obliteration of his city, the dispersion of his people, the supplanting of his kingship, and the blotting out of his name and his memory from the land!

no.7. xxvi 81-90:

^dNinlil ummmum rabūm . . . ašar šiptim u purussēm ina mahar Enlil awassu lilemmin

May Ninlil, the great mother, . . . vitiate his matter before Enlil at the place of litigation and verdict!

no.8. xxvi 91-97:

šulput mātišu halāq nišīšu tabāk napištišu kīma mē ina pī Enlil šarrim lišaškin

May she, through the decree of Enlil, cause his land to be ruined, his people destroyed and his life spilled like water!

no.9. xxvii 2-6:

^dea rubūm rabūm . . . uznam u nēmeqam liṭeršuma ina mišītim littarrūšu

May Ea, the great prince, him of all understanding and wisdom!; may he lead him into confusion!

no.10. xxvii 7-13:

(a) nārātišu ina nagbim liskir (b) ina erṣetišu ašnan napišti nišī ai ušabši

(a) May he dam up his rivers at the source! (b) may he not allow any life-sustaining grain in his land!

no.11. xxvii 14-20:

^dšamaš dayānum rabū ša šamē u erṣetim . . . šarrūssu liskip

May Šamaš, the mighty judge of heaven and earth . . . overturn his kingship!

no.12. xxvii 24-25:

išdī ummānišu lišhelši

May he confuse his path and undermine the morale of his army!

no. 13. xxvii 26-30:

ina bīrišu šīram lemnam ša nasāh išdī šarrūtišu u halāq mātišu liškunšum

When divination is performed for him, may he provide an inauspicious omen portending the uprooting of the foundations of his kingship and the obliteration of his land!

no.14. xxvii 31-33:

awatum maruštum ša ^dšamaš arhiš likšussu

May the malevolent word of Šamaš swiftly overtake him!

no.15. xxvii 34-40:

(a) eliš ina balūtīm lissuhšu (b) šapliš ina eršetim eṭemmašu mē lišašmi

(a) May he uproot him from among the living above; (b) make his ghost thirst for water below in the nether world!

no.16. xxvii 41-46:

^dsin bēl šamē . . . agām kussām ša šarrūtīm liṭeršu

May Sin, the lord of heaven, . . . deprive him of the crown (and) throne of kingship!

no.17. xxvii 47-51:

arnam kabtam šēressu rabītam ša ina zumrišu la ihalliqu līmussuma

May he impose upon him an onerous punishment, a great punishment, which will not depart from his body!

no.18. xxvii 52-56:

ūmī warhī šanāt palēšu ina tānēhim u dimmatim lišaṣti

May he conclude every day, month, and year of his reign with groaning and mourning!

no.19. xxvii 57-58:

kammāl šarrūtīm lišaṭṭilšu

May he unveil before him a contender for the kingship!

no.20. xxvii 59-63:

balāṭam ša itti mūtīm šitannu ana šīmtim lišīmšum

May he decree for him a life that is no better than death!

no.21. xxvii 64-71:

^dadad bēl hegallim gugal šamē u eršetim rešūa zunnī ina šamē mīlam ina nagbim liṭeršu

May Adad, the lord of prosperity, the canal-inspector of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of rain from heaven (and) floodwater from the springs!

no.22. xxvii 72-75:

māssu ina hušahhim u bubūtīm lihalliḳ

May he destroy his land through want and hunger!

no.23. xxvii 76-78:

eli ālišu ezziš lissīma

May he thunder furiously over his city!

no.24. xxvii 79-80:

māssu ana til abūbim litēr

May he turn his land into the ruin left by flood!

no.25. xxvii 81-87:

^dzababa . . . ašar tamhārim i^skakkašu lišbir

May Zababa . . . smash his weapon on the battle-field!

no.26. xxvii 88-91:

ūmam ana mūšim litēršumna nakiršu elišu lišziz

May he turn day into night for him and cause his enemy to trample upon him!

no.27. xxvii 92-103:

^dištar bēlit tahāzim u qablim . . . ina libbiša aggim ina uzzātiša rabiātīm šarrūssu līrur

May Ištar, mistress of battle and war, . . ., curse his kingship with her great angry heart and great fury!

no.28. xxvii 104-106:

damqātišu ana lemnētīm litēr

May she turn his good into evil!

no.29. xxviii 2-4:

ašar tahāzim u qablim i^skakkašu lišbir

May she break his weapon on the battle-field!

no.30. xxviii 5-7:

išītam sahmaštām liškunšum

May she create confusion (and) rebellion for him!

no.31. xxviii 8-9:

qarrādīšu lišamqit

May she strike down his warriors!

no.32. xxviii 10-11:

damišunu eršetam lišqi

May she drench the earth with their blood!

no.33. xxviii 12-16:

gurun šalmāt ummānātišu ina šērim littaddi

May she make a heap of his warriors' corpses on the plain!

no.34. xxviii 17-18:

ummānšu rēman ai ušarši

May she not show mercy on his warriors!

no.35. xxviii 19-23:

šuāti ana qāt nakrišu limallišuma ana māt nukurtišu kamiš līrūšu

As for him, may she deliver him into the hand of his enemies, and may they carry carry him away in bonds to a land hostile to him!

no.36. xxviii 24-34:

^dnergal . . . ina kašūšišu rabīm kīma išātīm ezzetim ša apim nišišu liqmi

May Nergal . . . burn his people with his great overpowering weapon like a raging fire in a reed thicket!

no.37. xxviii 35-39:

ina ⁱšakkišu dannim lišatīšuma biniātišu kīma šalam ṭiddim lihbuš

May he shatter him with his mighty weapon, and break his body in pieces like a clay figure!

no.38. xxviii 40-49:

^dnintu . . . aplam liṭeršuma šumam ai ušaršišu ina qerbīt nišišu zēr awīlūtīm ai ibni

May Nintu . . . deny him of an heir!; may she not give him no offspring!; may she not let him produce a male descendant in the midst of his people!"

no.39. xxviii 50-69:

^dninkarrak . . . muršam kabtam asakkam lemnam simmam maršam ša la ipaššēhu ašūm qerebšu kīma nišik mūtīm la innassahu ina biniātišu lišāšiaššumma adi napištašu ibellū ana eṭlūtišu liddammam

May Ninkarrak, . . ., inflict upon him in his body a grievous malady, an evil disease, a serious injury which never heals, whose nature no physician knows, which he cannot allay with bandages, which like a deadly bite cannot be rooted out, and may he continue to lament (the loss of) his vigour until his life comes to an end!

no.40. xxviii 70-83:

ilū rabūtum ša šamē u eršetim . . . šuāti zēršu māssu šābašu nišišu u ummānšu erretam maruštam līruru

May the great gods of heaven and earth, curse that one, his offspring, his land, his troops, his people, and his army with an evil curse!"

no.41 xxviii 84-91:

errētīm daniatim ^denlil ina pišu ša la uttakkaru līruršuma arhiš likšudašu

May Enlil, by his unalterable word, curse him with these curses, and may they swiftly overtake him!

THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KASSITE AND POST-KASSITE PERIODS

§14. BBSt 2 (Kurigalzu)

no.1. 11-17:

^danu ^denlil u ^dea ^dnannar ^dšamaš u ^dmarduk ^dnergal u ^dsadarnunna ^dnergal u ^dlaaz išissu lissuhū zēršu lilqutū ištēn ūma la balasu liqbū

May Anu, Enlil, and Ea, Nannar, Šamaš, and Marduk, Nusku and Sadarnunna, Nergal and Laz tear out his foundation, and his seed may they snatch away! May they command that his life endure not for a single day!

no.2. 19-20:

^dšamaš dayyān dinati elenu ilini(?)šu šaplānu arutašu mē kašūti ai ušamhir

May Šamaš, the arbiter of judgment, above on his and below on his never let the pipe for him receive cool water down below!

§15. "Nazimaruttaš," in Daniel Arnaud, "Deux <<Kudurru>> de Larsa: II. Étude Épigraphique," RA 66 (1972), 166.

no.1. 35b-36:

^danu[m] ^denlil u ^dea arrat [l]a nipšuri marušta līrurūšu
May Anu, Enlil, and Ea curse him (with) an indissoluble evil curse!

no.2. 37-38a:

^dninurta bēl mi <š>ri u kudurri miširšú lismuk [kudur]rašu līsuhi
May Ninurta, the lord of boundary and kudurru, destroy his boundary and tear out his kudurru!

no.3. 38b-39:

^dsīn bēlu rabū saharšuppā limilišuma¹ kīma sirramu ina ka¹ma¹ti lirtebiš
May Sin, the great lord, fill him (with) leprosy! May he lie outside like a wild ass!

no.4. 40-41a:

bēlit-ilāni ana bītišu la ušarma ⁵ina bītišu walādi aplu immeru imēru amēlūtu liprusi
May Belet-ili not give any birth in his house, but in his house may she prevent birth of ox, sheep, donkey and human!

no.5. 41b-43:

^dgula simma liza ina zumrišu lišubšima muruṣ la tapšīhi limhuršu dama šarka kima¹ mū lirmuk
May Gula put a lasting evil in his body and give him an incurable sickness. May he bathe (in) bood (and) pus as (in) water!

§16. Kudurri-Enlil, in Daniel Arnaud, "Deux <<Kudurru>> de Larsa," *RA* 66 (1972), 74a:

^dadad ugaršu lirhišma ina arururti lišim[šu⁶]
May Adad flood his field, so that he may determine his fate in hunger-cramp!

§17. *BBSt* 4

no.1. iii 9:

^danum abi ilāni na[k]r[iš] līruršu
May Anu, the father of the gods, curse him as a foe!

no.2. iii 10:

^denlil šar gimri šeri[s]s[u] līmissu
May Enlil, the king of all, inflict his punishment upon him!

no.3. iii 11:

^dea pātik niši šīmatašu lillamman
May Ea, the creator of men, give him an evil fate!

no.4. iii 12:

^dšamaš dayyān šamē u iršiti^{ti} lihalliḡ šumšu
May Šamaš, the judge of heaven and earth, destroy his name!

no.5. iii 13:

^dmarduk apkal ilāni ina limutti^{ti} lirdišu
May Marduk, the leader of the gods, pursue him with evil!

⁵ See also line 75, "Kudurru de Kudurri-Enlil" *RA* 66 (1972), 173.

⁶ About 7 signes missing.

no.6. iv 5-8:

ilāni mala ina eli ^{aban}narī anniĉ [šum]šunu zakru arrat la napšuri lirurūšum[a] ūma ištēn la balāssu liqbū šāšu šumšu u zēršu ai ušabšū

May all the gods, whose names are mentioned on this stone, curse him with a curse that cannot be loosened, may they command that he live not a single day, may they not let him, nor his name, nor his seed endure!

no.7. iv 9-14:

ūmē arurti šanāti hušahhi ana šimatišu l[i]šimū eli ili šarri bēli u rubī lirik rininšuma ina limutti^{ti} likla

Days of drought, years of famine, may they [all the gods, whose names are mentioned on this stone] assign for his lot, before god, king, lord and prince may his whining be continuous, and may he come to an evil end!

§18. BBSt 5

no.1. iii 26-32:

anu ^denlil u ^dea ^dninurta u ^dgula belū iršiti šuatum u ilāni mala ina narī šuatum ešritušunu udda izziš likkilmušu

May Anu, Enlil and Ea, Ninurta and Gula, the lords of this earth, and all the gods whose shrines upon this stone are exhibited, look in anger upon him!

no.2. iii 33-34:

arrat la pašari lirurušu

With a curse that cannot be loosed may they curse him!

no.3. iii 37:

zēršu lilqutūm

His seed may they snatch away!

no.4. iii 38-41:

ina limutti u la ṭūb šēri adi ūmi iṣūti ša balṭa liktima

In evil and sickness of body, with but a few days more of life, may he come to an end!

§19. Borger, "Merodachbaladans I," AfO 23 (1970), 1-11.

no.1. iii 4-5:

bēlet-ilī umma rabītum apla u šuma la ušaršašu

"May Bēlet-ilī, the great mother, not allow him a son or descendant!"

no.2. iii 11-14:

^dadad gugal šamē iršiti ina nārišu mē liprus ina ugari urqita ai u-x-IGI

May Adad, water controller of heaven and earth, withdraw the water from his river, may vegetation in his fields not . . .!

no.3. iv 1-2:

^dmarduk u ^dzarpanitum ana kakki liddinišu

May Marduk and Zarpanitum deliver him to the sword!

§20. Borger, "Merodachbaladan I," AfO 23 (1970), 1-11.

no.1. iii 3-4:

u [la] napšuri lemuttam līrurūšu

May they curse him with an indissoluble evil [curse]!

no.2. iii 5-8:

^dšamaš dayyānu ša ilāni rabūti šud pāni sakak uzni u ubbur mešrēti [ana ši]rikti lišrukšu

May Šamaš, the chief judge of the great gods, bestow him attack of giddiness, deafness, and paralysis of limbs!

no.3. iii 9-10:

[^dsin] nannaru paris purussi [saharšu]bbā limališu

May [Sin], the light of heavens(?), which takes the decision, fill him with leprosy(?)!

no.4. iii 11-15:

^d[a]dad gugal šamē u iršiti eqlētišu idra lišashima lizammi ^dašnan ai ušēši urqeti

May Adad, the water controller of heavens and earth, make potassium of his fields useless and deprive (them) of crops. May he not let vegetation grow!

no.5. iv 5-9a:

^dgula azugallatum rabitum simma akša lazza miqta la teba ina zumrišu lišēši

May Gula, the great chief doctor, let emerge a tedious and chronic suffer (and) incurable paralysis(?) in his body!

no.6. iv 9b-15a:

^dnusku ^dninegal ^fšuqamuna u ^dšumalia ilāni šarri eli niši lišamrišūšu ilu ana šerrišu sarru ana zēršu litirūšu

May Nusku, Ninegal, Šuqamuna and Šumalia, the gods of king, let him displease to people; may they make god his adversary and king as his enemy!

no.7. iv 15b-17:

ilāni mala ina narī annī [š]umšunu za[k(?)r]u(?) ina arrat arru . . .

May the great gods, who are mentioned on this document, because of curses, with which he is cursed . . .!

§21. Borger, "Merodachbaladan," AfO 23 (1970), 1-11 iii 14:

[šalamt]ašu ai iqqebir

May his corpse not be buried!

§22. MDP 6 41 iv 13-15a:

^dnaširrišu šarrutu ana zēršu litirūšu

May his godly protector remove the kingship from his sons!

§23. BBS 6

no.1. ii 38b:

ilū u šarru izziš likkilmūšu

May god and king look upon him in anger!

no.2. ii 39-40:

^dninurta šar šamē u iršiti u ^dgula kallat ešarra libutū kudurrašu libhalliqū zēršu

May Ninurta, the king of heaven and earth, and Gula, the bride of Esharra, destroy his boundary-stone and obliterate his seed!

no.3. ii 41-44:

^dadad gugal samē u iršiti bēl naqbi u zunni nārātišu limillā sakiki bubuta u hušahha liškunšumma lubnū makū u liminu urra u muša lū rakis ittišu

May Adad, the ruler of heaven and earth, the lord of spring and rain, fill his canals with mud! May he set hunger and want upon him, and may oppression, ruin, and adversity be bound day and night at his side!

no.4. ii 45:

ana āšib ālišu maki qāssu limgug

May ruin fasten its grip upon the inhabitants of his city!

no.5. ii 53:

bīt ippušu libel šanuumma

May another possess the house which he has built!

no.6. ii 54-57:

ultu paṭru ina kišādi-šu u quppu ina īnišu ana šābitānišu appašu libimma unninišu ai imhuršu hanṭiš likkisa napšassu

With a dagger in his neck, and a poinard in his eye, may he prostrate himself before his captor, and may the latter not accept his supplication, and suddenly cut off his life!

§24. Hinke, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I

no.1. iv 3-4:

^danu šarru abi ilāni aggiš litallikšuma napšatus liballi

May Anu, the king, the father of the gods, overthrow him in anger and annihilate his life!

no.2. iv 5-8:

^denlil bēl šaqū mūšim šimat ilāni šimat marušti lišimšuma lubna nelmena amat nišē liḡisašu

May Ellil, the lofty lord, who appoints the fate of the gods, appoint for him an evil fate, so that calamity, misfortune and the commands of men may oppress him!

no.3. iv 9-12:

^dea šar apsi bēl tašimti nugu kabitti numur libbi nahaša habaša likimšuma nissatu lilqīšu

May Ea, the king of the ocean, the lord of wisdom, take away from him gladness of heart, happiness of mind, abundance and fullness, so that lamentation may seize him!

no.4. iv 15-19:

^dšamaš u ^dadad ilāni gašrut dayyānē širūti lu mulammenu igirrišu šunuma dīn kitti u mēšari ai idīnūšu

May Šamaš and Adad, the powerful gods, the lofty judges, give him evil plans, and may they not judge him with a judgment of justice and righteousness!

no.5. iv 20-21:

^dgula bēltu rabītu simma lazza ina zumrišu liškunma dāma u šarqa kīma mē lirmuk

May Gula, the great mistress, put lingering sickness into his body! May he pour out dark and bright red blood as water!

no.6. iv 25-27:

(a) ^dnusku bēl gašrum arirum karubu [ilu] bannua lu rābišu limuttišu šūma (b) līqaqmmē šuršišu

(a) May Nusku, the powerful lord, the mighty scorcher, [the god], my creator, be his evil demon and (b) may he burn his root!

no.7. v 5-7:

ilāni rabūti mala ina ^{aban}narī anni šumšunu zakrū arrat limutti līrurūšu išissu lissuhū u zērišu līhalliqū

May the great gods as many as are mentioned by their names on this stone, curse him with an evil curse, tear out his foundation and destroy his seed!

§25. Sommerfeld, "Die Mittelbabylonische Grenzsteinurkunde," UF 16 (1984), 299-306.

no.1. iv 8-11:

^dninurta aplam u mereštam lizammi

May Ninurta deprive (him) of an heir and need!

no.2. iv 12-16:

^dzababa u ^dištar ašar tamharim lišbirū kakkašu lirammū īdišu

May Zababa and Ištar smash his weapon in the battle-field (and) make his arm slack!

no.3. iv 17-19:

^dnergal ašar šipti linappiša niprišu

May Nergal smash his offspring in the place of criminal court!

no.4. iv 20-23:

^dsin ... lihallaqa nannabšu

May Sin ... annihilate his progeny!

§26. BBSt 11 ii 23-iii 1:

^danu ^denlil ^dea u ^dninmah ilāni rabūti arrat la napšuri limutta līrurūšu išissu lissuhū u zēršu lilqutūm

May Anu, Enlil, Ea and Ninmah, the great gods, curse him with an evil curse that cannot be loosed, may they tear out his foundation, and his seed may they snatch away!

§27. BBSt 7

no.1. ii 16-18:

^dsin nanar šamē ellūti išruba la teba gimir lanišu lilabbišma adi ūmi šīmātišu ai ībib u kīma qurīmi ina kamāt ālišu lirtappud

May Sin, the light of the bright heavens, with leprosy that never departs clothe his whole body, so that he may not be clean till the day of his death, but must lie down like a wild ass at the outer wall of his city!

no.2. ii 19-20:

^dšamaš dayyān šamē u iršitim pānišu limhašma ūmišu namru ana daummati līturšu

May Šamaš, the judge of heaven and earth, smite his countenance; may his bright day turn to darkness for him!

no.3. ii 25-26:

dmarduk šar šamē u iršitim agalatillā ša rikissu la ippaṭṭarū lišan karassu

May Marduk, the king of heaven and earth fill his body with dropsy, the bond of which cannot be loosed!

no.4. ii 32-33:

dadad gugal šamē u iršitim ugāršu lirhišma kīmu urkiti idranū kimu **d**nisaba puquttu lihnuḫi

May Adad, the ruler of heaven and earth, overwhelm his fields, so that there may spring up abundantly weeds in place of green herbs and thorns in place of grain!

no.5. ii 34-35:

dnabû sukallu širu ūm sugi-e u arrati ana šimātišu lišimšu

May Nabû, the exalted minister, appoint days of scarcity and drought as his destiny!

no.6. ii 38-39:

šumšu zēršu piri'šu nannabšu ina pī nišē dišāti lihalliḫū

May they destroy his name, his seed, his offspring, (and) his posterity from the mouth of widespread peoples!

§28. Livingstone, "Marduk-nādin-ahhē."

no.1. iv 6-10:

šašu šumšu zēršu nannabšu ina pī nišē dešāti lihalliḫū u zēršu lilqutūma

May they destroy him, his name, his offspring, his descendants, in the mouth of the multitudinous people and pluck his seed (for him)!

no.2. iv 18-19:

kīma qadī ina harbi nadūti lirbiḫ

May he crouch like an owl in abandoned ruins!

no.3. iv 24-26:

dšamaš dayyanu šeru ša šamē u iršitim muštešir ili u amīli ana dinišu ai iqlūšu

May Šamaš, lofty judge of heaven and earth, director of god and man, not give heed to him in his litigation!

no.4. iv 27-28a:

dīnšu purussā ai ušarši

May he not allow his lawsuit to reach a decision!

no.5. v 16-17:

pulukkašu līnakkir

My he (Ninurta) move his borderpost!

no.6. v 18:

kisurrašu līhalliḫ

May he (Ninurta) destroy his boundary!

no.7. v 19-24:

dzababa etellu muter gimilli **d**enlil abišu ašar tahāzi lišbira tilpanšu libtuqa matanšu

May Zababa, the prince who avenges Enlil his father, break up his bow where there is battle (and) cut away his bowstring!

no.8. vi 24-26:

ilu lemna ^dšēdu munaššira iduš līlulma kipdišu lihalliḳū

May she hang an evil deity, a sapping spirit, at his side, and may they destroy his plans!

§29. BBS 8

no.1. iii 23-25:

ilāni mala ina muhhi narē annī mala šunšunu zakru arrat la napšuri līrurūšu

May all the gods who are upon this stone (and) all whose names are mentioned, curse him with a curse that cannot be loosened!

no.2. iii 26-28:

anu ^denlil u ^dea ilāni rabūti ešissu lissu[h]ū lihalliḳū

May Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods, tear out his foundation and destroy it!

no.3. iii 29-30:

pirihšu lissuhhū līšelū nannabšu

May they [Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the great gods] carry off his descendants!

no.4. iii 31-32:

^dmarduk bēlu rabū agalatillā r[i][s][s][u] l[a] p[a]ḫ[ṭ][e]r[a] lišiššišu

May Marduk, the great lord, cause him to bear as a bond that cannot be broken!

no.5. iv 3-6:

^dadad gugal šamē u erṣeti nārāti sakiki limili u tamīrassu limilā puqutta sīr bira likabbisa šepašu

May Adad, the ruler of heaven and earth, fill his canals with mud, and his fields may he fill with thorns, and may his feet tread down the vegetation of the pastures!

no.6. iv 19-20:

^dninurta bēl kudurreti apilšu naqa mēšu lišelī

May Ninurta, the lord of boundary-stones, remove his son, who pours the waters for him!

no.7. iv 21-22:

^dnergal bēl bēle u qašāti kakkišu lišebir

May Nergal, the lord of spears and bows, break his weapons!

no.8. iv 23-24:

^dzama[ma] šar tahāzi ina tahāzi qāssu lā iṣabat

May Zamama, the king of battle, not grasp his hand in the battle!

§30. Peiser, KB IV, 80-82

no.1. iii 13-14:

^dmarduk belu rabū agalatillā rikissu la paṭira lišiššišu

May Marduk, the great lord, cause him to bear dropsy, the unloosenable bond!

no.2. iii 15-17:

^dšamaš dayyānu rabū šamē u eršetim lūdin širdišuma⁷ ina parikti lizzissu
 May Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and earth, decide his punishment and oppose him!

no.3. iv 5-8:

^dgula . . . simma lazza ina zumrišu liškumma dama u šarka kī mē lirmuk
 May Gula put a wound in his body; may he shed blood and pus like water!

no.4. iv 9-15:

^dadad . . . ugaršu lirhišma nisaba lihallaqa puquattu lišmuh šira birita likabbisa šipēšu
 May Adad, . . ., flood his fields and destroy crops; may thorn plants increase; may his feet trample furrows and ridges (of the fields)!

no.5. iv 16-20:

^dnabū . . . suga u nibrīta liškunaššumma mimma uttu ana hurri pīšu la ikaššad
 May Nabū, . . ., give him need and hunger, so that may nothing he finds be enough for his hunger!"

§31. Reschid & Wilcke, "Marduk-šāpik-zēri," ZA 65 (1975), 34-62.

no.1. 54b-56:

^dsin nannaru šeressu rabīta⁸ likallimšuma ina kammat āli kīma serremi lirbiš
 May Sin, the light of heavens, cause him to experience his great punishment so that he cowers outside the city like a wild ass!⁹

no.2. 57-61a:

^dšamaš dayyānu rabū ša šamē u eršeti ina pīšu elli la mušpēli lizzuršuma turti ini sakaak uzni u ubbur mešrēti lišim isquššu
 May Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and earth, curse him with his pure unchangable mouth and determine as his fate . . . of eyes, deafness and paralysis of limbs!

§32. "Marduk-ahhē-ērība (1045)," in Hinke, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I

no.1. ii 18-20:

^danu ^denlil ^dea izziš likkilmūšuma nap[ištašu] aplē zēršu li[hal]li[qū]
 May Anu, Ellil and Ea in anger look upon him and destroy his life, (and) the children, his seed!

no.2. ii 21-22a:

^dmarduk bēl lipteti [na(?)ra(?)s]šu liskirma
 May Marduk, the lord of constructions(?), stop up his rivers!

no.3. iii 9-10:

ilāni kališunu mala šumšunu zakru kī ištēn ūmi la balāt-su liqbū
 May the gods, all of them, as many as are mentioned by their names, not grant him life for a single day!

⁷ Širtu should be read šertu "punishment."

⁸ This curse relates to leprosy and its result. *Saharšubbā* appears in apposition to *šertašu rabīta* in UET 1 165 ii 25 (NB kudurru), CAD Š/II, 325.

⁹ Translated according to CAD Š/II, 325.

§33. BBSt 9

no.1. i 42-43a:

d_šarpanitu bēlit esaggil hirat d_[marduk lemuttašu]¹⁰ liqtabba ina pāni bēl bēlē

May Zarpanitu, the lady of Esagila, the spouse of [Marduk], speak evil about him in the presence of the lord of lords!

no.2. ii 1-3a:

d_šamaš dayyānu ša šamē u eršetim dinšu u purussāšu ai iprus

May Šamaš, the judge of heaven and earth, his judgement and his decision not decree!

no.3. ii 3b-5:

d_nergal bēl qabli u tahāzi ina tahāssu lišgissū

May Nergal, the lord of war and battle, slay him in his battle!

no.4. ii 10b-14a:

[d_{adad} ša] ušabši ašna[n kī]mu še'ati(?) larda kīmu mē idrana lišabši

[May Adad, who] makes the corn to grow, cause there to be weeds instead of grain, and instead of water barrenness!

no.5. ii 14b-19:

d_ninurta bēl kudurrēti kudurrašu lissuh šumšu zēršu pir'išu u nannabšu ina pī nišē lihalliḳ apla u [n]jaḳ mē ai ušaršišu

(a) May Ninurta, the lord of boundary-stones, tear out his boundary-stone, and may he destroy his name, his seed, his offspring, and his progeny from the mouth of men, and (b) may he let him have neither son nor pourer of water!

§34. F. Thureau-Dangin, "Marduk-zākir-šumi," RA 16 (1919), 117-156.

no.1. iii 27-30:

d_anum d_enilil u d_ea u d_bēlit-ilāni ilāni rabūti arrat la napšūru limuttum līrurūšu

May Anu, Enil and Ea and Bēlit-ilāni, the great gods, curse him (with) an indissoluble (and) fatal curse!

no.2. iii 31-32:

d_marduk d_šarpānitum i[zzi]š likkilmūšuma

May Marduk and Zarpanit look at him with anger!

no.3. iv 1:

halaqšu u k[am]utšu liqbū

May they (Marduk and Zarpanit) pronounce his fall and captivity!

no.4. iv 2-5:

d_nabū u d_nanā ilāni šīrūti iš[iss]u lussuhū u [zēr]šu lilqutū

May Nabū and Nanā uproot his foundation and snatch away his offspring!

no.5. iv 6-8:

¹⁰ Watanabe's restoration, BaM Bh 3, 41.

*d*_{sin} *d*_{šamaš} u *d*_{ištar} *d*_{bēlē} šamē u eršeti išrubâ limalušūma
 May Sin, Šamaš and Ištar, the lords of heaven and earth, clothe him (with) leprosy!

no.6. iv 9-10:

kīma umamu šēri šēra lirpud
 Like a wild animal of the field, he may roam (in the) field!

ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS

§35. RIMA I Erišum I A.O.33.1 20 24b-25:

aššur u *d*_{adad} u *bēlum* ili zarašu liksūma
 May Aššur, Adad, and Bel, my gods, destroy his seed!

§36. *Ibia.*, Šamšī-Adad I

no.1. A.O.39.1 51 118-21:

ana pān šarr [ma]hirišu šū u ummanātušu ai iprikū
 May he and his army not prevail in the face of a king who opposes him!

no.2. A.O.39.1 51 127-131:

*d*_{ištar} bēlet tahāzim kakkīšu u kakki ummanātišu lišbir
 May Ištar, mistress of battle, break his weapon and the weapons of his army!

no.3. A.O.39.1 51 132-35:

*d*_{sin} ilu ... lū rabiš lemuttišu ana darētim
 May Sin, ..., be an evil demon to him forever!

no.4. A.O.39.2 54-55 iv 15-25:

(a) *d*_{šamaš} dayyānu rabū ša šamē u eršeti kīma šariku bēl dāmi ana qāt šarru bēl lemuttišu limallišu
 (b) *d*_{ištar} bēltu ninuwā eršeti šarrusuš u palašu liṭeršuma ana š[ani]m [iddin]
 (a) May Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and underworld, hand him over to a king who is his enemy as *one who gives up* a murderer! (b) May Ištar, mistress of Nineveh, take away his sovereignty and term of rule and [give] (them) to another!

§37. *Ibid.*, Puzur-Sin A.O.40.1001 78 41-44:

*d*_{aššur} bēl ālišu šumšu u paraš[u] ina ālim u mātīm kališa lūhaliq
 May Aššur (and) his city lord destroy his name and his offspring from city and country entirely!

§38. *Ibid.*, Adad-nārārī I

no.1. A.O.76.2 134 48-52a:

*d*_{aššur}, . . . , *d*_{anu} *d*_{enlil} *d*_{ea} u *d*_{ninmah} ilāni rabūti *d*_{igigu} ša šamē *d*_{anunnaku} ša eršeti ina napharišunu ezziš likelmūšuma erreta marušta aggiš lirurūš
 May Aššur, . . . , Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Ninmah, the great gods, the Igigu of heaven, the Anunnku of the underworld, look at him with anger and inflict an evil curse upon him in their wrath!

no.2. A.O.76.134 52b-53a:

šumšu zēršu ellasu u kimtašu ina māti lūhalliqū
 May they destroy his name, his seed, his clan, and his kin from the land!

no.3. A.O.76.2 53b-54:

naspuh mātišu halaq nišēšu u kudurišu ina KA-i-šu-nu kabti lušamma

May the dispersal of his land, and the destruction of his people and his heirs be decreed by their weighty edict!

no.4. A.O.76.2 134 55a:

ḏadad ina rihīš lemutti līrissu

May Adad overwhelm him with a terrible flood!

no.5. A.O.76.2 134 55b-58a:

abubu imhuillu sahmaštu tešu ašamšutu suqu bubutu arurtu hušahu ina mātišu lu kai'an mātišú

May deluge, hurricane, insurrection, confusion, storm, need, famine, hunger (and) want be established in his land!

no.6. A.O.76.2 134 58b-59a:

abubiš lušbā ana tili u karme lūter

May (Adad) cause (these things) to pass through his land like a flood and turn (it) into ruin hills!

no.7. A.O.76.2 134 61b-62:

ḏadad ina beriq lemutti mātišu libriq ana mātišu hušaha lidi

May Adad strike his land with terrible lightning (and) afflict his land with want!

no.8. A.O.76.9 143 32b-33:

u mātišu kīma til abubi lušime

May he (Adad) make his land (look) like ruin hills (created by) the deluge!

no.9. A.O.76.11 30-31:

aššur bēlu rabū šarrūtišu liskip šumšu zēršu ina māti luhalliḳ

May Aššur, the great lord, overthrow his kingship. May he destroy his name (and) his seed from the land!

§39. *Ibid.*, Shalmaneser I A.O.77.4 193 53-55:

šarru bēlu lemu <ti> šu kussišu liṭir ana niṭli īnēšu m[āti]šu lišpur

May a king who is his enemy take away his throne and under his very eyes rule his land!

§40. *Ibid.*, Tukultī-Ninurta I

no.1. A.O.78.22 271 63b-64a:

abikti šābēšu liškun

May he (Aššur) bring about the defeat of his army!

no.2. A.O.78.22 271 65a:

u qiti palū lišimašu

May he (Aššur) decree the end of his reign!

no.3. A.O.78.22 271 65b-66a:

ūmēšu luṭṭi šattātišu lulemin

May he (Aššur) darken his days (and) vitiate his years!

no.4. A.O.78.23 274 140-144:

kakkēšu lušabberū abiktu ummanättešu liškunū ana qāti šarri bēl lemuttišu lumellūšuma ina māt nakrēšu kamiš lušašibūš

May they [Aššur, Enlil and Šamaš] smash his weapons, bring about the defeat of his army, hand him over to a king who is his enemy, and force him to dwell in captivity in the land of his enemies!

§41. RIMA II Tiglath-pileser I

no.1. A.O.87.1 31 74-76:

ḏanu u ḏadad ilāni rabūti bēlēya ezziš likilmūšuma arrata marušta lirurūšu

May Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, look at him with anger and inflict an evil curse upon him!

no.2. A.O.87.1 31 80-83a:

kakkēšu lūšabbīru abiktu ummanīšu liškunu ina pān makrēšu kāmiš lūšēšibūšu

May they smash his weapons, bring about the defeat of his army, and make him sit in bonds before his enemies!

no.3. A.O.87.1 31 83b-86:

ḏadad ina briq lemutte mātišu libriq sunqa bubuta hušahha mūtānu ana mātišu liddi

May Adad strike his land with terrible lightning (and) inflict his land with distress, famine, want, (and) plague!

no.4. A.O.87.1 31 87-88:

(a) ištēn ūma la balātisu liqbi (b) šumšu zēršu ina māti lūhalliq

(a) May he (Adad) command that he not live one day longer! (b) May he destroy his name (and) his seed from the land!

§42. *Ibid.*, Ashurnasirpal II

no.1. A.O.101.26 282 70a:

aššur u ḏninurta ezziš likkalmūšu

May Aššur and Ninurta look at him with anger!

no.2. A.O.101.26 282 70b-71a:

šarrūtisu liskipū kussīšu likimūšu

May they (Aššur and Ninurta) overthrow his sovereignty, take away his throne from him!

no.3. A.O.101.56 331 19:

(a) ḏištār, bēltu rabūtu [ina] kussīšu likimūšu (b) ina īni nakārišú kamiš lušešibūšu

May Ištar, the great mistress, take away from him his throne, (and) may she make him sit in bondage before his enemies!

§43. Tiglath-pileser III Stele III B 5:

māssu lūterū ana tilli u [karme]

May they turn his land into mounds [of ruins]!

§44. OIP II

no.1. 85 60b:

[arrat limut]ti lirurūšuma liskipū palēšu

May they (the great gods) curse him [with an evil curse, and overthrow his rule!

no.2. 147 36b-37:

^daššur šar ilāni u ilāni rabūte ša šamê u eršetim^{tim} arrat maruštu lîrurūšuma

May Aššur, king of the gods, and the great gods of heaven and earth, curse him with an evil curse!

no.3. 147 38-39:

šarrūtisu liškipū balāṭišu likimūšu šumšu zēršu pirhišu u nannabšu ina pî nišê lihalliḳū

May they (Aššur and the great gods of heaven and earth) overthrow his kingship, deprive him of life, and destroy his name, his seed, his friends and relatives from the people's mouth!

§45. RIMA III Adad-nārāri III:

no.1. A.O.104.6 209 31c-33:

^dadad gugal šamê eršetim^{tim} šumu lissuh kīma tib eribbu litbima lišamqit mātss[u]

May the god Adad, canal-inspector of heaven (and) underworld, tear out (his) name (and) attack like an onslaught of locusts so that his land collapses!

no.2. A.O.104.9 216 rev. 30:

ezziš likkilmūšum[a(?) ...]

May they (Aššur, Šamaš, Nabû, Marduk, Enlil, Ninurta, Nergal, the Assyrian Ištar) glare angrily at him!

no.3. A.O.104.9 216 rev. 31:

u pir'išu ina māti lihal[liḳū (...)]

May they (ditto.) eradicate [his name, his seed], and his offspring from the land!

no.4. A.O.104.9 216 rev. 32-33:

šaharsubbâ ina zu[mrišu] kīma šubati liha[llipūšu]

May they clothe his body with leprosy as with a garment!

§46. *Ibid.*, Shalmaneser IV

no.1. A.O.105.1 240 15-19:

aššur ^dmarduk ^dadad ^dsîn ^dšamaš ana dinišu lu la izazū

May the gods Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sîn, (and) Šamaš not stand (by him) at his lawsuit!

no.2. A.O.105.1 240 18a:

māssu kiki libitti lušabiru

May they quickly smash his country like a brick!

§47. Assurbanipal, Cyl L² 232 28c-29:

^dšamaš bēl elati u šaplatti aggiš likkilmešuma šumšu zēršu ina mātâte lihalliḳ

May Šamaš, the lord of above and beneath, look upon him with anger and destroy his name, his offspring out of the lands!

NEO-ASSYRIAN TREATY-CURSES

§48. SAA II, ŠM

no.1. 5 e.19b:

[ina bu-bu-t]i¹ u hušahhi nišēšu lišamqit

May he (Marduk) strike down his people [through hunge]r and famine!

no.2. 5 r. 1b-2:

^dnabû aplu širu [xxx] gallê lemnūti la igammila napšassu

May Nabû, the august heir [who] evil demons, not spare his life!

no.3. 5 r. 3a:

[^danum ab]i ilāni haṭṭašu lišbir

[May Anu, fat]her of the gods, break his scepter!

no.4. 5 r. 3b-5a:

^denlil bēlum mušim šimāte [šá qibisa la uttakk]aru palê tanehi ūmē iṣuti šanāte hu[šahhi] [ana šimti li]šimšu

May lord Illil, decreer of fates [whose command is un]alterable, decree him a reign of exhaustion, scarce days and years of f[amine]!

no.5. 5 r 5b-7a:

^dmullissu ummu rabūtu . . . ina mahar ^denlil abus[su] [ai iṣabat]

May Mullissu, the great mother . . . not intercede for him before Enlil at the site of judgement and decision!

no.6. 5 r. 7b-8a:

ea apkal ilāni mudē mimma šumšu nā[rešu ina nagbi lis]kir

May Ea, the sage of the gods who knows everything, dam his rivers [in their sources]!

no.7. 5 r. 8b-9b:

(a) ^sšamaš . . . šarrūssu liskip (b) dinšu ai i[din]

May Šamaš . . . reject his kingship and not [judge] his case!

no.8. 5 r. 10-11:

[^dsîn bēl šamē ša] šeressu ina ilāni šupa[t xxxx širt]a rabīta ša ina zumrišu la ikkiru [limissuma]

[May Sin, the lord of heaven, whose] punishment is renowned among the gods, [inflict upon him] a severe puni[shment] which is not to be removed from his body!

no.9. 5 r. 12:

[ūmē arhē pa]lēšu ina tanehi u [dimmati lišaqt]i

May he [make the days, months and years] of his reign [end] in sighing and [moaning]!

no.10. 5 r. 13-16a:

[^dadad gugal šamē eršet]i zun]nu ina šamē mīlu ina nag-bi [li-ṭir-šu] [māt-su ina hu-šah-hi] li-hal-[liq] [eli ālišu ez-zi-iš li-is-si-ma mas]su an[a til abubi litir]

[May Adad, the canal inspector of heaven, and earth, deprive him of rain] from the heaven, and of seasonal flooding from the underground water; may he destroy [his land through famine, roar fiercely at his city], and turn his [land into ruins by means of a flood]!

§49. *Ibid.*, AM

no.1. 8 i 9:

šutū adi nišē māsšu kīma gašši lipp[arrir]

May he together with the people of his land, be cru[shed] like gypsum!

no.2. 8 i 18-20:

ahula ^mmati'-ilu adi mārēšu [rabēšu] nišē māssu ištu qerbī māssu li[hliq] ana māssu la itarra pa-ni šamāssu la [emmar]

May, alas, Mati'-ilu, together with his sons, [magnates] and the people of his land [be ousted] from his country, not return to his country, and no [behold] his country again!

no.3. 9 i 32b-35:

[k]ī ša imit[ti ša hurāpi anniu] nashatūni ina [xxxxxxx šaknatūni] imi[tti ša ^mmati'-ilu mārē[šu rabēšu] mišēšū] [l]u nashat ina x[xxxx] lu [šaknat]

Just as the shou[lder of this spring lamb] is torn out and [palced in ...], the shoulder of Mati'-ilu, of his sons, [his magnates] and the people of his land be torn out and [placed] in [...].

no.4. 11 iv 4-6:

^dsīn bēl rabū āšib harrān ana ^dmati'-ilu mār[ēšu] rabēšu nišē māssu saharšubbā kīma nahalapti l[ihallip] šēri lirpudū ai ibaššišunu rēmu

May Sin, the great lord who dwells in Harran, clothe Mati'-ilu, [his so]ns, his magnates, and the people of his land in leprosy as in a cloak! May they have to roam in the open country, and may there be no mercy for them!

no.5. 11 iv 8-10a:

^dadad gugal šamē^e eršetimⁱ ina sunqi bubūtu hušahhi ša ^mmati'-ilu māssu nišē māssu liqqattima

May Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth, put an end to Mati'-ilu's land, and the people of his land through hunger, want, and famine!

no.6. 11 iv 10b-11:

šīri marēšunu marātēšunu lēkulūma kī šīri hurāptu muhhišunu liṭṭib

May they eat the flesh of their sons and daughters, may it taste as good to them as the flesh of spring lambs!

no.7. 11 iv 12-13:

ikkil ^dadad lizamēma zunnu ana ikkibišunu liššakin

May they be deprived of Adad's thunder so that rain become forbidden to them!

no.8. 11 iv 15a:

šināt imāri ana šatēšunu

May donkey's urin be their drink!

no.9. 11 iv 20-21:

urqit šēru lu la uššā ^dšamaš lu la pān issu habit[i mē] ai ihbā mē nag-bi

May not vesetation spring forth in the open country and see the sunlight, may women fetching water not draw water from the spring!

no.10. 12 v 5-7:

aššur abi ilāni nadin šarruti mātika ana tušari nišēka ana riḥši ālānika ana tillē bētika ana harbati lūtir

May Aššur, father of the gods, who grants kingship, turn your land into a battlefield, your people to devastation, your cities into mounds, and your house into ruins!

no.11. 12 v 12b-15:

[^dIšt]ar . . . qassisunu likim [x]x baltušunu liškun limrur bik[itsunu m]a ahula ma ina adē ša ^maššur-nērāri šar [māt aššur] nihtiṭi

May Ištar . . . take away their bow, bring them to shame, and make them bitterly weep: "Woe, we have sinned against the treaty of Aššur-nērāri, king of Assyria!"

§50. *Ibid.*, EB

no.1. 27 iv 8-9:

ilāni rabūti ša šamē^e u erṣeti^{tim} ilāni māt aššur^{ki} ilāni akkade^{ki} ilāni eber-nari arrat la napšuri līrurūkunu

May the great gods of heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria, the gods of Akkad and the gods of Eber-nari curse you with an indissoluble curse!

no.2. 27 iv 14-15:

(a) ^dmilqartu ^diasumunu mātikunu ana hap[e] (b) nišekunu ana šalali lidinī (15b) issu mātikunu [lissuh]ūkunu

May Melqarth and Eshmun deliver your land to destruction and your people to deportation! may they [uproot] you from your land and take away!

no.3 27 iv 18-19a:

^dastartu ina tahāzi danni qassikunu li(š)bir ina šapl[a nakrēkunu] lišešibkunu

May Astarte break your bow in the thick of battle and have you crouch at the feet of your enemy!

§51. *Ibid.*, VTE:

no.1. 45 414-16:

Aššur šar ilāni mušim [šimāti] šimat lemutti lā ṭabti liš[imk]u]nu arak Šebuti [k]iṣid littū[ti a]i iqiškunu

May Aššur, king of the gods, who decrees [the fates], decree an evil and unpleasant fate for you!
May he not gr[nt yo]u long-lasting old age and the attainment of extreme old age!

no.2. 45 417-18:

(a) Mullissu hirtu naramtašu amat pīšu lilamminma (b) ai iṣbat abbutkunu

May Mullissu, his beloved wife, make the utterance of his mouth evil, may she not intercede for you!

no.3. 45 418A-C:

^danum šar ilāni muršu tanēhu di^u diliptu nissatu lā ṭūb zar^u eli naphar bītātikunu lišaznin

May Anu, king of the gods, let disease, exhaustion, malaria, sleepiness, worries and ill health rain upon all your houses!

no.4. 45 419-21:

^dsin nannar šamē u erṣeti saharšubpū lihallipkunu ina pān(ē) ilāni u šarri erabkunu ai iqbi kī sirrime šabīti (ina) šēri rupda

May Sin, teh brightness of heaven and earth, clothe you with leprosy and forbid your entering into the presence of the gods or king. Roam the desert like the wild ass and the gazelle!

no.5. 45 422-24:

^dsamaš nūr šamāmi u kaqqar dīn ketti (mešāri) ai idinkunu niṭil ēnēkunu liššima ina ekleti itallakā

May Šamaš, the light of heaven and earth, not judge you justly. May he remove your eyesight. Walk about in darkness!

no.6. 46 425-26a:

^dninurta ašārid ilānī ina šiltāhišu šamri lišamqitkunu dāmīkunu limal[li] šeru

May Ninurta, the foremost among the gods, fell you with his fierce arrow; may he fill the plain with your blood!

no.7. 46 426b-27:

širkunu arū zību lišākil

May he (Ninurta) feed your flesh to eagle and the vulture!

no.8. 46 428-30:

^ddilbat babat kakkabāni ina niṭil īnīkunu hirātēkunu ina sūn nakrikunu lišanil mārīkunu ai ibēlu bītkuun nakru ahū lizaiza mimmūkun

(428) May Venus, the brightest of the stars, before your eyes make your wives lie in the lap of your enemy; (429b) may your sons not take possession of your house, but a stranger enemy divide your goods!

no.9. 46 433-34:

^dmarduk aplu reštū hītu kabtu māmīt lā pašāri ana šim[t]ikunu lišīm

May Marduk, the eldest son, decree a heavy punishment and an indissoluble curse for your fate!

no.10. 46 435-36:

^dzērbānītu nādinat šumi u zēri šumkunu zērkunu ina māti luhalliḳ

May Zarpanitu, who grants name and seed, destroy your name and your seed from the land!

no.11. 46 437-39:

^dbēlit-ilāni ^dbēlit nābnīti talittu ina mātīkunu liprus ikkil [šer]ri u lakē ina sūqi rebit liza[mmi ta]ritkunu

May Belet-ili, the lady of creation of heaven and earth, cut off birth from your land; may she deprive your nurses of the cries of little children in the streets and squares!

no.12. 46 440-42a:

^dadad gugal šamē^e eršeti mī[lu] ina mātīk[unu] lipru[s] tamerātīkunu liza[mmi] ina riḫši dānni mātīkunu [xxx]

May Adad, the canal inspector of heaven and earth, cut off sea[sonal flooding] from your land and deprive your fields of [gran], may he [submerge] your land with a great flood!

no.13. 46 449a:

ina būrikunu šir mārēkunu aklā

In your hunger eat the flesh of your sons!

no.14. 46 449b-50a:

ina bub[ūti] hušahhu amīlu šir lēkul

In want and famine may one man eat the flesh of another!

no.15. 48 452:

eṭemmakunu paqīdu nāq mē ai irši

May your ghost have nobody to take care of the pouring of libations to him!

no.16. 48 453-54:

(a) Ištar bēlit qabli u tahāzi ina tahā[zi] danni qašatkunu lišbir (b) idīkunu liksi (c) ina šapal nakriku-
nu lišēšibkunu

May Ištar, lady of battle and war, break your bow in the thick of ba[ttle]! May she bind your arms
and have you crouch under your enemy!

no.17. 48 459-60:

ištar āšibat āl^{al}ar bail rēmu gimillu [lu l]a išakan elikunu

[May] Ištar, who dwells in Arbela, [no]t show you mercy and compassion!

no.18. 48 461-63:

d^ggula azugallatu rabītu muršu tanēhu [ina libbikunu] simu lazu ina zumrikunu lišk[un dāmu u šarku]
kīma mē ru[nkā]

May Gula, the great physician, put sickness and weariness [in your hearts] and an unhealing wound in
your body. Bathe in [blood and pus] as if in water!

no.19. 49 474-75:

limhašūkunu likkelmūkunu arratu maruštu aggiš līrurūkunu

May they (all the great gods of heaven and earth) strike you, look at you in anger!; may they curse
you grimly with a painful curse!

no.20. 49 476b-77a:

šapliš ina eršeti eṭemmakunu mē lizamū

Below, in the netherworld, may they make your ghost thirst for water!

no.21. 49 477b-79a:

šillu u šētu liktašidūkunu ina puzri šah[āti] lā tanimmidā

May shade and daylight always chase you away, and may you not find refuge in a hidden cor[ner]!

no.22. 49 479b:

akalu u mē līz[ib]ūkunu

May food and water abandon you!

no.23. 49 480-81a:

sunqu hušahhu bubūtu mūtānu ultu mahrikunu ai ippiṭir

May want and famine, hunger and plague never be removed from you!

no.24. 49 483b-84a:

pagrikunu eršetu ai imhur

May the earth not receive your corpses!

no.25. 49 485-87:

ūmīkun[u lū] eṭū šanātīkunu lū eklā ekletu lā namār[i] ana šimṭīkunu lišīmū ina tanān[ēhi d]jilipti
napištakunu liqti

May your days be dark and your years dim, may darknes which is not to be brightened be declared as
your fate. May your life end in exha[ustion and slee]plessness!

no.26. 49 491a:

šināt imēri lū mašqitkunu

May urine of an ass be your drink!

no.27. 49 493:

šēdu utukku rabīšu lemmu bītātīkunu lihīrū

May demon, devil and evil spirit select your houses!

no.28 518:

ḏaššur abi ilāni ina kakkī[šu] ezzūti li[šam]qit[kunu]

May Aššur, father of the gods, st[ri]ke [you] down with [his] fierce weapons!

no.29. 51-52 545-46:

šamaš ina epinni ša parzilli ālku[nu] nagīkunu lu[šab]alkit

May Šamaš with an iron plough [overtu]rn yo[ur] city and your district!

no.30 573a:

. . . qašatkunu lišbirū

May (all the gods who are called by name in this treaty) break your bow!

no.31. 55 608-11:

kī ša šalmu ša iškūri ina išāti iššarrapūni ša ṭīṭi ina mé imahhahūni [k]ī hannī'e lānkunu ina girra liqmū

Just as an image of wax is burnt in the fire and one of clay dissolved in water, (so) may your figure be burnt in the fire and sunk in water!

no.32. 55 612-15:

kī ša narkabtu annītu adī sasēša ina dāmi rahšatūni kī haanni'e ina qabli nakrikunu narkabātēkunu ina (libbi) dāmi ša ramēnikunu lirrahšā

Just as this chariost is drenched with blood up to its baseboard, so may your chariots be drenched with your own blood in the midst of your enemy!

APPENDIX III

THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF LEV 26:14-39 AND DT 28:15-68

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

1. Condition and Affirmation

14-15

If you will not listen to me and carry out all these commandments, and if you reject my decrees and abhor my ordinances, so that you will not carry out all my commandments (but) break my covenant, then I myself will do this to you:

15

(a) If you do not listen to the voice of the Lord in order to keep and to do all his commandments and his status which I am commanding today, (b) then all these curses will come upon you and overtake you.

58

If you do not keep to do all the words of this instruction written in this book to fear this honoured and awesome name, the Lord your God,

2. Cursed States

Dt 28:16-19

(16) Cursed will you be in the city, and cursed will you be in the field. (17) Cursed will be your basket and your kneading-trough. (18) (a α) Cursed will be the fruit of your womb (a β) and the fruit of your ground, (b) the calves of your herds and the lambs of your flocks. (19) Cursed will you be when you come in, and cursed will you be when you go out.

3. Yahweh's Curse/Anger:

Dt 28:20

The Lord will send you curse, confusion, and anger in every enterprise that you undertake, until you are destroyed and until you perish quickly because of the evil of your deeds

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

in which you have forgotten me.

4. Disease and War

16-17

(16) I will bring sudden terror, consumption and fever that will destroy your sight and drain away (your) life. (b) You will sow seed in vain, since your enemies will eat it. (17) I will set my face against you so that you will be defeated by your enemies; (b) those who hate you will rule, over you, and you will flee even when no-one is pursuing you.

21-22

(21) The Lord will make pestilence cling to you until he has wiped out from the land where you are going to take possession of it. (22) The Lord will strike you with consumption, and with fever and inflammation, and with raging fever, and with sword, and with scorching and with mildew, (b) and they will pursue you until you perish.

59-62 (Disease)

The Lord will bring on you fearful plague and your offspring, severe and lasting plagues, and severe and chronic illnesses. And he will bring upon you all the diseases of Egypt, of which you were afraid, and they will cling to you. Additionally, the Lord will bring upon you every sickness and every affliction that are not written in the book of this law, until you are destroyed. And you will be left in small numbers, for though you were as the stars of heaven in multitude, because you did not obey the Lord your God.

5. Drought

19b-20

I will make your sky like iron and your ground like bronze. Your strength will be spent in vain, for your land will not yield its crops, nor will the trees of the land yield their fruit.

23-24

The sky above your head will be bronze, and the ground beneath you iron. The Lord will turn the rain of your land into dust and powder; it will descend upon you from heaven until you are destroyed.

cf. 38-40,42

(Natural Calamity)

(38) You will sow much seed in the field, but you will harvest little, because locusts will devour it. (39) You will plant vineyards and till them, but you will not drink wine and you will not gather, because the worm will eat it. (40) You will have olive trees in all your territory, but you will not anoint yourself with oil, for your olives

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

will drop off. (42)
A swarm of locusts
will take possession
of all trees and the
fruit of your ground.

6. Wild Animals

Lev 26:22

I will send wild animals
against you, and they
will rob you of your
children, destroy your
cattle and reduce your
number so that your
roads will be deserted.

7. War

25

(a α) I will bring upon
you a sword which will
execute vengeance for
the covenant; (a β) you
will gather in your
cities (b) but I will
send a plague among,
you, so that you
will be delivered
into enemy hands.

25

The Lord will cause
you to be defeated
before your enemies;
you will go out one
way against them and
you will flee seven
ways before them,
and you will be become
an object of horror
to all the kingdoms
of the earth.

49-51

The Lord will bring
against you from
far away, from the
ends of the earth,
like an eagle swoops
down, a nation whose
language you will
not understand, a
nation of fierce
appearance who will
have no respect for
the old and show no
no favour for the
young. (51) They will
eat the fruit of your
animals and the fruit
of your ground until
you are destroyed;
(a nation) who will
not leave behind for
you any grain, new
wine, and fresh oil,
any calves of your
herds and lambs of
your flocks until
they have caused
you to perish.

8. Food Shortage

Lev 26:26

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

When I cut off the food supply for you, ten women will bake your bread in one oven, and they will bring back your bread by weight. You will eat but not be satisfied.

9. Corpses for Wild Animals

Dt 28:26

Your corpses will be food for all the birds of the sky and for the beasts of the earth, and there will be no-one to frighten them away.

10. Diseases

Dt 28:27

The Lord will afflict (you) with Egyptian boils, and with swellings, and with eczema, and with scabies, of which you cannot be healed.

11. Blindness and its Consequences

Dt 28:28-29

The lord will afflict you with madness, and with blindness, and confusion of mind; and you will be groping about at midday, just like the blind man in the dark, and you will not make your ways prosperous, but you will only be oppressed and robbed day after day, and there will be no-one to rescue you.

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

12. Lower Status

Dt 28:43-44

The resident alien who is in your midst will rise over you higher and higher, but you will go down, lower and lower. He will lend you, but you will not lend to him; he will be the head, but you will be the tail."

13. Result of Defeat

Dt 28:30-34

(30) You will ally yourself to a woman, but another will ravish her; you will build a house, but you will not live in; (b) you will plant a vineyard, but you will not begin to use its fruit. (31) Your ox will be slaughtered before your eyes, but you will not eat of it; your ass will be seized in your presence, but it will not be returned to you; your flock will be given over to your enemies, and there will be no-one to rescue for you. (32) your sons and daughters will be given over to another nation and your eyes will see and fail with longing for them the whole day long, but you will be powerless to help. (33) A nation whom you do not know will eat the fruit of your ground and all the produce

48

You will serve your enemies, whom the Lord will send you in hunger and thirst, and in nakedness and need of every thing; and he will put an iron yoke on your neck until he has destroyed you.

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

of your toil, and you will only be pressed and crushed all your days. (34) You will be driven mad by the sight you see with your eyes.

14. Disease

Dt 28:35

The Lord will afflict you with terrible boils on the knees and on the legs, of which you cannot be healed, from the sole of your foot to the top of your head.

15. Affirmation of Curses

45-47

And all these curses will come upon you, and they will pursue you and overtake you until you are destroyed, because you did not obey the Lord your God, to observe his commandments and decrees he commanded you. They will be a sign and a wonder to you and your offspring for ever, because you did not serve the Lord your God joyfully and gladly in the time of prosperity.

63a

It will happen that just as the Lord delighted over you to prosper you and to multiply you, so the Lord will delight over you to make you perish and destroy you.

16. Cannibalism

29

You will eat the flesh of your sons and the flesh of your daughters.

53-57

You will eat the fruit of your womb, the flesh of your sons and your daughters, whom the Lord is giving to

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

you, during the siege
and the distress
by which your enemy
will distress you. (54)
As for the man among
you who is delicate
and very dainty, his
eye will be evil
against his brother,
and against his
beloved wife, and
against the last of
his sons that remains,
so that he will not
give to one of them
any flesh of
his sons which he is
eating, since there
is nothing left for
him during the siege
and the distress by
which your enemy will
distress you in all
your settlements. As
for the delicate and
dainty woman among
you, who would hardly
venture to set the
sole of her foot on
the ground because
of her daintiness
and delicateness, her
eye will be evil
against her beloved
husband and her son,
and her daughter
and her afterbirth
from her womb
and the children
she bears. For
she will eat them
secretly for lack
of everything during
the siege and the
distress by which
your enemy will
distress you in your
settlements.

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

17. Destruction of Sanctuaries and Cities

30-32

I will destroy your high places, cut down your incense altars and cast your dead bodies on remains of your idols, and I will abhor you. I will turn your cities into ruins and lay waste your sanctuaries, and I will not smell your soothing aromas. I will wast lay the land, so that your enemies who live in it will be appalled.

52

And they will besiege you in all your settlements throughout all your land, until the high and fortified walls in which you trust fall down; and they will besiege you in all your settlement, throughout all your land which the Lord your God is giving you.

18. Deportation

33

I will scatter you among the nations and draw out a sword after you, and your land will become desolate and your cities ruins.

36a

The Lord will bring you and your king whom you will set over you, to a nation whom neither you nor your fathers have known.

41

You will bear sons and daughters, but they will not belong to you, because they will into captivity.

63b-64a

You will be uprooted from the land where you are entering to possess. The Lord will scatter you among all the nations, from one end to the other.

19. The Sabbaths of the Land

Lev 26:34-35

Then the land will enjoy its sabbaths as long as it lies desolate, while you are in your enemies land; then the land will rest and enjoy its sabbaths.

As long as it lies desolate, it will rest, the rest it did not have during your sabbaths when

Lev 26:14-39

Dt 28:15-37

Dt 28:38-57

Dt 28:58-68

you dwelt in it.

20. Misery in Exile

36-39

As for those of you who are left, I will send faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; the sound of a blown leaf will put them to flight, and they will flee, as one flees from the sword, and they will fall, even though no-one is pursuing them. They will stumble over one another, as if fleeing from the sword, even though no-one is pursuing. So you will not be able to stand before your enemies. You will perish among the nations and the land of your enemies will devour you. Those of you who are left will pine away in the lands of your enemies because of their sins; also because of their fathers' sins they will pine away.

36b-37

(36b) There you will serve other gods, of wood and stone. (37) You will become a horror, a proverb and an object of scorn among the nations to whom the Lord will drive you.

64b-68

(64b) There you will serve other gods, wood and stone, which neither you nor your fathers have known. (65) Among those nations you will find no repose, no resting place for the sole of your food. There the Lord will give you an anxious mind, failing and of eyes a languishing soul. You will live in constant suspense, filled with dread both night and day, never sure of your life. In the morning you will say: "If only it were evening!" and in the evening you will say: "If only it were morning!" - because of the terror that will fill your hearts and and the sights that your eyes will see.

68

The Lord will sent you back in ships to Egypt on a journey which I said you: "You will not see again." There you will offer your selves for sale to your enemies as male and female slaves, but no-one will buy you.

APPENDIX IV

COMPARISON BETWEEN KUMNA, VTE AND DT 28

KuMna

VTE

Dt 28

1. Cursed States

16-19

Cursed will you be in the city,
and cursed will you be in the
field. Curses will you be
basket and in your kneading-trough.
Cursed will be the fruit of your womb
and the fruit of your ground, the
calves of your herds and the lambs
of your flocks. Cursed will
you be when you come in, and
cursed will you be when you go out.

2. Evil Fate

414-15a

May Aššur, king of the gods,
who decrees [the fates],
decree an evil and unpleasant
fate for you!"

3. Divine Anger/Curse

iv 1-5¹

That man, may Anu,
Enlil, Ea and Ninmah,
the great gods, look
at him in the wrath of
their hearts furiously!

20

(a) The Lord will send you curse,
confusion, and anger in every
enterprise that you undertake,

4. Destruction

iv 6-10

(a) May they destroy him,
his name, his offspring,
his descendants, in the
mouth of the multitudinous
people and pluck his
seed (for him)!

iv 11

(c) May he have no-one to
libate (for him)!

415b-16

May he (Aššur) not gra[nt
yo]u long-lasting old
age and the attainment of
extreme old age!

(b) until you are destroyed and until
you perish quickly because of the
evil of your deeds in which you have
forgotten me.

5. Divine Opposition

417-18a

¹ See the Babylonian text of KuMna below.

KuMna**VTE****Dt 28**

May Mullissu, his beloved wife, make the utterance of his mouth evil!

6. No Intercession**418b**

May she not intercede for you!

7. Disease**iv 12-17**

May Sin the luminary, lord of the crown, the prince, make him bear on his body his heavy punishment, his great penalty!

iv 18-20

May he crouch like an owl in abandoned ruins! As long as he lives may he be deprived of the inner city!

418A-C

May Anu, king of the gods, let disease, exhaustion, malaria, sleeplessness, worries and ill health rain upon all your houses!

419-21

May Sin, the brightness of heaven and earth, clothe you with leprosy and forbid your entering into the presence of the gods and king. Roam the desert like the wild ass and the gazelle!

21-22

The Lord will make pestilence cling to you until he has wiped out from the land where you are going to take possession of it. The Lord will strike you with consumption, and with fever, and inflammation, and with raging fever, and with the sword, and with scorching, and with mildew, and they will pursue you until you perish!

8. No Burial**iv 21**

May he have no-one to bury (him)!

9. Divine Anger**iv 22**

May he (Sin) look at him furiously!

10. Disease**iv 23**

and may his stomach not give him rest!

11. No Justice**iv 24-26:**

May Šamaš, lofty judge of heaven and earth, director of god and man, not give

422-23a:

May Šamaš, the light of heaven and earth, not judge you justly!

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heed to him in his
litigation!
iv 27-28a:
May he not allow his lawsuit
to reach a decision!

12. Loss of Eyesight**423b-24**

May he remove your eyesight!
Walk about in darkness!

13. Decline of Household

iv 28b

May he (Šamaš) cause his
house to dwindle!

14. Drought**23-24**

And the sky above your head will be
bronze, and the ground beneath you
iron. The Lord will turn the rain
of your land into dust and powder;
it will descend upon you from
heaven until you are destroyed.

15. War I

iv 29

May he (Šamaš) cause his
enemy to stand over him!

425-27

May Ninurta, the foremost
among the gods, fell you
with his fierce arrow; may
he fill the plain with your
blood and feed your flesh to
eagle and the vulture!"

428-30

May Venus, the brightest of
the stars, before your eyes
make your wives lie in the
lap of your enemy; (429b-30a)
may your sons not take
possession of your house,
(430b) but a strange
enemy divide your goods!

25-26

The Lord will cause you to be
defeated before your enemies; you
will go out one way against them and
you will flee seven ways before them,
and you will become an object of
horror to all kingdom of the earth.
and your corpses will be food
for every bird of the sky and for
the beasts of the earth, and there
will be no-one to frighten them away.

16. Unique curses**431-32**

May Jupiter, exalted lord of
the gods, not show you the

KuMna

VTE

Dt 28

entrance of Bel in Esangil;
may he destroy your life!"

17. Disease

433-34

May Marduk, the eldest son,
decree a heavy punishment
and indissoluble curse
for your fate!"

27

The Lord will afflict (you) with
Egyptian boils, and with
swellings, and with eczema, and with
scabies, of which you cannot be
healed."

18. Annihilation of Family

435-36

May Zarpanitu, who grants
name and seed, destroy your
name and your seed from the land!

437-39

May Belet-ili, the lady of
creation of heaven and earth,
cut off your land; may she
deprive your nurses of the
cries of little children in the
streets and squares!"

19. Famine

iv 30-v 3

May Adad, the canal
inspector of heaven and
earth, lord of the
underground source and
of the rain, he who
makes verdant the
meadows, in the midst
of the prosperity of
land and people decree
hunger for him!

440-45a

May Adad, the canal inspector
of heaven and earth, cut off
sea[sonal flooding] from your
land and deprive your fields of
[grain], may he [submerge] your
land with a great flood;
may the locust who diminishes
the land devour your harvest;
may the sound of mill or oven
be lacking from your houses!
May the grain for grinding
disappear from you!

20. Cannibalism

v 1-3

May he (Adad) bring
(each of) his kin to
an end in the hunger
of his own flesh?!"

445b-46a

(a) Instead of grain may your
sons and your daughters
grind your bones!

446b-48a

(b) May not (even) your (first)
finger-joint dip in the dough!
May the [...] of your bowls

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eat up the dough!

448b(c) May a mother [bar the door]
to her daughter!**449-51a**(d) In your hunger eat the flesh
of your sons! In want and
famine may one man eat the
flesh of another! May one
clothe himself in another's
skin!**21. Corpses as Food for Animals****451b**May dogs and swine eat
your flesh!**22. No-one for Libations****452**May your ghost have nobody
to take care of the pouring
of libations to him!**23. Annihilation of Family****v 4-10**May the mighty Nergal,
who sets annihilation,
destroy his clan in
confusion! May he
(Nergal) not spare his
(the victim's) favourite
in punishment and
annihilation!**24. Destruction of Boundary****v 11-18**May magnificent Ninurta,
son of Enlil, the hero,
lord of the border and
of this kudurru, pull
out his kudurru! May
he move his borderpost!
May he destroy his boundary!**25. Blindness and its Consequence****28-29**

The lord will afflict you with

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VTE

Dt 28

madness, blindness and confusion of mind; and you will be groping about at midday, just like the blind man in the dark, and you will not make your ways prosperous, but you will only be oppressed and robbed day after day, and there will be no-one to rescue you.

26. War II

v 19-24

May Zababa, the prince who avenges Enlil his father, break up his bow where there is battle (and) cut away his bowstring!

453-60

May Ištar, lady of battle and war, smash your bow in the thick of battle, may she bind your arms, and have you crouch under your enemy! May Nergal, hero of the gods, extinguish your life with his merciless sword, and send slaughter and pestilence among you! (457-60) May Mullissu, who dwells in Nineveh, tie a flaming sword at your side! [May] Ištar, who dwells in Arbela, [no]t show you mercy and compassion!

30-34

(30a) You will ally yourself to a woman, but another man will ravish her; you will build a house, but you will not live in; (30b) you will plant a vineyard, but you will not begin to use its fruits. (31) Your ox will be slaughtered before your eyes, you will not eat of it; your ass will be seized in your presence, but it will not be returned to you; your flock will be given over to your enemies, and there will be no-one to rescue you. (32) Your sons and daughters will be given over to another nation and your eyes will see and fail with longing for them the whole day long, but you will be powerless to help. (33) A nation whom you do not know will eat the fruit of your ground and all the produce of your toil, and you will only be pressed and crushed day after day. (34) You will be driven mad by the sight you see with your eyes.

27. Destruction of Reputation

v 25-28

May he overturn the reputation of his kin!
May he make him sickeningly repugnant to anyone who looks at him!

28. Disease

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v 29-vi 2

May Marduk, the great lord,
whose pronouncement cannot
be changed, make him bear
a dropsy whose binding
cannot be released!
As long as he lives,
may his belly be
burdened like a storeroom!

461-63

May Gula, the great
physician, put sickness
and weariness [in your
hearts] and an unhealing
wound in your body.
Bathe in [blood and pus]
as if in water!

35

The Lord will afflict you with
terrible boils on the knees and on
the legs, of which you cannot be
healed, from the sole of your
foot to the top of your head.

29. Short Life

vi 3-6

May Nabû, the scribe of
heaven and earth,
the beloved of Šazu,
shorten his days,
reduce his months
(and) diminish his years!

30. War

464-65

[May] the Pleiades, the
[heroic] gods, mas[sacre
you with their] fierce
[weapons]!

31. Man-eating Lion

467-68

May [Bethel and Ana]th-
Bethel hand you over to the
paws of [a man-eating] lion!

32. Disease

vi 7-13

May Gula, the lofty lady
who gives life set in his
body a persistent sickness,
and unending sickness
and prolonged infection!
May his fat constantly drip,
become liquid and dissolve!

469-71

May Kubaba, the god[dess
of] Carchemish, put a serious
venereal disease within you;
may your [urine] drip to
the ground like raindrops!

33. Natural Disaster

vi 14-19

May Ningirsu, lord of
great calamity, cover
his field with scorching!

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Instead of plant growth
may alkali dominate,
Instead of grain may
thorns grow abundantly!"

34. Divine Alienation

vi 20-23

May able Ištar, daughter
of Sin, the warriorress,
alienate his god
and goddess from him!

vi 24-26

May she hang an evil
deity, a sapping spirit,
at his side, and may
they destroy his plans!"

vi 27-28

Whatever he brings,
may they cause the wind
to carry away!"

36-37

The Lord will bring you and your
king, whom you will set over you,
to a nation whom neither you
nor your fathers have known,
and there you will serve other gods,
of wood and stone. You will
will become a horror, a proverb,
and an object of scorn among the
nations to whom the Lord will
drive you.

35. Thematic Recurrence of Preceding Curses along with Additional Consequences

38-57

38-40

You will sow much seed in the field,
but you will harvest little, because
locusts will devour it. You will
plant vineyards and till them,
but you will not drink wine and you
will not gather fruit, because the
worm will eat it. You will have olive
trees in all your territory, but you
will not anoint yourself with oil,
for your olives will drop off.

41

You will bear sons and daughters, but
they will not belong to you, because
they will into captivity.

42

A swarm of locusts will take
possession of all trees and the
fruit of your ground.

43-44

The resident alien who is in your
midst will rise over you higher
and higher, but you will go down,
lower and lower. He will lend you,
but you will not lend to him; he will

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be the head, but you will be the tail.
45-48

And all these curses will come upon you and they will pursue you and overtake you, until you are destroyed, because you did not obey the Lord, your God, to observe his commandments and decrees he commanded you. They will be a sign and a wonder to you and your offspring for ever, because you did not serve the Lord your God joyfully and in the time of prosperity. You will serve your enemies, whom the Lord will send you, in hunger and thirst, and nakedness and need of everything; he will put an iron yoke on your neck until he has destroyed you.

49-50:

The Lord will bring a against you from far away, from the end of the earth, like an eagle swoops down, a nation whose language you will not understand, a nation of fierce appearance who will have not respect or the old and show no favour for the young.

51-52

And they will eat the fruit of your animals and the fruit of your ground until you are destroyed; (a nation) who will not leave behind for you any grain, new wine, and fresh oil, any calves of your herds and lambs of your flocks until they have caused you to perish. And they will besiege you in all your settlements throughout all your land, until the high and fortified walls in which you trust fall down; and they will besiege you in all your settlement throughout all your land which the Lord your God will have given you.

53-57

And you will eat the fruit of your womb, the flesh of your sons and your daughters, whom the Lord will have given to you, in the siege and in the distress with which your enemy will distress you.
 As for the man among you who is

KuMna

VTE

Dt 28

delicate and very dainty, his eye will be evil against his brother, and against his beloved wife, and against the last of his sons that remains, so that he will not give to one of them any of the flesh of his sons which he is eating, since there is nothing left for him in the siege and in the distress with which your enemy will distress you in all your settlements. As for the delicate and dainty woman among you, who would hardly venture to set the sole of her foot upon the earth because of her daintiness and delicacy, her eye will be evil against her beloved husband, and against her son, and against her daughter, and against her afterbirth which comes out from between her feet, and against her sons to whom she will have given birth, because she will eat them in secret, in need of everything in the siege and in the distress with which your enemy will distress you in your settlements.

36. Summary

vi 29-32

May the great gods, as may as have their names mentioned on this inscribed stone, curse an irrevocable curse against him!

472-93

472-75

May all the great gods of heaven and earth who inhabit the universe and are mentioned by name in this tablet, strike you, look at you anger, uproot you from among the living and curse you grimly with painful curse!

476a

Above, may the take possession of your life!

476b-77a

Below, in the netherworld, may they make your ghost thirst for water!

477b-79a

May shade and daylight always chase you away, and

58-69

58

If you do not keep to do all the words of this instruction written in this book to fear this honoured and awesome name, the Lord your God,

59-62:

The Lord will bring on you and your offspring fearful plague, severe and lasting plagues, and severe and chronic illness. And he will bring upon you all the diseases of Egypt, of which you were afraid, and they will cling to you.

Additionally, the Lord will bring upon you every sickness and every affliction that are not written in the book of this law, until you are destroyed.

And you will be left in small

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may you not find refuge
in a hidden cor[ner!]

479b

May food and water
abandon you!

480-81a

May want and famine,
hunger and plague never
be removed from you!

481b-83a

Before your very eyes may
dogs and swine drag the
teats of your young
women and the *penises*
of your young men to
and fro in the
squares of Assur!

483b-84a

May the earth not receive
your corpses!

484b

May your burial place be
in the belly of a dog
or a pig!

485-87

May your days be dark and
your years dim, may darknes
which is not to be
brightened be declared as
your fate. May your life
end in exha[ustion and
slee]plessness!

488-89a

May an irresistible flood
come up from the earth
and devastate you!

489b

May anything good be
forbidden to you!"

490-92

Anything ill be your share;
may tar and pitch be your
food; may urine of an ass
be your drink, may naphtha
be your ointment, may
duckweed be your covering!

493

May demon, devil and evil
spirit select your houses!

numbers, for though you were
as the stars of heaven in
multitude, because you did
not obey the Lord your God.

63-64a

And it will happen that just as
the Lord delighted over you
to prosper you and to increase
you, so the Lord will
delight over you to *make*
perish and destroy you, and
you will be uprooted from the
land where you are entering
to possess.

64b-68

And the Lord will scatter you
among all the nations, from one
end to the other, and there
you will serve other gods - gods
of wood and stone, which neither
you nor your fathers have known.
Among those nations you will
no repose, and there will be no
resting place for the sole of
your foot. There the Lord will
give you a anxious mind,
failing of eyes, and a languishing
soul. You will live in constant
suspense, filled with dread both night
and day, never sure of your life. In
the morning you will say: "If only
it were evening!" and in the
evening you will say: "If only it
were morning!" - because of the
terror that will your hearts and
sights that your eyes will see.

68

The Lord will send you back in ships
to Egypt on a journey regarding which
I said to you: you will not see again."
There will offer yourselves for
sale to your enemies, as male
slaves and female slaves, but
no-one will buy you.

The Babylonian Text of KuMna

iv 1-5:

amīla šuātu d^anu d^enlil d^ea u dⁿinmah ilāni rabūti ina uggat libbišunu ezziš lik-
kelmūšuma

iv 6-10:

šāšu šumšu zēršu nannabšu ina pī nišē dešāti lihalliḳū u zēršu lilqutūma

iv 11:

naq mē ai 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁

v 12-17:

d^asin nannāru bel agī ētellu annašu kabta šēressu rabīta ina zumrīšu liškumma

iv 18-19:

kima qadī ina harbi nadūti līrbiš

iv 20:

adi balṭu kerha līzamme

iv 21:

qebira ai irši

iv 22-23:

ezziš lidgulšumma karassu ai inūhšu

iv 24-26:

d^ašamaš dayyanu šeru ša šamē u iršitim muštešir ili u amili ana dīnišu ai īqulšu

iv 27-28a:

dinšu purussā ai ušarši

iv 28b:

bīssu lišamṭi

iv 29:

aiabišu elišu lišziz

iv 30-34:

d^adad gugal šamē u iršitim bēl nagbi u zunni muṭahhidu qarbāti ina nuhuš māti u nišē
līšimšu sunqa

v 1-3:

ina hušahi šeri ramanišu kimtašu liqatti

"May he (Adad) bring (each of) his kin to an end in the hunger of his own flesh?"

v 4-8:

d^anergal dannu šakin kašuši ina tešē naspanti ummassu līhalliḳ

v 9-10:

ina šipti u kašūši daddašu ai īzib

v 11-15:

d^aninurta šupū mār d^enlil qardu bēl mišri u kudurri annī kudurrašu lissuh

v 16-17:

pūlukkašu līnakkir

v 18:

kisurrašu līhalliq

v 19-24:

ᵀzaba₄ba₄ ētellu₄ muter gīmilli ᵀenlil abišu ašar thāzi lišbira tilpanšu libtuqa mātanšu

v 25-26:

lišbalkit pī kimtišu

v 27-28:

eli āmirišu līšamrissu

v 29-33:

ᵀmarduk be-lu₄ rabū ša qībissu la uttakkaru aganutillā ša rīkissu la ippaṭṭaru līšaššišuma

vi 1-2:

adi balṭu kima karē lū našū libbušu

vi 3-6:

ᵀnabu ṭupswar šamē u eršitim naram ᵀšazu ūmē līkarri arhēšu liššur šanātišu lišmiš

vi 7-11:

ᵀgula bēltu širtu qayišat balaṭi maršū lazza marša lā nahi sīlīṭi u[taru]ki

vi 12-13:

līzubu li[hhu]lu littattuku [lip]īšu

vi 14-15:

ᵀningirsu bēl mi[qitt]i dannūti ūgarišu hinṭa l[ish]umma

vi 16-19:

kimū urqīti ligpuša idranu u kimū ᵀnisaba lihnuba puquṭtu

vi 20-23:

telītu ᵀištār mārat ᵀsin qārirtu ilišu u ᵀištāršu elišu līšassi

vi 24-26:

ilu lemna ᵀšēdu munaššira īduš līlulma kipdišu līhalliqū

vi 27-28:

mimmū ubbalu līšabilū šara

vi 29-32:

ilāni rabūti mala ina narī annī šumšūnu zakur arrat la napšuri līrurūšu

APPENDIX V

AN ASSESSMENT OF STEYMANS' VIEW

Following Frankena and Weinfeld (see Part I chapter 1 and Part V chapter 1), Hans Ulrich Steymans compared VTE §56 with Dt 28:20-44 in his article ("Eine assyrische Vorlage für Deuteronomium 28,20-44," in Bundesdokument und Gesetz, 119-41) and concluded that Dt 28:20-44 presents a translation of VTE §56. He further postulated that Dt 28:20-44 originated between 672 and 579 B.C. (the eras of Manasseh, Amon, Josiah, Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim) "in Hofkreisen, die Zugang zu der VTE-Version hatten, die in Jerusalem aufbewahrt wurde" (*ibid.*, 141). He continued: "Wahrscheinlich hatte man nach Jerusalem nicht den Keilschrifttext der VTE, sondern deren aramäische Übersetzung geschickt" (*ibid.*). So according to him, "Dtn 28, 20-44 wäre dann eine Übersetzung aus der Übersetzung" (*ibid.*). Without entering into detail, we assess his analysis.

VTE		DT 28
472-475		20a
476-479		20b, 21
479-481		22
	§ 63	23
	§ 64	24
	§ 41	25a
483-484	§ 41	26
	§ 39	27
485-486	§ 40	28, 29a
487		29b
488	§ 42	30-32
430		33a
489		33b
490		34f.
		(36f.)
490		38
491		39
491		40
492		
		41
		(42)
493		43f.

From this comparison Steymans claimed that the Biblical author used VTE § 56 as *Arbeitsgrundlage* (*ibid.*, 121). We turn, firstly, to VTE §56 and Dt 28, where only five concepts in both texts are identical. However, they are not peculiar to these two texts. The concept of divine anger is in VTE 472-75 and Dt 28:20, as Steymans recognized. As noticed elsewhere, this malediction is an initial curse in the majority of the lists of curses is attested from the Sumerian period onwards, see Part V 1.3.1 fn. 13 and 2.1.1. The divine anger/curse, furthermore, is attested as

the summary curse in kudurrus of the latter part of the second millennium B.C., see Part V 1.1.6 fn. 10. Another parallel idea is the malediction of destruction. There are three individual curses in VTE 476-79: 1) Annihilation of the accursed (476a); 2) a result of annihilation, namely no libations (476b-77a); 3) unrelenting pursuit (477b-79b). The first two curses are about destruction, which also appears in Dt 28:20b-21, namely Yahweh would afflict Israel until she was destroyed from the Promised Land. Although the idea of destruction is identical in both texts, the world-view differs. Libations for the dead were very important. Thus, the worst thing that could happen to the dead was the annihilation of family, thereby being deprived of libations. But such libations were forbidden for Israel. The destruction in Dt 28:20b-21 is the result of the lasting divine anger/curse, which may result in an early death or exile, thereby preventing an enjoyment of life in the Promised Land. It was the worst thing which could happen for her, since longevity and prosperity in the Promised Land was promised to her. Added to that, the idea of the destruction of the accursed as the result of the ongoing malediction is also attested in CH (see Part V 1.3.1). Furthermore, the coupling of the concepts of divine curse/anger and destruction was attested from the Sumerian to Neo-Assyrian periods (see Part V 2.1.1). And the order of annihilation of the accursed and no libations in VTE is identical with that in CH (Appendix I13.no.15; see Part II 2.9.3), and the expressions are almost the same in both texts.

Another parallel idea is persistent pursuit until the destruction of the cursed ones, VTE 476b-77a; Dt 28:21b. This malediction commonly occurred when a suzerain disciplined disloyal vassals in the ancient Near East, see Parts II 3.7.5 and III 2.1.8. The curses which have parallel concepts appear in 483-84/Dt 28:26b (Steymans, 124) and 490a/Dt 28:35 (*ibid.*, 126). The former case is about corpses given to wild animals. The latter relates to disease, namely: all sorts of disease in VTE and skin disease in Dt 28. These maledictions mirror the common ancient environment (see Parts II 3.1.10.2) and a common practice in the time of war (Part III 2.1.9).

So, we deduce from our analysis that the parallel ideas in VTE and Dt 28 follow common traditions. Some maledictions reflect common practice and environment. But some curses display a different world-view between VTE and Dt 28.

In fact, other examples in VTE I56 and Dt 28 are not parallels. Steymans used "common themes" based on lexical analogy. We select some examples. VTE 491 speaks about "urine of ass as drink and naphtha as ointment" for the cursed ones, whereas Dt 28:39-40 is about fruitless labour in vineyards because of plague of worms, resulting in loss of harvest of grapes and wine; Dt 28:40 is the same sort

of curse, namely the labour in planting olive trees throughout the country will be fruitless, because the olives will drop off. As a result, there will be no oil for ointment. Apart from the vocabulary "drink and ointment," nothing is common in the two texts. The concepts of those curses are completely different. In VTE, drinking urine of an ass may occur in famine caused by a siege or by natural disaster. We find this malediction happened to fugitives (see Part III 2.1.1.4). There, because the water sources were cut off, the fugitives drank animal urine. Furthermore, naphthah would be harmful to the skin as an ointment. But in Dt 28, all labour will be fruitless because of natural disaster, with no enjoyment of wine and olive oil. In view of this, Steymans' view of the relationship between VTE 491 and Dt 28:39-40 is far-fetched and overlooks the common concern of ancient people for essential things in daily life (see Part II 3.1.7). Steymans also saw "the same themes" in terms of oppressor in VTE 493 and Dt 28:43. He claimed: "Wieder werden geprägte hebräische Wendungen zur interpretierenden Ausgestaltung einer assyrischen Vorgabe verwendet" (*ibid.*, 137). In fact, VTE 493 and Dt 28:43-44 are completely different curses. The former relates to demons possessing the houses of the cursed ones, which would result in all sorts of evil, but Dt 28:43-44 to Israel's status being subject to other nations. In the ancient world view, the malediction of divine abandonment and that of a demon's occupation are two different subjects. There is no evidence that divine abandonment would automatically result in a demon's occupation (cf. Part V 1.3.2). Furthermore, Steymans' comparison of the concept of war in VTE 488-89 (§42) and Dt 28:30-32 is not adequate. VTE §42 and Dt 30-32 correspond to each other; yet they appear respectively in different sequence. 488-89 refer to a flood, resulting the destruction of the land and does not relate to the concept of war at all. In another case, Steymans claimed to be able to trace the translation technique of ancient scribes in Dt 28. Steymans asserted that the Akkadian *mūtānu* (plague) is translated into three Hebrew words. He found the same phenomenon in the Tell Fekhreye inscriptions. He said: "Dort wird im aramäischen Text nur eine Krankheit genannt, im assyrischen stehen jedoch drei. Eine aitorientalische Übersetzung konnte also einen Begriff durch mehr oder weniger synonyme Ausdrücke erweitern" (*ibid.*, 129). Here, Steymans presumed that the Assyrian curse was translated from the Aramean. But it is not certain whether the Aramean curse was translated from the Assyrian, or vice versa. As already seen, ancient Near Eastern scribes had freedom to employ common traditions (see further Part II 2.17). For example, three contemporary kudurrus of Marduk-nāddin-ahhē's time have disease in the second sequence of curses (Part VI 1.2.1), which contain the Sîn-curse. Yet it is expressed differently in each:

- 1) *d^{sin} naannar šamē ellāti saharšubbā la tēbā gimir lānišu lilabbišma adi ūmi štmātšu ai ibbib u ktma sirimi ina kamāt ališu lirtappud* "May Sin, the light of the bright heavens, with leprosy that never departs clothes his whole body, so that he may not be clean till the day of his death, but must lie down like a wild ass at the outer wall of his city!" (BBSt 7 41 ii 16-18)
- 2) *d^{sin} a[šib] šamē ellāti saharšubbā ktma lubāri lilibbiša zumuršu* "May Sin, who dwells in the bright heavens, with leprosy(?) as with a garment clothe his body!" (BBSt 8 47 iv 7-9)
- 3) *d^{sin} nannaru bēl agī etellu annašu kabta šeressu rabīta ina zumrišu liškumma ktma qadī ina harbi nadūti lirbiš adi balu kerha ltzamme* "May Sin the luminary, lord of the crown, the prince, make him bear on his body his heavy punishment, his great penalty! May he crouch like an owl in abandoned ruins! As long as he lives may he be deprived of the inner city!" (Livingstone, iv 12-20)

First, the same epithet of Sîn is expressed differently. Secondly, leprosy is described by its incurability in the first example, its appearance in the body of the accused in the second and as heavy punishment (*šeressu rabīta*), which first occurred in CH as an euphemism (see Part II 2.16.3.1) and its result in the third. Added to that, the excommunication of the leper in the first and third cases is expressed differently without changing the basic idea. These examples display the freedom of the scribes in using the common tradition of the Sîn-curse in relation to leprosy. In view of this, the scribes of Tell Fekherye inscriptions may have used one word for disease, without translating three Assyrian words by one.

Before discussing the translation technique of ancient scribes, it is worth mentioning the curses in Steymans' "insertion" which have the same ideas with as in §56. In Steymans' table the curse §42 and Dt 28:30-33 has a common context of war. Here, Steymans saw a direct parallel of §42 in Dt 28:30 (*ibid.*, 125). Yet the curse of dispossession by an enemy commonly occurred, see Parts II 2.4.9 and III 2.1.4. So the common practice which occurred in time of war turned into a malediction for the accursed in VTE §42 and Dt 28:30. VTE §39-40 and Dt 28:27-29 are treated below. In his comparison between §63 and Dt 28:23, Steymans stretched his argument too thinly, saying: "Das akkadische Wort für Himmel "šamûm" kann auch einen Baladachin oder einen Prozession-"Himmel" bezeichnen. So ergibt sich, daß dieses Motiv kaum aus dem westsemitischen Bereich nach Assyrien gewandert sein kann, wie Hillers und Watanabe meinen" (*ibid.*, 137). However, the Akkadian word šamû "heaven" is common Semitic. Another meaning of šamû in a different context is no compelling reason that this different meaning should be transferred to another in other Semitic language. There are some examples of the golden canopies and a wooden canopy covered with gold, (CAD Š 348). It seems they were used for deities and shrines. A relief shows a ceremonial meeting of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III and Marduk-zakir-shumi shaking hands under a canopy, probably made of cloth, (Joan Oates, Babylon, 110).

Turning to translation technique, we examine a Sumerian text about the triumphal return of Ninurta to Nippur transmitted to the Neo-Assyrian period. J. S. Cooper stated in his *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur* that the Old Babylonian recensions preserved the Sumerian text. Without entering into detail, we take examples of how this text is presented in Neo-Assyrian recensions. Cooper arranged the OB texts in parallel with later recensions. There, Neo-Assyrian texts generally follow the OB texts. There are some exceptions. For example, a Neo-Assyrian recension preserved the Sumerian, where another gave a slightly different translation from the Sumerian OB text, without changing the meaning, e.g.:

<i>an-gim dlm-ma dumu d^{en-lil-lá}</i>	"Created like An, O son of Enlil (line 1)
<i>an-<gim> dlm-ma dumu d^{en-lil-lá}</i> (OB)	ditto
<i>an-gim dlm-ma []</i> (NA)	ditto
<i>ki-ma d^{a-ni}[m mār d^{enlil}]</i>	ditto
<i>d^{ninurta} d^{en-lil-gim} dlm-ma d^{nin-tur₅-e} tu-da</i>	"Ninurta, created like Enlil, born by Nintu (line 2)
<i>d^{ninurta} d^{en-lil-gim} dlm-ma d^{nin-tur₅-e} tu-da</i> (OB)	ditto
<i>d^{ninurta} d^{en-lil-gim} []x-e ù-tu-ud-[da]</i> (NA)	ditto
<i>d^{MIN} šá [k]i-ma d^{en-lil} šá] be-let ilāni ul-du-[šu]</i> (NA)	ditto (first part) whom Bēlet-ilāni bore.

The same translation technique appears in lines 3, 5-6, etc., in the Neo-Assyrian texts. There are some cases, where a Neo-Assyrian text preserves a different Sumerian phrase but the translation of another Neo-Assyrian recension agrees with the phrase occurring in the OB texts (lines 185), but the meaning is identical. These examples demonstrate that ancient scribes almost meticulously followed their "Vorlage" in their translations. If they did not follow the "Vorlage" meticulously, they made the translation sensible from their point of view, without changing the basic meaning (see on, *ibid.*, 47-49).

A Hittite treaty between Suppiluliuma I and Niqmaddu II of Ugarit was written in both Hittite and Ugaritic. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz put the two texts in parallel, (*Die Welt des Orients* 3, 208-210). The Ugaritic text follows the Hittite text literally, apart some variations. In one case, the conjunction *w* is added into the Ugaritic text. In another case, a phrase in Ugaritic is slightly changed: *ana dšamaš šarri rabī bēlka* is translated as "*l špš Arn.*" The Ugaritic translation omits *bēlka*. In Akkadian, the king is seen as the recipient of tribute, whereas in Ugaritic, the goddess Šamaš of Arn is the recipient of tribute, thereby placing the goddess over the king. But this phrase does not alter the meaning, according to Dietrich and Loretz: "Der ug. Text ist in seiner Formulierung auf jeden Fall diplomatischer als der akk., da er im König den Diener und Treuhänder der mächtigen Göttin sieht" (*ibid.*, 219). In other cases, some words do not have equivalents in both texts: *ù* (5)/*mǰjj?* (3) and *ma-a* (20)/*hlnj* (18). These are minor things and do not change

the basic meaning of texts. On the whole, the Akkadian words have ugaritic equivalents, and vice versa. The variations from the "Vorlagen" in their translations do not alter the meaning. Certainly scribes employed a translation technique which interprets the *Vorlage* without changing the basic meaning of the *Vorlage*, as already seen in our examples. This technique contradicts Steymans' view about the translation technique of ancient scribes, where the author of Dt 28 interpreted Assyrian curses and compiled completely different curses.

Furthermore, Steymans' conjecture about the Aramaic translation of VTE which might have served as "Vorlage" for Dt 28 is too speculative. Steymans considered whether Dt 28:20-44 and VTE §56 could have used common tradition. But he ruled out this possibility ("Eine assyrische Vorlage," 140), because "weder in Lev 26 noch in the erhaltenen Abaschnitten der Sefire-Verträge, noch in anderen mesopotamischen Fluchsequenzen ist eine Themengleichheit erkennbar, wie sie zwischen Dtn 28,20-44 und VTE § 56 besteht" (*ibid.*). As a matter of fact, Steymans's wholesale comparison is not convincing at all. In his comparison he applied a literary criticism on lexical basis, which has led him to a far-fetched comparison in Dt 28:20-44 and VTE §56 (cf. Part V 1-2) and blinded him to the conceptual relationship between Lev 26 and Dt 28 (see Part II 5), between Sumero-Akkadian curses, VTE (see Part II 2-3) and Dt 28 (see Part V 1, 2).

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