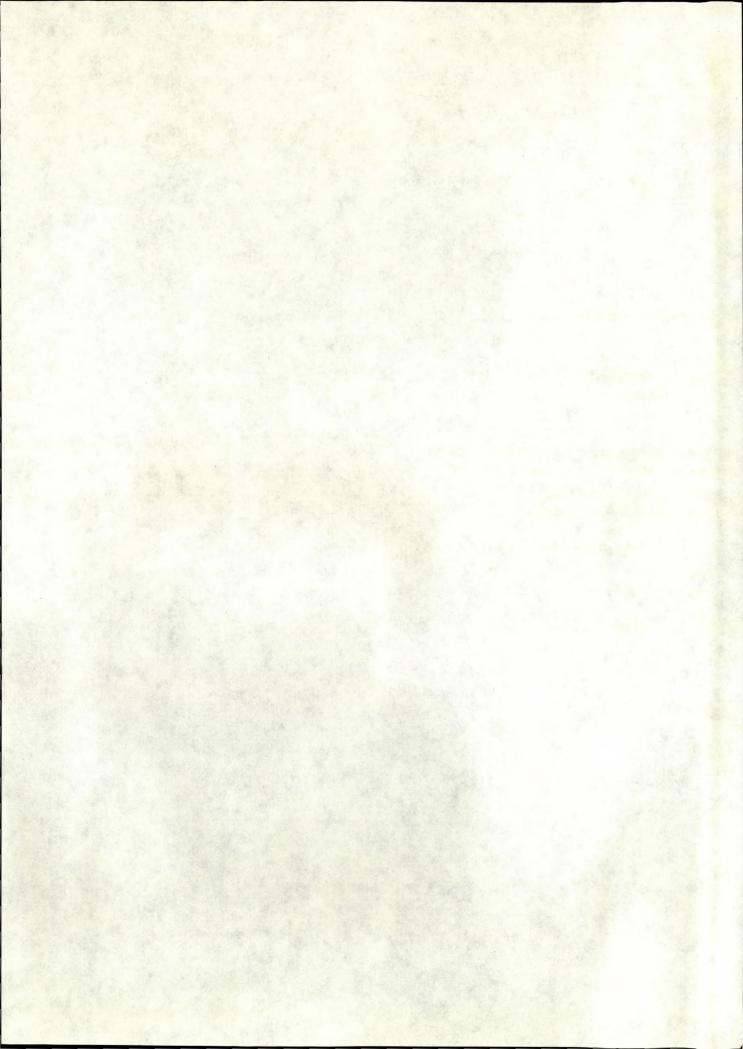
THE FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY A STUDY IN ANCIENT NORTHWEST SEMITIC PERCEPTIONS

THESIS SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

THE FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY A STUDY IN ANCIENT NORTHWEST SEMITIC PERCEPTIONS

Daniel Isaac Block

The investigation seeks to recover the perception(s) of national identity possessed by the ancient Syrians in the period from 1200-500 B.C. It consists of two parts. In Part I the designations for "nation" occurring in Northwest Semitic texts are examined. by, the most common, served originally as a kinship term. When applied to a nation it retains its warm relational overtones, and may even hint at the consanguinity of the group. או appears only in Hebrew (in the period under discussion). Although echoes of a gentilic sense are heard occasionally, this was a colder, more formal term. Pronounced political overtones are suggested by its frequent association with derivatives of אם. לאם is quite rare in Hebrew, being restricted to poetic texts, and seems to have been an archaic expression. אמה is used in a national sense only once. Its probable etymology hints at a maternal kinship base for the people so called.

Part II consists of an examination of the factors which seem to have contributed to the growth of national self-consciousness among the various nations of the Levant. Chapter V establishes that a sense of ethnic unity, i.e., descent from a common ancestor is reflected in the forms used to identify specific nations. This is most explicit in zr -GN, strong in the Hebrew use of bny-GN, and implied in byt-GN. Memories of a common ancestor are also reflected where personal eponyms are used as national names. In Chapter VI the territorial association is seen not only to guarantee an economic base for national growth, but also to provide a homeland for the group. A divorce from the homeland rendered the population vulnerable to centrifugal tendencies. The role of the deities in the growth of national spirit is examined in Chapter VII. The patron gods were perceived to have enjoyed a special relationship with their respective nations. The severance of this tie was commonly viewed to signal the disintegration of the nation. In Chapter VIII it is learned that political leaders were often looked to as a unifying force, inasmuch as the ybn was seen to embody the people, model their ideals, and guarantee their well-being. However, the cause of the nation was often betrayed by the selfish pursuits of the monarchs. In the final chapter the role of a national language is discovered to have contributed considerably less to a sense of national self-consciousness than is commonly perceived by moderns. National languages/dialects seem to have been reflections rather than determinants of a group's sense of corporate identity.

It has become apparent that these factors were of unequal significance in ancient Levantine perceptions. In the south Syrian states, Israel, Ammon, Moab and Edom, the ethnic factor seems to have been much more important than in Phoenicia and Aram. Here political and territorial considerations seem to have predominated. Seldom were ethnic, territorial, religious, political and linguistic boundaries coterminous.

The investigation concludes by suggesting some implications the findings may have for the interpretation of the Old Testament.

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Above all others my wife, Ellen, deserves to share whatever merit this thesis may claim, not only for typing the rough and final drafts of this manuscript, but also for ministering to my spiritual and physical needs through these three and one-half years.

Winnipeg, Canada

Daniel I. Block

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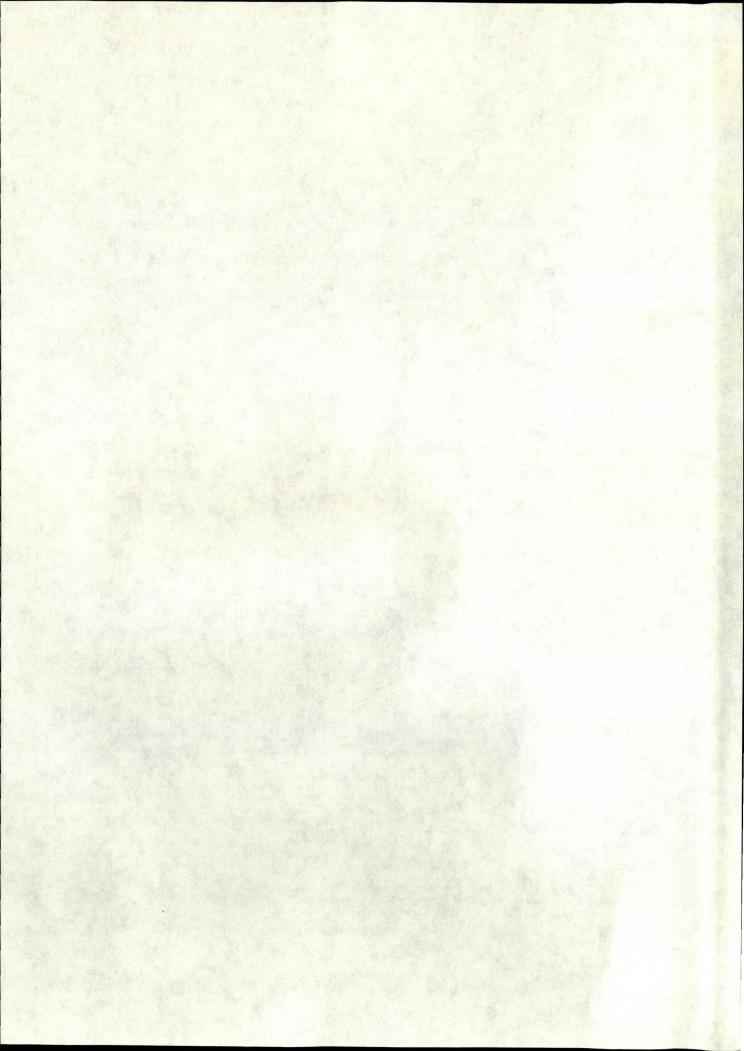
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PREFACE

In view of the importance of the notion in both modern and ancient civilizations, the scarcity of full-scale research in the ancient Near Eastern perception of national identity is as lamentable as it is surprising. For biblical studies the matter is especially acute. On almost every page of the Old Testament allusions may be found to Israel, the nation. In the Pentateuch the vision is largely proleptic; in the Former Prophets it has become reality; in much of the Latter Prophets it is in danger of evaporating, but not without eschatalogical glimpses of its ultimate restoration. Even in the Psalms the nation plays a prominent role. Indeed the vision recedes only in the Wisdom Writings found in Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth, and Canticles, where more universal issues predominate. Yet a systematic investigation of the theoretical ancient Near Eastern, specifically Syrian, perspective informing the Hebrew historians' and poets' accounts of Israel's national pilgrimage remains an item of unfinished business. If Buccellati could complain of a lack of attention to the field of political institutions in the history of that period, with respect to the broader realm of nationalism and nationality the problem is even more serious. To be sure, his and other works have examined the nature of political institutions, the role of the deity in state affairs, and the importance of kinship in tribal societies, but an analysis of the part played by these and other factors in the development of national

¹G. Buccellati, <u>Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria: An Essay on</u> Political Institutions with Special Reference to the Israelite Kingdoms, Studi Semitici, 26 (Rome: 1967), p. 18.

spirit in the Levant, with the view to establishing ancient attitudes toward the issue, has not yet been attempted. This does not imply, however, that no thought has been given to the matter. Our handbooks and commentaries are replete with comments on the topic. But it is the superficiality of many such statements which has provoked the present study.

Ours is a quest for the ancient Syrian attitudes toward what may prove to be merely a modern abstraction: the foundations of national selfconsciousness. Nationalistic movements in modern times have been rooted in a variety of factors: language, cultural ties, tribal associations, sometimes even in the power of a visionary political figure. But may we expect the same features to have characterized early Semitic thought? Our objective is not to demonstrate a particular thesis. Rather, it might be compared with the task of an artist engaged in the production of a colourful mosaic. The goal is to portray one central idea. But in the process, a variety of stones, each with its own independent qualities, must be used. These several parts are examined from close up in order that their distinctive contributions to the overall picture may be identified, thereby rendering it more understandable. But like any mosaic, so abstract an idea as "national identity" is much more than the simple sum of its parts. The nature of the relationships among the parts also has a bearing on the final product. Therefore, having analyzed the constituent parts of the mosaic under discussion, and recognized their associations, we will be able to step back and gaze at the picture, and hopefully thereby come to an understanding of the concept that corresponds to the views held by the ancients.

Scope and Method

To prevent the project from becoming excessively large, we have limited our study both geographically and chronologically. Geographically, our primary focus of attention will be on ancient Syria, the home of the northwestern Semites. We use the designation "Syria" here in a broad sense, referring to the area bounded by the Mediterranean on the west, the Arabian desert on the east, the Taurus mountains on the north, and the Sinai peninsula to the south. The region is made up today by the states of Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and a small section of Turkey. It is clear that a more extensive study would need to consider Egyptian, Hittite and Mesopotamian views as well. These will be referred to rather frequently, especially when satisfactory data from the area of our primary concern is unavailable. Furthermore, ancient Syria was part of a larger region in which many aspects of culture were shared. By introducing evidence from the broader sphere we shall avoid dealing with the northwestern Semitic data in isolation. Nevertheless, our objective will be to discover the perceptions of the peoples of the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean.

<u>Chronologically</u> our investigation is limited to the period extending from the last centuries of the second millennium to the fifth century B.C. This represents an easily identifiable era in the history of the Levant. The documents from Ugarit, the Amarna correspondence, and the Book of Joshua all agree in depicting the political scene during the early part of this time as being dominated by a series of small city-states. The arrival of the Sea Peoples, on the one hand, and the maturation of the states of Edom, Moab, Ammon and Israel, on the other, however, spelled the end of the Canaanite city-state structures. Farther north, although they

appear to have had city-state roots, strong political entities grew up in Tyre, Damascus and other centres, with the result that the smaller entities were often swallowed up. The terminus ad quem for our discussion is marked by the end of the separate existence of these states. This was brought about by the successive conquests of the region by the neo-Assyrians and the neo-Babylonians, with the final blows being struck by the Persians. With the division of the empire into administrative satrapies, many of which contained several different nationalities, the hope of these nations ever rising again as separate political entities was dashed forever. To be sure, elements of continuity remained and the Jews were able to maintain a strong sense of identity, due largely to their unique religious convictions. They even managed to proclaim their own independence for a short time. But this entity was far removed from the kingdom of Judah, not to mention the kingdom of Israel established by Saul and David. By the end of our period other nations have disappeared entirely. The Moabites and Ammonites are gone; the Edomites have been replaced by Idumaeans; in the north Damascus is never able to reassert itself again. This then is the era of the medium-sized state. Although the great powers continued to influence Levantine affairs somewhat throughout the period, for the most part the fortunes of the various peoples depended upon the waxing and waning of the indigenous entities.

Our search for the ancient northwest Semitic perspective on national identity consists of two parts. In the first we shall be concerned to capture the precise significance of the designations for "nation" and "people" which were employed by the ancient Aramaeans, Phoenicians,

Israelites, etc. We are indebted to Rost,¹ Speiser,² Hulst,³ Clements,⁴ and Malamat,⁵ whose studies have made valuable contributions to our understanding of the sense borne by these terms in their native contexts. If some of our efforts appear to duplicate work already done, this is not to minimize those efforts. Our objective is rather to test their hypotheses, and to relate their/our conclusions specifically to the foundations of national identity. In each case we shall attempt to answer the question, "How does the use of this term reflect ancient views of the matter?"

The topics selected for discussion in Part II have arisen largely out of the lexical studies of Part I. Each chapter will isolate one factor which appears to have been critical in the development of national spirit. The first, which deals with the role of a consciousness of kinship among the members of a nation, is most complex. Although the Hebrew traditions are quite consistent in their presentation of the nation of Israel as the descendants of Jacob, hence ethnically related, these traditions are unique. Since no other nation has passed on such accounts of its origins, we have had to erect a different basis for determining the importance of this factor. By studying the forms used to identify the

²E. A. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," <u>JBL</u>, 79 (1960), pp. 157-63.

³A. R. Hulst, "Δ²am/goj Volk," <u>THAT</u>, II, pp. 290-325.

⁴R. E. Clements, "'13 goy," TDOT, II, pp. 426-33.

⁵A. Malamat, "<u>UMMATUM</u> in Old Babylonian Texts and its Ugaritic and Biblical Counterparts," <u>UF</u>, 11 (1979), pp. 527-36. This article supercedes occasional comments made elsewhere by the same author. Cf. infra, pp. 138ff.

¹L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im Alten Testament," in <u>Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum Alten Testament</u> (Heidelberg: 1965), pp. 76-101 (originally published in <u>Festschrift für Otto Proksch</u> [1934], pp. 125-48).

various nations, we shall search for hints concerning the ancient Syrian view of the importance of this factor.

The remaining chapters will investigate the importance of a territorial homeland, a patron deity, a specific type of political institution, and a national language, respectively, to the growth of national self-consciousness. Although many scholars have dealt with these topics, each section will begin with a lexical study of the terms used to denote the factor under discussion. This will be followed by an examination of the grammatical forms employed to express the association between the factor and the nation. In the absence of ancient theoretical discussions of the topic all we are able to do is examine modes of expression. By tying our investigation so closely to the texts we should also prevent interference by modern conceptions in our search for ancient views.

In the concluding chapter, we shall synthesize the results of our findings and suggest some practical implications they may have.

Sources

The written sources for a study of ancient Levantine perceptions of national identity are of two basic types. The most extensive body of literature is the Hebrew Old Testament. While we recognize that many of the biblical traditions underwent several redactions, and occasionally the text suffered accidental changes as well as intentional modifications, the basis for our investigation will be the final form as it is reproduced in the Masoretic text.¹ Although the final form of some passages was

¹Unless otherwise indicated, the edition used will be <u>Biblia</u> <u>Hebraica Stuttgartensia</u>, edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph(Stuttgart: 1967/77), hereafter cited as <u>BHS</u>. Cf. the previous standard edition, <u>Biblia Hebraica</u>, 3rd ed., ed. by R. Kittel and P. Kahle (Stuttgart: 1937), hereafter cited as <u>BHK</u>.

undoubtedly arrived at after the <u>terminus ad quem</u> of the period under discussion, we may assume that in general most books reflect the viewpoint of the era. Therefore, our procedure is based upon the semantic and grammatical analysis of the text as it stands. Where manuscript evidence suggests an original reading different from MT the alternative(s) will be afforded due consideration.

The second group of sources is comprised of non-biblical records, mostly in the form of royal inscriptions, letters, legal materials and literary texts. The efforts of archaeologists and epigraphists in recent years have been paying handsome dividends as annually new texts are being published.¹ These extra-biblical documents possess the advantage of not having suffered a long history of modification; they represent the original texts as they came from the authors' hands. Their value in providing a basis for comparison and contrast with the biblical documents is inestimable. Consequently, reference will be made to these materials wherever they can be of assistance. Of special importance will be the Aramaic, Phoenician, Moabite, and a growing number of Ammonite inscriptions. Although the number of texts is limited, and many are fragmentary, they

The most important ones have been conveniently transcribed, and commented upon by H. Donner and W. Röllig, <u>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</u>, 4th ed., 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: 1979). References to specific texts will use the abbreviated form, e.g., KAI 181:3. Citations from the commentary will use <u>KAI</u>, II. For recent publication and commentary in English, see J. C. L. Gibson, <u>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</u>, vol. I: <u>Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions</u>, reprinted corrected ed. (Oxford: 1973); vol. II: <u>Aramaic Inscriptions including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zenjirli</u> (Oxford: 1975). Hereafter these volumes will be cited as Gibson, <u>HMI</u> and <u>AI</u>, respectively. We await his publication of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions in a proposed third volume. For many of the northwest Semitic texts, as well as those from Mesopotamia, frequent reference is also made to J. B. Pritchard, ed., <u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating</u> to the Old Testament, 3rd ed. with supplement (Princeton: 1969), hereafter cited as <u>ANET</u>. Texts not included here will be referred to on the basis of the journal/monograph in which they were published.

provide important clues concerning vocabulary and modes of expression, many of which parallel Hebrew usage. Where the northwest Semitic documentation is unsatisfactory or unavailable, frequent appeal will be made to Akkadian sources. By referring to the biblical and extra-biblical materials it should be possible to describe with reasonable accuracy the northwestern Semites' attitude(s) toward their own national selfconsciousness.

A few additional remarks on the rendering of ancient texts are in order here. The northwest Semitic citations will be given according to the consonantal text, except where the argument is affected by the vocalization, in which case the vowels will be inserted. Akkadian texts are quoted in transcription; wherever it seems appropriate to reproduce the original cuneiform more closely, syllabic transliteration, logograms and determinatives will be employed. The system followed will be that adopted by <u>CAD</u>. The same applies to the method of citing the place of publication. Translations of ancient texts will usually be quite literal, even at the expense of English style.

DESIGNATIONS FOR "PEOPLE" AND "NATION" IN NORTHWEST SEMITIC TEXTS

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

A philological study represents a logical starting point for our investigation into the ancient Near Eastern conception of "nationality". Specific words for "people" and "nation" do not serve only as convenient labels for a well known concept; they may well open further doors in the overall investigation. Our initial study, therefore, will investigate those terms employed by the Northwestern Semites to designate this notion. The procedure will consist of an analysis of the frequency and forms of the occurrences, the subjects to which they refer, the special parallel relationships that appear especially in the poetic writings, and where possible, the employment of antithetical expressions. Since the Old Testament represents our most important primary source, the examination of each term will commence with a study of its usage in biblical Hebrew. This will be followed by an analysis of its employment in the cognate languages.¹

For discussions of methodology in philological study see J. Barr, <u>Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament</u> (Oxford: 1968) (hereafter referred to as <u>Comparative Philology</u>); <u>idem</u>, "Semantics and Biblical Theology--A Contribution to the Discussion," <u>VTS</u>, 22 (1972), pp. 11-19; <u>idem</u>, "Etymology and the Old Testament," <u>OTS</u>, 19 (1974), pp. 1-28.

CHAPTER I

THE FORMS AND USE OF DY

by in the Old Testament

Frequency and Distribution

The importance of **by** in the Hebrew vocabulary is indicated by the frequency with which the term is used.¹ Appearing 1879 times in its various forms,² this total more than triples the combined occurrences of all other expressions for "nation" or "people". Table 1 demonstrates that some form of **by** is found in every book of the Old Testament. These range in frequency from a minimum of one in Obadiah, Jonah and Canticles to a maximum of 175 in Exodus. The occurrences are rather evenly distributed among the four major divisions of the Hebrew canon.³ Nor is **by** restricted to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. Considering the limited amount of text, those parts of Daniel and Ezra written in Aramaic contain a relatively large number of references.⁴ Although prose and poetic

³Considering the Former and Latter Prophets separately.

⁴Daniel (10x); Ezra (5x).

For previous studies of the term see L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im Alten Testament," Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum Alten Testament (Heidelberg: 1965), pp. 86-93 (originally published in Festschrift für Otto Proksch[1934], hereafter referred to as "Bezeichnungen"); E. A. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," JBL, 79 (1960), pp. 157-63 (reprinted in Oriental and Biblical Studies [1967], pp. 160-70, hereafter referred to as "'People' and 'Nation'"); A. R. Hulst, "Dy / 'ia am/goy Volk," THAT, II, pp. 290-325.

²This figure conflicts with the total given by Hulst, <u>ibid.</u>, pp. 293ff.

TABLE 1

Book	Total	Numb	er	Genre	e
BOOK	Iotal	Singular	Plural	Prose	Poetry
Genesis	33	10	23	30	3
Exodus	175	170	5	171	4
Leviticus	43	29	14	43	
Numbers	86	82	4	82	4
Deuteronomy	104	79	25	90	14
Subtotals	441	383(87%)	58(13%)	415(94%)	26(6%)
Joshua	70	67	3	70	
Judges	66	64	2	60	6
1 Samuel	110	110		110	
2 Samuel	103	102	1	99	4
1 Kings	83	77	6	83	
2 Kings	53	53		53	• • •
Subtotals	485	473(98%)	12(2%)	475(98%)	10(2%)
Isaiah	130	105	25	13	117
Jeremiah	165	162	3	120	45
Ezekiel	98	69	29	93	5
Hosea	19	15	4	4	15
Joel	13	11	2		13
Amos	7	7		1	6
Obadiah	1	1			1
Jonah	1	1		1	
Micah	19	12	7		19
Nahum	2	2			2
Habakkuk	6	2	4		6
Zephaniah	7	5	2		7
Haggai	8	8		8	
Zechariah	19	10	9	16	3
Malachi	2	2		2	• • •
Subtotals	497	412(83%)	85(17%)	258(52%)	239(48%)

טע IN THE OLD TESTAMENT: FREQUENCY, NUMBER AND GENRE

. . continued

Deck	Weter 1	Numbe	r	Genre					
Book	Total	Singular	Plural	Prose	Poetry				
Psalms	120	83	37		120				
Job	8	5	3		8				
Proverbs	9	8	1		9				
Ruth	10	10		10					
Canticles	1	1			1				
Qoheleth	2	2		2					
Lamentations	11	9	2		11				
Esther	31	24	7	31					
Daniel*	26	19	7	24	2				
Ezra*	28	21	7	28					
Nehemiah	53	46	7	53					
1 Chronicles	45	40	5	40	5				
2 Chronicles	112	106	6	112	• • •				
Subtotals	456	374(82%)	82(18%)	300(66%)	156(34%)				
Grand Totals	1879	1642(87%)	237(13%)	1448(77%)	431 (23%)				

TABLE 1--Continued

* The figures given include the Aramaic sections of the book.

occurrences of the term are fairly evenly distributed within the Latter Prophets, overall the former outnumber the latter by more than three to one.

It is apparent from table 2 that there were no restrictions on who could use the term, **by**. It is found most frequently in comments by the narrator; however, its occurrence in the speech of Yahweh and that of the Israelites, either collectively or individually, is not far behind.¹ Although the tally for non-Israelites is relatively low, this should not be interpreted as a hesitation on the part of aliens to use the term; it simply reflects the Israelite nature of the document. The Old Testament was written by Hebrews primarily for Hebrews.² Nowhere is a difference between Israelite and alien usage apparent.

The nature of the audience seems likewise to have had little effect on the use of by. Table 3 indicates that the term was employed by the narrator when he wrote for the sake of the reader, Yahweh when he spoke to the Israelites, the Israelites when they addressed Yahweh, each other, or foreigners, and foreigners when they spoke to one another or to the Israelites.

²This is illustrated by Exod. 1:9, in which Pharaoh is said to complain to his own countrymen of the threat posed by the population explosion occurring among the **by**. It is ludicrous to suppose that he actually used the term **by**.

¹The apparent relative equality of the latter two is affected by the dilemma presented by the prophetic material. It is often difficult to decide whether Yahweh or the prophet is the speaker. In most instances, however, because the prophet functions as the official spokesman of Yahweh, what he declares is viewed as a divine declaration.

TABLE 2

Book	Editor	Yahweh	Israel- ite	Alien	Other
Genesis	16	3	10	4	
Exodus	74	57	27	17	
Leviticus	7	33	3		
Numbers	39	16	22	9	
Deuteronomy	4	3	97		
Joshua	49	8	13		
Judges	41	4	17	4	
l Samuel	79	6	22	3	
2 Samuel	67	4	32		
l Kings	37	11	32	3	
2 Kings	41	2	9	1	
Isaiah	2*	122	4	2	
Jeremiah	55	89	20	1	
Ezekiel	3	95			
Hosea		19			
Joel		13			
Amos		7			
Obadiah		1			
Jonah				1	
Micah		19			
Nahum		2			
Habakkuk		4	2		
Zephaniah		7	_		
Haggai	4	4			
Zechariah		19			• • •
Malachi		2			
Psalms		6	114	• • •	• • •
Job		, i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i		8	• • •
Proverbs			7	2	• • •
Ruth			4	3	• • •
Canticles			1	0	• • •
Qoheleth	2		-	•••	••••
Lamentations	2		11		• • •
Esther	22		4	5	• • •
Daniel	6		6	3	11**
Ezra	14		9	5	T T
Nehemiah	40	• • •	13	5	• • •
l Chronicles	17	6	22		• • •
2 Chronicles	68	4	33	7	•••
Fotals	690	566	534	78	11

VIN THE OLD TESTAMENT: SPEAKER

* The speech of the prophet as narrator or prophet, and that of Yahweh have been distinguished only where this is clear from the text (e.g., Isaiah 6). Otherwise, prophetic speech is treated as Yahweh's speech.

** The interpreting angel.

TABLE 3

Book	Reader	Yahweh	Israel- ite	Alien	Other
Genesis	16		14	2	1
Exodus	74	19	57	25	
Leviticus	7		36		• • •
Numbers	39	13	24	9	1
Deuteronomy	4		100		• • •
Joshua	49	1	20		
Judges	41	6	14	5	• • •
1 Samuel	79		27	4	• • •
2 Samuel	67	9	26	1	
1 Kings	37	23	23		• • •
2 Kings	41		8	4	
Isaiah	2	9	98	17*	4
Jeremiah	56	6	90	13	
Ezekiel	3	67	26	2	
Hosea			19		
Joel			13		
Amos			6	1	
Obadiah				1	
Jonah			1		
Micah		1	16	1	1
Nahum				2	
Habakkuk		2	1	3	
Zephaniah			4	. 3	
Haggai	4		4		
Zechariah			19		
Malachi			2		
Psalms		57	45	18	
Job				8	
Proverbs	7			2	
Ruth	3		4	3	
Canticles			1		
Qoheleth	2				
Lamentations		6	4	1	
Esther	22		1	8	
Daniel	6	4	11	5	
Ezra	14	2	9	3	
Nehemiah	45**	8			
1 Chronicles	17	10	17	1	
2 Chronicles	68	18	25	1	
Totals	703	194	806	167	9

by IN THE OLD TESTAMENT: ADDRESSEE

* In the prophets, oracles against foreign nations are treated as if they were addressed to them, even if the immediate audience might have been Israel (e.g., Amos 1-2).

The covenant terms agreed to by the people are written down for public reading and incorporated into the narrative; hence their inclusion here. 10: 29-40

Forms

If the above summary reflects great freedom in the use of Dy, this is equally true of the variations in its form.

Plurality

The most obvious formal change involving the root concerns the application of the plural ending. From table 1 it is apparent that the singular occurs more than six times as frequently as the plural. However, the Old Testament is not uniform in this respect. In the predominantly narrative Former Prophets only twelve of 485 occurrences are plural (2%). On the other hand, in the Latter Prophets the figure is eighty-five out of 497 (18%). But these broad divisions may be misleading. Individual books reflect a much greater variation. Some books do not use the plural at all; others very seldom.¹ Especially noteworthy are 1 Samuel and 2 Kings in which the combined total of singular appearances is 163, but plural forms are entirely absent.² By way of contrast, among the minor prophets Zechariah utilizes the plural on nine of nineteen occasions.³

Suffixes

The proportion of suffixed forms of by reflected in table 4 (more

²Cf. also Exodus, 5/175 (2%); Jeremiah, 3/165 (2%).

³Cf. also the relatively high percentages in Genesis (30%); Leviticus (32%); Deuteronomy (24%); Isaiah (24%); Ezekiel (29%); Psalms (30%).

¹1 Samuel, 2 Kings, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Haggai, Malachi, Ruth, Canticles, Qoheleth.

than one-fourth) is remarkable. So also is the variation of suffixes used. The only possible pronominal ending not appearing on the singular form is the second person plural. The significance of this high percentage of suffixed forms should not be overlooked. People(s) are spoken of as belonging to Yahweh,¹ other gods,² prophets and writers,³ kings,⁴ and officials,⁵ private individuals,⁶ cities and countries,⁷ and tribes.⁸ From this usage it is apparent that **Dy** was perceived as a personal expression. One related to an **Dy**; he belonged to it, and it belonged to him.⁹ Nowhere is this relational significance more dramatically reflected than in the use of the suffixed form as a personal name for one of Hosea's children.¹⁰ The prefixing of the negative particle emphasized that the previous relationship expressed by **Dy** had indeed been severed.

¹E.g., 2 Sam. 7:8,10,11,23(<u>bis</u>),24; Dan. 9:15,16,19; 2 Chron. 7:14.

²E.g., Jer. 49:1; 2 Chron. 25:15; 32:14,15,17.

³E.g., Isa. 22:4; Jer. 6:26; Ezek. 3:11; Mic. 1:9; Dan. 9:20; 12:1.

⁴E.g., Gen. 41:40; Exod. 12:31; Num. 21:23; Josh. 8:1; Jer. 25:19.

⁵E.g., 2 Sam. 10:12.

⁶E.g., Judg. 14:3,17; Ruth 1:15,16; 2 Kings 4:13; Ps. 45:11; Est. 8:6.

⁷Isa. 65:18; Ezek. 26:11; Nah. 3:13; Lam. 1:7,11.

⁸Gen. 49:16; Deut. 33:7; Judg. 5:14 (plural).

⁹Cf. Speiser's description of **by** as "something subjective and personal," "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 158.

¹⁰, Hos. 1:9.

TABLE	4
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THE USAGE OF UN WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

People to Whom the Uy Belongs	עמי	עמנו	(m) עמך	(f) עמך	עמו	עמה	עמס	עמיך (m)	עמיו	עמיה	Totals
Yahweh	157		77		73						307
Foreign Gods					5		2				7
A Prophet or Author of Book	23	12									35
A King, Ruler, or Officer	14	3	23		36				4.5		76
A Private Per- son, Countryman	15		5	4	5	6		1	5		41
A Country or City				3	1	3					7
A Tribe					2			2			4
Ancestors*	1				3	3	4	3	9	9	32
Proper Names	37**										37
Totals	247	3	117	7	125	12	6	6	14	9	546

*This usage occurs in the idioms, "to go to one's Dy," and "to be cut off from one's Dy." Cf. supra, pp. 43ff.

** These include עמיזבד, עמיזבד, עמיהוד, עמיאל (Hos. 1:9), לא עמי (Gen. 19:38), עמישדי עמיזבד, עמיהוד עמיאל, דר א עמי (For references see Mandelkern, s.v.

Names

by appears as a component of six different Hebrew place names, none of which, however, is very common. In five of these, the root is the final element¹ and apparently functions as the subject of an imperfect verb.² The form of the sixth, **Typy**,³ is enigmatic. In view of his substitution of a D for the final **7**, Boree's classification of this name among the reduplicated bi-radical stems is not entirely satisfactory.

The employment of **Dy** as an element in personal names is more common, and may be interpreted as an extension of the personalized emphasis reflected by the use of pronominal suffixes.⁴ The significance of the

¹Josh. 17:11; Judg. 1:27; 2 Kings 9:27 (so MT; LXX^L interprets σμήρ in 2 Kings 15:10 as Ιεβλααμ as well); σμήρ, Josh. 15:56; σμήρ, 1 Kings 4:12; 1 Chron. 6:53; σμήρ, Josh. 12:22; 19:11; 21:34; σμήρ, 1 Chron. 2:44. W. Boree, <u>Die Alten Ortsnamen</u> Palästinas, 2nd ed. (Hildesheim: 1968, reprint of the 1930 edition), pp. 99-100, equates the last name with σμήρ. So also W. F. Albright, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," <u>AASOR</u>, 6 (1924-25), pp. 37f.

> ²For discussion see Boree, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>. ³Josh. 19:26.

⁴These names have been studied frequently. See E. Nestle, <u>Die</u> israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung (Haarlem: 1876), pp. 187-88; M. Grünwald, <u>Die Eigennamen des Alten</u> Testaments in ihrer Bedeutung für die Kenntnis des hebräischen Volksglaubens (Breslau: 1895), pp. 46-47; G. B. Gray, <u>Studies in Hebrew</u> Proper Names (London: 1896), pp. 41-60 (hereafter cited as <u>HPN</u>); M. Noth, <u>Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen</u> <u>Namengebung (Stuttgart: 1928), pp. 76-82 (hereafter cited as IPN);</u> J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," <u>Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger</u> on his seventy-fifth Birthday, ed. by H. G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen (Chicago: 1965), pp. 416-19. Gray, <u>loc. cit.</u>, has conveniently classified these names according to their morphology as follows:

1) Those in which עמיהוד , עמיאל , עמישרי : עמיהוד , עמיאל , עמישרי .

2) Those in which y follows a noun: יתרעם, אניעם, אניעם.

- 3) Those in which **עס** precedes a 3rd person singular perfect verb: עמיזבד, עמיזבד.
- 4) Those in which by follows a 3rd person singular perfect verb: orb.
- 5) Those in which by follows a 3rd person singular imperfect verb: ישבעם, ירבעם, ירבעם.

root within these names has been the subject of considerable debate. Some interpret **Dy** as a theophoric element, derived from the name of the Semitic deity, <u>CAmm</u>. The god appears to have been especially favoured by the Qatabanians of Old South Arabia. One group, the tribes of Himyarum were even designated as the <u>wld^Cm</u>, "children of <u>CAmm</u>".¹ According to Speiser, the element also represented a family deity in the personal names of the Amorites (cf. Hammurabi), the Aramaeans and the early Hebrews.² Stamm follows Noth in his assertion that the element **Dy** in TDITDy and DTITDY must refer to deified relatives.³ However, several words of caution are in order. In the first place, practices and beliefs characteristic of one Semitic group should not be transferred too readily to another. The presence of a cult devoted to the deity ^CAmm in one tribe (or even two or three) does not mean, <u>a priori</u>, that this is to be expected among the Hebrews. Indeed, apart from these personal names, the Old Testament provides no evidence of a cult of this nature. Second, Huffmon

For references see A. Jamme, "On a Drastic Current Reduction of South-Arabian Chronology," <u>BASOR</u>, 145 (1957), pp. 28f. Cf. also the text Ja 878 (=AM 200, Qat), in A. Jamme, <u>Sabaean Inscriptions from</u> <u>Mahram Bilqis (Marib)</u> (Baltimore: 1962), p. 346, for a specific reference to the deity. For further discussion see A. van den Branden, <u>Histoire de Thamoud</u> (Beyrouth: 1960), p. 108; M. Höfner, "^CAmm," in <u>Wörterbuch der Mythologie</u>, Vol. I: <u>Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient</u>, ed. by H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart: 1965), pp. 494f.; <u>idem</u>, "Die vorislamische Religionen Arabiens," in <u>Die Religionen Altsyriens</u>, <u>Altarabiens</u> <u>und der Mandäer</u>, Die Religionen der Menschheit, Vol. 10/2 (Stuttgart: 1970), pp. 282f., 377.

²"'People' and 'Nation'," p. 160.

³Stamm, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 418; cf. Noth, <u>IPN</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>. Although Stamm initially, but with reservation, included **Dynn** in the same category, later he concluded that this name signified, "Das Volk ist weit geworden." "Zwei alttestamentliche Königsnamen," <u>Near Eastern Studies</u> <u>in Honor of William Foxwell Albright</u>, ed. by H. Goedicke (Baltimore: 1971), pp. 443-49.

has demonstrated that Amorite 'm, from which is derived the name of the deity, and hmm, "paternal uncle", represent two different roots which are always carefully distinguished by the scribes. Furthermore, the interpretation of Dy in the basic sense of "kinsman" makes perfect sense in each of the names in which it occurs. A name like עמיאל bears witness to the nature of the relationship which the bearer (or rather the giver) perceived to exist between himself and by. The relational overtone of the element is confirmed by the existence of other names identical in form, except that עם is replaced by another kinship term, אה or אכ ? Although he acknowledges that the question concerning the significance of Dy in many personal names is still open, Hulst prefers to interpret the expression as a "Verwandschaftsbezeichnung im appellativischem Sinne" rather than the name of a deity. He adds, "Sie betrachten also den Gott als ihren nahen Verwandten und erwarten von ihm Schutz und Hilfe, wie sie ja auch der Onkel väterlicherseits zu geben bereit ist."3 This usage of Dy as an alternative to אב and NR provides further indication of the relational overtones inherent in the Hebrew use of the root.

¹H. B. Huffmon, <u>Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A</u> <u>Structural and Lexical Study</u> (Baltimore: 1965) 166f. and 196f. (hereafter cited as <u>AFNM</u>). See further <u>infra</u>, p. 79.

אבינדב//עמינדב ;אב(י)רם//עמרם ;אביאל//עמיאל²; אחינדב//אבינדב/עמינדב ;אב(י)רם//עמרם ;אביאל//עמיאוד.

³Hulst, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 291f.

Application

The flexibility of usage of **Dy** suggested by the foregoing is confirmed by the almost bewildering variety of subjects to which the term was applied. Although in many instances the plural was employed simply to denote plurality, the occasional appearance of a slightly different nuance justifies the separation of the treatment of the singular and plural forms.

by (singular)

by as a general term for people (populus)

In its broadest sense the Hebrews employed Dy to refer to the human inhabitants of the earth. Isa. 24:4-5 speaks of the exalted of the ארץ fading away and withering with the earth itself.¹ In 40:7, where Dy appears to function as a closer definition of π free π the transitory nature of people is compared with that of grass. According to 42:5 the dy (i.e., the earth) are said to receive their breath from the God who also stretched out the heavens and spread out the earth.³ In one of Job's responses to Zophar he asserts, "He (God) takes away understanding from the chiefs of γ ."⁴ Ps. 22:32 and 102:19 use Dy

¹So MT. RSV understands Dy in the prepositional sense. Some suggest the entire stich may be a gloss. So G. B. Gray, <u>A Critical and</u> <u>Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1912), p. 411 (hereafter cited as <u>Isaiah</u>).

²Cf. also v. 5. So MT. Once more some question concerning the authenticity of the text has been raised. C. R. North, <u>The Second Isaiah</u> (Oxford: 1964), p. 70 comments, "It may be a (perfectly sound) gloss defining 'all flesh' to mean 'mankind'."

³Cf. the use of צאצאיה in the parallel stich.

⁴12:24. So MT. With LXX, <u>BHS</u> suggests **Dy** be deleted.

to refer to future generations, "people yet unborn". Contrariwise, in Job 34:20 the **Dy** are depicted as mortals.¹

The Dy are not only people of the earth, however; they may also be the people of a land. Both senses are covered by the same expression y. Although this common phrase has occasionally been interpreted as a technical designation for a special class of people, the owners of property and those with political influence as opposed to the masses,² in most contexts the sense, "inhabitants of a certain geographic area"³ is preferable.⁴ To our knowledge the phrase is never used of a specific nation associated with a specific territory. The population of a city may be referred to variously as ⁵, העם אשר בעיר ⁶, העם הישב בעיר ⁶, העם הישב בעיר ⁷,

Cf. Ezek. 26:20, where the departed dead are referred to as עם עולם . This meaning is not to be applied, however, to Isa. 44:7, where the same expression represents "an ancient people."

So E. Würthwein, Der ^Camm ha'rez im Alten Testament, BWANT, IV/ 17 (Stuttgart: 1936); M. H. Pope, "<u>CAm ha'arez</u>," IDB, I, pp. 106-107; A. Alt, "Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Judah," in <u>KS</u>, II, p. 127 (The article appeared originally in <u>VT</u>, 1 [1951], pp. 2-22). For defences of a broader interpretation see E. W. Nicholson, "The Meaning of the Expression <u>v</u> in the Old Testament," <u>JSS</u>, 10 (1965), pp. 59-66; G. Buccellati, <u>Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria</u>, Studi Semitici, 26 (Rome: 1967), pp. 168ff. (hereafter cited as <u>Cities and Nations</u>).

Gen. 23:12,13 (Hittite population); 42:6 (Egyptians); Exod. 5:5 (Israelites in Goshen); Lev. 20:2,4 (Israel); Num. 14:9 (Canaanites); 2 Kings 11:14, <u>et passim</u> in 2 Kings (Judah); Jer. 1:18; 34:19; 37:2; 44:21; 52:6,25 (frequently in Jeremiah ארץ is juxtaposed with references to kings, princes and priests); Ezek. 7:27, <u>et passim</u> in Ezekiel; Hag. 2:4; Zech. 7:5; Dan. 9:6; Ezra 4:4; Neh. 9:10; 2 Chron. 23:13, et passim in 2 Chronicles.

⁴The same applies to expressions like עם יהודה (Jer. 25:1,2; 26:18; Ezra 4:4; 2 Chron. 26:1), and עם מדינות (Est. 4:11).

> ⁵E.g., Josh. 8:16. Cf. העם אשר בירושלם, Jer. 29:25; 34:8. ⁶E.g., Jer. 36:9 (Jerusalem).

⁷E.g., Jer. 29:16.

GN-GN-GN- or GN-געם הבאים מערי.² Where the emphasis is on the entirety of a population, expressions like כל העם מקטון וער גדול³, כל העם אוס,⁴ or ס,⁴ or כל העם מקטון וער גדול³, כל העם ³ הגברים והנשים ⁵ were used. Segments of the population were identified in several ways: העם ⁶, יתר העם ⁷, שאר העם ⁷, יתר העם ¹⁰, יתר העם ¹¹ Specific groups referred to include the poor, ¹² and blind.¹³

Difficulties in distinguishing between the national sense of Dyand the general popular significance, are frequently encountered.¹⁴ This applies to several texts in which Dy is juxtaposed with a variety of designations for rulers.¹⁵

¹E.g., 2 Chron. 32:18 (Jerusalem); Isa. 1:10 (Gomorrah). The expression עם העיר is lacking.

²E.g., Jer. 36:9. ³E.g., Gen. 19:4. ⁴E.g., Jer. 42:1,8. ⁵E.g., Jer. 44:20. ⁶E.g., 1 Kings 12:23. ⁷E.g., Neh. 10:29. ⁸E.g., Jer. 41:10,16. ⁹E.g., Num. 22:41. ¹⁰E.g., 1 Kings 9:20. ¹

¹¹E.g., Jer. 40:6.

¹²E.g., Jer. 39:10 (העם הדלים); Prov. 28:15 (עם דל); Jer. 52:15 (דלות העם).

¹³E.g., Isa. 43:8 (עם עור).

¹⁴Between these two categories we might also identify the assembly of enfranchised citizens as well as the cult assembly, cf. Rost, p. 91.

¹⁵Job 34:20,30; Prov. 11:14; 29:2; Qoh. 4:16.

Occasionally שע is used in rather special ways. In several texts it refers exclusively to men.¹ Elsewhere שע represents lay people in contrast to the priests.² Where the common people are explicitly identified לוגי העם often appears.³ Jeremiah 17:19 refers to the gate used especially by the common folk as שער כני עם. None of these texts represents an essentially new meaning. They are rather to be understood as extensions, or specific applications, of the general significance borne by the term.

Dy as a designation for smaller groups

Although Dy is commonly used to represent "people, population", the term is frequently used for groups of very limited size. This is true of the emissaries sent by Israel to Eglon,⁴ the merchants of Jerusalem,⁵ the Philistines in attendance at a banquet,⁶ Saul's acquaintances,⁷ the sons of the prophets,⁸ and Solomon's labour force consisting of aliens.⁹ Members of a household, including family and servants, are the by of the head of

²Isa. 24:2; Hos. 4:9; Ezra 9:1. This significance is reflected also by ארץ in Hag. 2:4; Zech. 7:5.

³2 Kings 23:6; Jer. 26:23; 2 Chron. 35:5,7,12,13.
⁴Judg. 3:18.
⁵Zeph. 1:11 (μσο συμ).
⁶Judg. 16:30.
⁷1 Sam. 10:11.
⁸2 Kings 4:41,42,43.
⁹1 Kings 5:30; 9:23; 2 Chron. 2:17.

¹Men of Sodom (Gen. 19:4); men of Israel (Num. 25:1,2; Josh. 5:4,5); the men of the new community of Jerusalem (Neh. 4:8,13,16).

the house.¹ The returnees accompanying Ezra are called an **by**,² as are those who have assembled for religious and cultic exercises.³ The expression is frequently applied to the small class of people responsible for political leadership,⁴ or party factions which gravitate around the leaders themselves⁵ or issues that concern the leaders.⁶ In fact, it appears that any time two or more individuals are united in any way, they could legitimately be designated as an **by**.

by as a military term

It is possible that in texts where DY has reference to an army or group of warriors it is actually being used in the general sense of "the people of PN". However, apart from the ambiguous passages,⁷ there are many in which DY serves almost as <u>terminus technicus</u> for a

Lot (Gen. 14:16); Jacob (Gen. 32:8; 35:6); Esau (Gen. 33:15); cf. also Elisha (1 Kings 19:21), though here he is a member rather than the head of the household.

²Ezra 8:15.

³Worshippers in the temple (Jer. 19:14; 26:7, et passim; 28:1, et passim; 36:6, et passim; Ezek. 42:14; 44:11,19; Ps. 35:18; 107:32); those gathered for the dedication of the temple (2 Chron. 7:4,5,10); those assembled for the reconsecration of the temple and the celebration of the Passover (2 Chron. 29:36; 30:20,27, respectively); the members of the new community of Jerusalem gathered for the purification rites (Neh. 8:3, et passim; 12:38; 13:1).

⁴The lords of the Philistines (Judg. 16:24); leaders of Gilead (Judg. 10:18; 11:11); the elders of Israel (1 Sam. 8:7, <u>et passim</u>); the elders of Boaz' clan (Ruth 4:9,11); the counsellors of Ahab (1 Kings 20:8); the leaders of Israel (1 Chron. 13:4; 29:9).

^DDavid (2 Sam. 13:34; 15:17,23,24,30; 16:6,14; 17:2, <u>et passim;</u> 18:1; 19:3); Absalom (2 Sam. 15:12; 16:15,18; 17:9); Solomon (1 Kings 1:39,40); Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 18:2); Zedekiah (Jer. 34:10); Ishmael (Jer. 41:13).

⁶Opponents of Athaliah (2 Kings 11:13, et passim; 2 Chron. 23:5, et passim); opponents of Gedaliah (2 Kings 25:26).

'E.g., the people of Amalek, Exod. 17:13; the people of Og, Num. 21:35 (but cf. v. 33). military force. On several occasions the armies of a ruler, a general, or even of a nation are referred to simply as an Dy, when \aleph_2^1 or \flat_n^2 might have been expected. Joel 2:5, in a context wholly concerned with military forces and achievements, speaks of an \aleph_n is quite explicit. 2 Kings 13:7 has the Dy broken down into units of cavalry, chariotry and infantry.⁴ Occasionally by may refer also to the combined forces of allied powers.⁵ Where foreign armies are referred to as \aleph_n , however, they are usually described as belonging to a person or accompanying him.⁶ So consistent is this usage that when the Amalekites and Edomites appear in battle against the Israelites, in the absence of the name of the king or general, the nations themselves are referred to as if they were the individuals, Amalek and Edom respectively.⁷ Armies attached to city states are never identified as "the army of GN", but as "the army of the king of GN".⁸

With regard to the military forces of Israel, the texts are also

¹Judg. 8:5, cf. v. 6.

²Exod. 14:6; cf. v. 4,9,17,28; Ezek. 17:15, עם רב, but cf. v. 17. חיל גדול וקהל רב.

> ³Josh. 8:1,3,11; 10:7; 11:7. ⁴Cf. Deut. 20:1. ⁵Josh. 11:4; Dan. 11:15.

⁶E.g., Pharaoh's people (Exod. 14:6); Shishak and the people with him (2 Chron. 12:3); Sihon (Num 21:23; Deut. 2:32,33; Judg. 11:20,21); Og (Num. 21:33,34,35; Deut. 3:1,2,3); Sisera (Judg. 4:13); Horam (Josh. 10:33); Ben-Hadad (1 Kings 20:10); Nebuchadnezzar (Ezek. 26:7). Note also the enigmatic Live June Dan. 9:26.

Exod. 17:13; Num. 20:20. Note, however, Ezek. 17:15 which speaks of the army of Egypt. But cf. v. 17, where it is said to belong to Pharaoh. A non-military sense is preferable in 1 Sam. 13:5.

⁸Maacah (1 Chron. 19:7); Ai (Josh. 8:14).

remarkably consistent. Only in 2 Sam. 18:7 is the army referred to as vorved above, the fighting forces are commonly identified as "the Dy with PN". The principle applies whether they represent the entire nation,² they function as the personal forces of the king,³ or serve as a unit under one of the generals.⁴

This military interpretation also best suits the plural forms of **Dy** found in Judges 5:14 and Hosea 10:14. The rare poetic form of the word in the former⁵ is interpreted by some as "thy clansmen"⁶ or "thy kins-men".⁷ This translation is not impossible, but in the context of the celebration of a great military victory, "your forces" seems more appropriate.⁸ Similar considerations also apply to Hosea 10:14.⁹ Clearly,

¹Cf. אנשי ישראל (2 Sam. 19:41), and the occasional אנשי ישראל (1 Sam. 7:11, etc.).

²E.g., Saul's forces (1 Sam. 13:15,16,22; cf. vs. 4,6,7,8; 14:2, et passim).

³David (1 Sam. 30:4,21; 2 Sam. 18:2, et passim); Rehoboam (1 Kings 12:23); Asa (2 Chron. 14:12); Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. 20:25); Amaziah (2 Chron. 25:11).

⁴Gideon (Judg. 7:1, <u>et passim</u>); Abimelech (Judg. 9:32, <u>et</u> passim); Gaal (Judg. 9:33); Joab (2 Sam. 3:31; 10:13; 20:15).

לממיך, Cf. Neh. 9:22,24. On the doubling of the n see C. F. Burney, <u>The Book of Judges</u>, with <u>Introduction and Notes</u> (London: 1918), p. 172. Burney rejects the Aramaic argument for a late date of the Song of Deborah. See also GK 93aa.

⁶Burney, p. 134; NEB.

7 RSV; J. Gray, Joshua, Judges and Ruth, NCB (London: 1967), p. 286.

⁸R. G. Boling suggests "troops"; <u>Judges: A New Translation with</u> <u>Introduction and Commentary</u>, AB (Garden City: 1975), p. 102. G. F. Moore commented, "... <u>among thy kinsmen (populares)</u> is less natural here than <u>in thy ranks."</u> To emend to <u>cuar</u> (as GK suggests) would be "rash" in this "desperate context". <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1898), p. 153.

9 H. W. Wolff, <u>Hosea</u>, BKAT (Neukirchen: 1965), p. 243, tentatively suggests, "gegen dein Kriegsvolk," for געמך. Cf. also J. L. Mays, Hosea: A Commentary, OTL (London: 1969), p. 149. Although W. R. Harper,

therefore, as a military term, by has begun to assume some very specific and technical senses.

by as a designation for "a people"

Although **Dy**, when translated as "people" is best interpreted as "population" in the majority of instances, in many this is clearly inadequate. The subtle, but nonetheless real, transition from "people" to "<u>a</u> people" is reflected in scores of texts too numerous to cite. Consequently an exhaustive study of this evidence is precluded here. Nevertheless, this semantic development may be adequately demonstrated by examining several significant syntactical constructions.

Dy with attributive modifiers. A wide variety of adjectives are associated with Dy. Perhaps no combination reflects the idea of "a people" more clearly than ThX Dy, "one people". Two texts are especially illuminating in this regard. In Genesis 11:6, with respect to the citizens of Babel, Yahweh observes, "See, they are ThX Dy, and they all have one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do, and nothing that they propose to do will be impossible for them." The translation "one population" is possible, but hardly satisfactory. The presence of ThX along with the stress on the unity of language and ambition indicates that the community at Babel enjoyed a high degree of cohesiveness; a cohesiveness which in later times would have been considered sufficient

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea, ICC (Edinburgh: 1910), p. 357, refuses to emend the text, he prefers "tribes", who are understood as "peoples". Cf. C. F. Keil, <u>Biblical Commentary on the Old</u> <u>Testament: The Twelve Minor Prophets</u> (Edinburgh: 1874),I, p. 135, comments "The expression is chosen with reference to <u>robh gibborim</u> (the multitude of mighty men), in which Israel put its trust." to identify them as "a people" and not just "the population" of Babel.¹

A different basis for this sense of community is reflected in Gen. 34:15-16:

If you will become like us, in that every male among you will be circumcised, then we will give our daughters to you, and we will take your daughters to ourselves, and we will live with you and become you.

For the narrator, the critical issue in the context is the distinction between the patriarchal family and the Shechemites. The conditions proposed are designed to remove such distinctions. The assimilation of common customary practices, cohabitation and intermarriage would produce from two separate entities one "people".²

Almost as forceful are the numerous texts in which **Dyn** is followed by the demonstrative pronoun, **ATA**. The use of the expression is striking even if not consistent. In Judg. 20:16 the expression **ATA Dyn** is employed for the military forces mustered by the tribe of Benjamin. Judg. 9:29 identifies the citizens of Shechem similarly. The significance of the phrase in 1 Kings 12:6ff. and the parallel passage in 2 Chron. 10 is not clear. Three interpretations are possible: **ATA Dyn** may refer to 1) the nation of Israel; 2) the delegates as a group which presents the petition to Rehoboam; 3) the delegates as representatives of the nation. Since the text speaks of "this people who have spoken to me" (1 Kings 12:9), on the one hand, but "all Israel"(v. 16), on the other, the last suggestion seems most appropriate.

In most other instances, however, the meaning of him is

¹For further discussion of the relationship between language and this sense of community see infra, pp. 587ff.

²For further discussion of this text see <u>infra</u>, p. 235.

unequivocal. The expression is first applied to Israel in Exod. 3:21 where Yahweh declares that he will grant nrn pynfavour in the sight of the Egyptians. The distinction between the two peoples in the context is important. In the interchange between Moses and Yahweh in Exod. 32:9, national, or at least ethnic, cohesion is implied.¹ In this text, as in many others, the phrase has assumed strong overtones of reproach occasioned by the people's corporate infidelity.² This censorious usage is especially prominent in the prophets.³ This attitude is not reflected everywhere, however. The descriptions of the crossing of the Jordan in which the phrase appears several times are quite neutral.⁴ Definite positive feelings toward ara bya may be recognized in Zechariah 8:6,11,12. Nehemiah's tone is almost affectionate as he intercedes on behalf of the people of the new community in Jerusalem.⁵

עם אחר is combined with many other modifiers in contexts which are equally clear in their demand for the interpretation "a people". עם אחר "another people", is equated with אידעת לא ידעת לא ידעת do not know",⁷ but juxtaposed with כניך ובנתיך וחות in Deut. 28:32-33. A related

⁴Deut. 3:28; Josh. 1:2,6; 7:7.

⁵Neh. 5:18,19. For further discussion of the expression see infra, p. 519, n. 5.

Cf. עם אחרן, Dan. 2:44 (Aramaic).

So also Ruth 2:11.

Cf. also 32:21; 33:12. Cf. v. 13 in which העם הזה is called a Compare also Deut. 9:13,27.

²See Num. 11:11, <u>et passim</u>; 14:11, <u>et passim</u>. For a full discussion of the issue see J. Boehmer, "Dieses Volk," <u>JBL</u>, 45 (1926), pp. 134-48.

³Isa. 6:10; 8:6,11,12; 9:15; 28:11; 29:13,14; Jer. 6:19,21 and 20+ occurrences in Jeremiah; Mic. 2:11; Hag. 1:2; 2:14; also by Elijah, 1 Kings 18:37.

expression is , "a foreign people", in Exod. 21:8.¹ Both phrases represent the antithesis of an and the phrases employing on a similar sense include and the trace of the phrases employing of the phrases and the phrases include and the phrase of the phrases are phrased and the phrases are phrased and the phrases of the phrases and the phrases of the phrases are phrased and the phrases of the phrases of the phrases of the phrases employing of the phrases of the phra

¹Cf. also עם אחד מפזר אחד מנזר, "a certain scattered people," Est. 3:8. ²"An obstinate people," Exod. 32:9; 33:3,5; 34:9; Deut. 9:6,13. ³"A wise and understanding people," Deut. 4:6. עס is here juxtaposed with יוא.

⁴"A holy people," Deut. 7:6; 14:2,21; 26:19; 28:9 (cf. 33:3).

⁵"A people great and tall," Deut. 9:2.

⁶"A people of special treasure," Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18.

7"A foolish people," Deut. 32:6.

⁸"A quiet and secure people," Judg. 18:27. Cf. also v. 10.

⁹"Your great people," 1 Kings 3:9.

¹⁰"A feared people," Isa. 18:2,7.

¹¹"A people tall and smooth," Isa. 18:7.

¹²"A strong people," Isa. 25:3. Cf. the description of ants as עם לא עז, in Prov. 30:25.

¹³"A rebellious people," Isa. 30:9.

14 "A fierce people," Isa. 33:19.

¹⁵"A people of unintelligible speech," Isa. 33:19; Ezek. 3:5. On the significance of this expression see infra, p. 604.

¹⁶ "A people great and mighty," Joel 2:2. Cf. עם עצום also in v. 5. In Prov. 30:26 badgers are identified as עם לא עצום.

¹⁷"A chosen people," Dan. 11:15.

¹⁸"A foolish and senseless people," Jer. 5:21.

> ¹Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 19, for forms and representative references. ²Judg. 20:2. Cf. עם אלהים, 2 Sam. 14:13.

⁴Num. 21:29; Jer. 48:46. Although the same expression for Ammon as the people of Malkam is lacking, the step from up to by in Jer. 49:1 would be small. Its absence may be due to the relatively few references to the cult of Malkam and his relationship to his people.

> ⁵"People of the North," Jer. 46:24. ⁶Cf. GK 128k. ⁷Est. 3:6.

variations of ψ_{a} , ψ_{a} but note also ψ_{a} , ψ

Appositional expressions. The employment of national names in an appositional relationship to **py** provides perhaps the clearest indication of the sense "a people" for the term. Israel appears in this

¹Isa. 62:12. Cf. עם קדשך, Isa. 63:18; עם קדשים, Dan. 8:24; עם קדשי עליונין, 12:7; עם קדשי עליונין, 7:27 (Aramaic).

²"People of my wrath," Isa. 10:6.

³"People of old," Isa. 44:7. Cf. the same expression with a slightly different significance noted above, p. 25.

⁴"A pecple of strange language," Ps. 114:1. For a discussion of the expression see infra, p. 606.

⁵"A pecple of discernment," Isa. 27:11.

⁶"People of his pasture," Ps. 95:7.

⁷On the expression see J. J. Stamm, "B^erit ^cam bei Deuterojesaja," in <u>Probleme biblischer Theologie</u>, G. Von Rad Festschrift, ed. by H. W. Wolff (Munich: 1971), pp. 510-24.

⁸Cf. Lev. 26:12; Deut. 26:17f.; 29:13; Jer. 7:23; 31:33; Ezek. 11:20; etc. for variations of the theme. Deut. 4:20 contains the form, להיות לו עם נחלה. Cf. 2 Kings 11:17. On the covenant formula see R. Smend, <u>Die Bundesformel</u> (Zurich: 1963). position with great frequency,¹ but note also Jacob,² Judah,³ and Ephraim.⁴ Sometimes the name Israel is replaced by alternative descriptive expressions.⁵ The names of foreign peoples appearing in this position include the Anakim,⁶ the Philistines,⁷ and Egypt.⁸ Occasionally, the order is reversed and **by** is used in apposition to a national designation.⁹

Deut. 21:8; 26:5; Josh. 8:33; 1 Sam. 9:16; 1 Kings 6:13; Jer. 12:14; Ezek. 25:14; Joel 4:2; Amos 7:8; Dan. 9:20; Ezra 7:13 (Aramaic); 1 Chron. 11:2, etc. Note especially 2 Kings 9:6 in which appears in apposition to אסיר אין 0ccasionally compound forms of the name occur. Thus בני ישראל, Exod. 3:10; 7:4; Judg. 2:6; אראל, Ezek. 34:30.

> ²Ps. 78:71. ³הודה, Isa. 2:6. ⁴Isa. 9:8.

⁵אנן מרעיתך, "sheep of your pasture", Ps. 79:13; 100:3; חסידיו, his holy ones", Ps. 85:9.

⁶Deut. 9:2.

⁷1 Sam. 13:5.

⁸Isa. 19:25.

⁹"Israel his/my people" occurs in Exod. 18:1; 1 Sam. 2:29; 1 Kings 8:66; Ps. 135:12; 2 Chron. 7:10. Cf. עבדיך ועמך, in Neh. 1:10.

¹⁰"'People' and 'Nation'," p. 158.

עמך הגוי הזה, "This nation is your people."

unthinkable. יוא seldom, if ever, appears with a suffix relating it to Yahweh.¹ A similar distinction is reflected in 2 Sam. 7:23 (= 1 Chron. 17:21): מי כעמך כישראל גוי אחד בארץ, "Which single nation on earth is like your people?" Deut. 4:6 is slightly different in form: nthis great nation is a wise and understanding people." It is clear from these texts that by and אוי belonged to the same semantic field, even if their meanings were not identical. From Jer. 33:24 it is apparent that by status does not guarantee און status at the same time. Yahweh quotes to the prophet the thoughts of a despondent people, no longer are they a nation before me." At the same time that Israel's status as the by of Yahweh is affirmed, her <u>goyness</u> is denied.

Twice an by is identified by gentilic forms. In Exod. 7:16 and 9:1,13, Yahweh, אלהי העברים אלהי כסקים עמי Compare Isa. 23:13, הון ארץ כשדים זה העם לא היה "Behold the Chaldaeans; this is the people that was not." Twice also reference is made to the extinction of an Dy: Isa. 7:8, Divide also reference is made to the extinction of an Dy: heat. 7:8, Divide also reference is made to the extinction of an Dy: being a people;" Jer. 48:42, לחת אפרים מעם , "Moab will be destroyed from being a people." In each instance Dy is clearly to be interpreted as "a people".

Dy as a designation for kinsman

For ninety-five per cent of the occurrences of Dy the translation

¹Speiser, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., overlooks Zeph. 2:9 and Ps. 106:5. See further, <u>infra</u>, pp. 91ff.

"people" or "a people" will be appropriate.¹ In a limited number of passages, however, this rendering is unsuitable. The anomalous texts (if "people" is in fact the normal meaning) are more frequent in the plural forms, but several singular appearances are noteworthy.

The application of Dy to personal names has already been referred to.² Although some of the names are meaningful if the element is translated as "people",³ for others this is ludicrous.⁴ That Dy should occasionally serve as an alternative to \Im and Π suggests strongly that it too could be used as kinship term.⁵ Other hints of this usage may be produced. When Samson demanded permission of his parents to marry the Philistine maiden his father responded, "Is there not a woman among the daughters of your kinsmen ($\Re \Pi r$), or among all $\Re Y$ that you must go to take a wife from the uncircumcised Philistines?⁶ In Psalm 45:11 the bride was encouraged to "forget $\Re Y$ and your father's house ($\Gamma X \square C \Gamma$)." According to 2 Sam. 14:7, the wise woman of Tekoa appears to use Dy interchangeably with $\Re Y$ has risen up against her. Later in v. 15 she declares that the people (Dy) have made her afraid.

¹It was these anomalous appearances which first stimulated M. Krenkel to look further for the basic meaning of the root. See "Das Verwandtschaftswort Dy," ZAW, 8 (1888), pp. 280-84.

²Supra, pp. 21ff.

³E.g., ΓΠΕΥΡΤΑ, interpreted by Stamm, "Zwei Alttestamentliche Königsnamen," p. 448,as "Das Volk ist weit geworden;" ("τενσιματικά", "the people have increased." So Gray, <u>HPN</u>, p. 59. But cf. Stamm, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 452, who interprets the name as "Der Onkel hat Recht geschaft."

> ⁴עמיאל, "God is my kinsman." "God is my people" is absurd. ⁵Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 23. ⁶Judg. 14:3.

Occasionally the suffixed form of **Dy** appears also to bear the sense "relative". When Elijah offered to repay the Shunemite woman for her kindness she refused all favours, protesting, "I live among 'Dy."¹ Apparently her kinfolk were fulfilling their normal duty by attending to her needs. The combination of כני with some suffixed form of Dy may also reflect kinship overtones. This seems especially obvious in Lev. 19:17-18, where כני עמך is juxtaposed with the second seco

In this context mention should also be made to two common idiomatic expressions, "to be gathered to one's people,"³ and "to be cut off from one's people."⁴ However, because they occur more frequently in the plural, and that without obvious shift in meaning, the discussion of these is reserved for the following section.

oy (plural)

עמים as a designation for "peoples"

The usage of Variable is much more consistent than its singular counterpart. In the main it signifies the plural of Dy bearing the sense "people, nation". As such it was applied to a wide range of groups of people, from the powerful Egyptians to the small Canaanite

¹2 Kings 4:13. Cf. Rost, p. 90.

Cf. also כלי עמי , Gen. 23:11 (the kin of Ephron); Judg. 14:16 (Samson's wife's kin); so also בני עמה, v. 17. This significance is farther in the background in Ezek. 3:11; 33:2,12,17,30; 37:18, as well as Isa. 13:14; Jer. 46:16; 50:16, where security is found in one's own by and land. בני עמו in Num. 22:5 has been the subject of considerable discussion. See <u>infra</u>, p. 343, n. 6.

³ויאסף אל עמו, Gen. 49:29.

⁴ונכרת האיש ההוא מקרב עמו, Lev. 17:4,10; 18:29; 20:3,5,6,17,18; 23:30; Num. 15:30.

tribes.¹ If size was relatively unimportant in being designated an Dy, so was political independence. The subjugated peoples were usually incorporated into the larger empires in such a way that their Dy status was retained.² Thus Pharaoh could even be identified as "the ruler of the peoples" (D'NY 'D'N).³ Frequently the D'NY are represented as acting in consort against common enemies.⁴ In Ezekiel's prophecy against Gog this usage almost merges into a <u>terminus technicus</u> for "military forces", in the sense that was observed with respect to the singular use of DY.⁵ The D'NY are occasionally represented as the spectators of Israel's drama of redemption.⁶ These great acts of Yahweh on behalf of his people cause them to concede that Israel is a nation privileged above all others.⁷ On the other hand, the destruction of the

¹In Ezra 9:1,11, the list of vay includes the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians and Amorites. Deut. 20:16 lists the Canaanite var as Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites. For a discussion of this and other similar lists see T. Ishida, "The Structure and Historical Implications of the Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations," Biblica, 60 (1979), pp. 461-90.

²For the Babylonian period see Dan. 3:4,7,31 (all Aramaic y). For the Persian era see Dan. 6:26 (Aramaic); Est. 1:16; 3:8,14; 8:13,17; 9:2.

³Ps. 105:20. The Assyrian policy of mass deportation of the conquered **vay** appears to have been exceptional and designed deliberately to destroy any sense of amness. See 2 Kings 17:24ff. Note also the boast of the Assyrians in Isa. 10:15 that they had removed the boundaries of the vay. For further discussion see infra, pp. 392ff.

⁴Against Ammon, Ezek. 25:7; Egypt, Ezek. 29:13; 32:3; Israel and Jerusalem, Hos. 10:10; Jer. 34:1; Zech. 12:2, et passim.

^DNote the close association of עמים and אגפים in 38:6,9,15,22; 39:4.

⁶Exod. 15:14; Josh. 24:17; Deut. 2:25.

⁷Deut. 4:6-7; cf. also vs. 32ff.

nation in the sight of all the $\forall \alpha \circ \alpha$ was equally dramatic, and the cause of intense public humiliation.¹

Most of these passages treat the y in a relatively objective way. In the Psalms, however, they come to represent the forces of evil arrayed against God. Psalm 7 characterizes the y as the psalmist's enemies, evil and wicked. According to 96:5 they are idolators, worshippers of futility.⁶ On the other hand, they are not totally written

¹Lam. 1:18; 3:45f.

²In Deut. 33:3 the plural form is applied to Israel (parallel קרשים). If the text is correct the reference seems to be to the tribes of Israel viewed as separate עמים (cf. Gen. 28:3; 48:4). Most suggest, however, we read my with LXX. See S. R. Driver, <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary</u> on Deuteronomy, ICC, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: 1902), p. 393.

³So Exod. 19:5; Deut. 6:14; 7:7; 10:15; Isa. 25:6,7; 56:7; Ps. 47:2; 49:2; 96:3; 97:6; 99:2; 1 Chron. 16:24; 2 Chron. 7:20.

⁴E.g., כל העמים אשר על Deut. 4:19; כל עמים תחת כל השמים, Deut. 7:6; 14:2.

⁵עמי הארץ occurs in Deut. 28:10; Josh. 4:24; 1 Kings 8:43,53, 60; Ezek. 31:12; Zeph. 3:20; 2 Chron. 6:33.

See further, 33:10, their plans are frustrated by Yahweh; 56:8, the psalmist pleads for Yahweh to put the **D**'**D**' down in his wrath because they are seeking to violently take his life; 68:31, they delight in war; 89:51, they are identified as enemies whose reproach the psalmist cannot escape. off. The peoples may be hardened, but the psalmist looks forward to the day when they will assemble themselves as the אברהם ¹ In fact, the עמים are frequently called upon to praise the name of Yahweh.²

עמים as a designation for "kinsman"

It was observed earlier that the plural form of by occasionally served as a kinship term.³ These occurrences are restricted almost exclusively to two stereotyped idioms, "to be gathered to one's people," and "to be cut off from one's people." These will be examined separately.

"To be gathered to one's people."⁴ The ten occurrences of this expression are restricted to the Pentateuch.⁵ In each instance, the person described as being "gathered to his people(s)" is prominent in the traditions of Israel's earliest history, either as a patriarch or as a leader associated with the birth of the nation.⁶ Gen. 49:29,⁷ however, is anomalous in two respects. First, only here is an individual reflecting upon his own death. In all other cases the representation of death as a reunion with one's <code>Dymy</code> derived from either the pen of the narrator⁸ or the lips of Yahweh.⁹ Second, this is the only occurrence of

> ¹Ps. 47:10; 102:23. ²E.g., Ps. 67. ³See <u>supra</u>, p. 40. ⁴ויאסף אל עמיו.

⁵Gen. 25:8,17; 35:29; 49:29,33; Num. 20:24; 27:13; 31:2; Deut. 32:50 (bis).

⁶Because of his membership in the primary patriarchal family, Ishmael is not here considered to be a foreigner.

אני נאספ אל עמי.

So the Genesis texts.

⁹So the texts in Numbers and Deuteronomy.

the singular form in the expression.

It is obvious that to interpret סימש as "peoples" in the sense of "nations" is inappropriate for the idiom. Although the patriarchs especially are closely associated with their "nations", these are for them only potential realities. The nations come from and after them. Alternatively, the application of the term to the peoples of their Mesopotamian origins is equally impossible. This would signify a reversal and contradiction of the tradition which stressed that when Abraham was called to leave Ur, Yahweh demanded a severance of all ties, not merely with his homeland(מארצך), but especially with his relatives (ממולדתך)¹ and his father's household (מרית אביך).² A different understanding of y is therefore clearly required.

The presence of alternative forms of the idiom may be of assistance here. In Judg. 2:10 the identical expression occurs, except that here π replaces $p_{\pi}ny$.³ This change in a stock expression parallels exactly the development with respect to personal names observed earlier.⁴ The text also deviates from usage elsewhere by democratizing the idiom and applying it to an entire generation (π). The form of the idiom in 2 Kings $22:20(cf. 2 Chron. 34:28)^5$ is interesting for several reasons:

> ¹For the close association of עם and מולדת see Est. 2:10,20; 8:6. ²On the partitive use of א see GK 119w.

³Whether o'y or NCI belonged to the criginal form of the idiom is impossible to determine. If the original meaning of Oy was indeed "paternal kinsman, uncle," this may have been the primal element. It may have been replaced by an unambiguous term to avoid the possibility of misinterpretation.

⁴See supra, p. 23.

לכן הנני אספך על אבתיך ונאספת אל קברתך בשלום^כ.

1) as in the previous text, אנוא אבוע replaces אנוע 2) a Qal participle,¹ with Yahweh as the subject, substitutes for the Niphal stem used in all other texts; 3) a parallel phrase is added whose verbal form and preposition agree with the previous citations; 4) אבעיעיד The plural form of אבר מבר מבר מבר מבר קבר מין to maintain consistency with אנוא אם שני אין אם מפגיים to maintain consistency with אנוא אם אם און אם אין מוז און מיים און אבעיעיד אביעיד און אבעיעיד אביעיד, a euphemistic abstraction of death, and אביעיד עם אביעיד, a euphemistic abstraction of death, and אביעיד or the even more literal אביעיד אביעיד, both of which are used frequently in Kings to refer to the decease of monarchs. Literally, the latter expressions refer to the burial of kings in family sepulchres. However, the Hebrews conceived death to represent a change in the sphere of existence. Inasmuch as he was believed to have rejoined in Sheol those who had predeceased him, he was seen to have been "gathered to his fathers."²

Therefore, in view of 1) the inappropriate nature of the translation, "peoples", for עמים in this idiom; 2) the existence of bi-forms of the expression using אבות instead of עמים; and 3) the common view of death as a reunion with one's predeceased ancestors, it seems best to interpret

²Cf. J. Pedersen, <u>Israel:</u> Its Life and Culture (London: 1926), Vol. I, pp. 495f.; R. de Vaux, <u>Ancient Israel</u>, Vol. I: <u>Social Institu-</u> <u>tions</u> (New York: 1965), pp. 57-59. Cf. the more recent comment by E. M. Meyers, "Secondary Burials in Palestine," <u>BA</u>, 30 (1970), p. 17, "The biblical phrase, 'to be gathered to one's fathers' thus means to die and to descend to Sheol where the family of all Israel was assembled."

¹On the form see GK 61h. This use of $90^{4} + 5^{3}$ occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament. The construction is usually reserved for military contexts, i.e., the gathering together of forces <u>against</u> someone. The presence of 5^{4} in the parallel phrase and in the idiom elsewhere confirm the present interpretation of the preposition as "to, towards". Cf. GK 119dd.

ימיט in this idiom as a kinship term.

"To be cut off from one's people." This expression occurs only in the Pentateuch. Plural and singular forms of vay/ay are almost evenly divided, the latter outnumbering the former by twelve to ten.³ Except for Lev. 23:30, in which the Hiphil of xet is used, all employ the verb nll. This verb occurs mostly in the Niphal stem, although the Hiphil is preferred in Lev. 17:10; 20:3,5,6. The variations appear to be purely stylistic. Although both 7:27 and 17:10 are concerned with the eating of blood, the former employs the Niphal, whereas the latter prefers the Hiphil stem. On the other hand, the adoption of the active stem in chapter 20 may have been determined by intentional stress on Yahweh's response to offences which seem to have struck at the heart of Yahwism, namely, Molech worship and its attendant human sacrifices, and the practice of necromancy. But this cannot be confirmed. The final prepositional phrase exhibits some variation. In most cases it consists of a plus its object, a suffixed form of עס/עמים. Several prefer מקרב, מקרב perhaps to emphasize the drastic nature of the punishment.

In determining the significance of vy/vy in the idiom, several considerations should be kept in mind. First, since religious or moral

Source critics are unanimous in their ascription of each text to P.

³Plural occurrences: Gen. 17:14; Exod. 30:33,38; 31:14; Lev. 7:20,21,25,27; 17:9; 19:8; 23:29; Num. 9:13. Singular occurrences: Lev. 17:4,10; 18:29; 20:3,5,6,17,18; 23:30; Num. 15:30. In Lev. 17:14 and Num. 15:31 the idiom appears in truncated form, lacking the final prepositional phrase.

¹The singular occurrence of **by** in place of **by** in Gen. 49:29 emphasizes the collective aspect. Jacob interprets his imminent departure as a reunion with "the people" who are his kinsmen.

offences are involved in each context, it appears that D^{μ}/D^{μ} might be related to the cultic community. This is confirmed by several variations of the expression found elsewhere. In Exod. 12:15 and Num. 19:13, the name Israel replaces D'my · Even more specific are Exod. 12:19 and Num. 19:20. In the former, for eating leavened bread during the feast of Unleavened Bread the offender shall be cut off b^{μ} . An equally corporate term is used in the latter, in which case, he who defiles the sanctuary on account of his uncleanness shall be cut off b^{μ} . However, although the "cutting off" appears to be from the cultic community, it does not involve mere excommunication, but execution.¹ The nature of the punishment is clearly defined in Exod. 31:14 and Lev. 20:2 where a parallel phrase, M^{μ} , M^{μ} , accompanies the idiom.

This collective interpretation of עמים does not, however, preclude kinship undertones. It should be remembered that the worshipping community was also an ethnic community. The texts constantly refer to the recipients of the regulations as גרי שראל ², בני ישראל³, or even , ² סרי פעראל³, or even , ³ or even , ⁴ On the other hand, many passages specifically identify participants in the cult who, nonetheless, are not native Israelites. Especially instructive is Lev. 17:8ff. Note the contrast between

¹So also M. Noth, <u>Leviticus: A Commentary</u>, OTL (London: 1965), p. 63, and G. J. Wenham, <u>The Book of Leviticus</u>, NICOT (Grand Rapids: 1979), pp. 241f. and 285f. Wenham rightly observes that the agent should be interpreted as God himself.

²Exod. 30:31 and throughout Exodus-Numbers.

³Lev. 17:4,8. On the ethnic significance of these expressions see chapter V.

⁴Lev. 19:2,8.

אזרח in v. 8, and the אזרח and the הגר אשר יגור בתוכם in v. 8, and the אזרח and the and the v. 15.² Therefore, although the author recognized a community based on the cult, he was also aware of heterogenous elements within that community.

It would appear, therefore, that, as in the previous idiom, so here also, <code>p'ny/by</code> bears kinship overtones. This interpretation is supported by the only patriarchal occurrence of the expression, Gen. 17:14. In v. 12 the distinction had been drawn between the direct descendants of Abraham and other members of his household. Why the plural form should have been adopted in more than one-half of the occurrences of the idiom is not clear. Perhaps it was intended to reflect the various classes of people involved within the community. On the other hand, since this form appears in the Genesis text, which reflects a family unit rather than the cultic community, it seems preferable to see in this idiomatic usage, echoes of the original meaning of the term. <code>p'ny</code> therefore, refers to "relatives". Where <code>by</code> appears, these are viewed in a more collective sense.

<u>Miscellaneous texts</u>. Three additional texts require comment in this connection. The common feature of each is the presence of the plural pay in place of the expected singular form. Lev. 19:16 prohibits the slander of one's עמים. In the context און serves as but one of a series of terms expressing a close relationship: עמים (vs. 15,17), way (vs. 16), און (vs. 16,18), און (vs. 17), and בני עם (vs. 18).³ The basis

¹Cf. vs. 10,12,13; 20:2.

²Cf. Lev. 18:26; Num. 9:14. On these expressions, see further infra, pp. 66ff.

³Noth, <u>Leviticus</u>, p. 141, understands these terms as "without recognizable material difference."

Leviticus 21 is concerned with regulations regarding the priests, specifically their purity (vs. 1-9) and their marriages (vs. 10-15). In each section ס'מיס occurs twice. In the first, priests are forbidden to defile themselves by handling the corpses of any of their ס'מיס, except for their למים.¹ These "blood relations" are further defined as אחרו הכתולה הקרובה אליו המרוב אחרו, בנו , אביו, עמי Any one more distantly related than these is excluded from the priest's attention. Later, in v. 11, for the high priest even this exceptive clause is removed. With respect to the marriage of the latter, he was prohibited from marrying outside of his var way because this would profane his offspring (v. 15).²

Finally, we note Ezekiel 18:18, a text dealing with the practice of extortion against one's brother (אח) and his עמים. This juxtaposing of terms suggests again that עמים is here best interpreted as a kinship designation.³

¹Lit. "his flesh near to him." On the expression see F. Baumgärtel, "σαρξ," TDNT, VII, pp. 107f.

²On this text cf. Rost, p. 90 and n. 191.

³G. A. Cooke, <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of</u> <u>Ezekiel</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1936), p. 200, interprets ^D) as "fellowtribesmen". After admitting that in P the plural form frequently bears this sense, he nonetheless, suggests the present form be emended to the singular on the basis of the absence of this usage in the rest of Ezekiel. So also W. Zimmerli, <u>Ezechiel</u>, BKAT(Neukirchen: 1969), p. 394. J. Wevers, <u>Ezekiel</u>, NCB (London: 1969), p. 144, prefers 'Dy.

Dy in Poetic Parallelism

The value of the study of poetically parallel terms for philological research has been widely recognized in recent years. By observing the association of by with other terms from the same semantic field, we are provided with another tool for deciphering its true significance. However, the application of the method here is prefaced with several cautionary comments. 1) The distinctions between Hebrew poetry and prose are not always clear. Whereas the semantic balance of cola has long been recognized as the characteristic feature of Semitic verse.² does this mean that wherever this occurs we are to reocgnize poetic form? This is a special problem in the prophets. Large sections of Jeremiah and Ezekiel display this feature even though neither Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia nor the English versions set them apart as poetic in form. Perhaps the dividing line has been drawn too sharply. In any case, in view of Watters' observation that words which are associated in poetic parallelism can almost always be found in prose adjacent to each other but connected by a conjunction,³ we need not be too concerned about precision in the identification of a text's

¹See the brief but helpful discussion by Barr, <u>Comparative</u> Philology, pp. 277-82.

This was first recognized by R. Lowth, <u>Lectures on the Sacred</u> <u>Poetry of the Hebrews</u>, trans. by G. Gregory (1829), pp. 157-66. Cf. also G. B. Gray, The Forms of Hebrew Poetry (London: 1915).

³W. R. Watters, <u>Formula Criticism and the Poetry of the Old</u> Testament, BZAW, 38 (New York: 1976), pp. 91, 107.

particular genre. Our primary interest is word pairs, rather than literary form. 2) The relationship between words occurring as pairs is not always equal. In each instance the context must be carefully considered to determine the degree of synonymity intended.¹ If they are synonymous it should be possible to reverse the order of the terms without producing any alteration in the sense of the verse. Recognizing these qualifications, the study of Dy in parallelism will be organized on the basis of the type of word appearing opposite it as follows: parallel terms representing the earth, mankind, nations and peoples, political entities, lands and countries, and miscellanea.

Parallel terms representing "the earth"

The occasions in which by is juxtaposed with a designation for "earth" are not numerous, but they are significant. As expected, the pair $\gamma\gamma$ /by is most common. However, in only five of these texts does the former term bear the sense "earth". Elsewhere it represents "land, country". Isa. 24:13 places the plural form of the latter after the former in parallel prepositional phrases.² More complex is Ps. 99:1 in which the two represent two spheres of Yahweh's dominion.³ Although the verb is frequently found with both elements, since ULD is a <u>hapax</u> it is

רי היה בקרב הארץ "For thus it will be in the midst of the earth among the peoples."

יהוה מלך ירגזו עמים "Yahweh reigns, let the peoples tremble; אישב כרובים תנוט הארץ He sits (above) the cherubim, let the earth shake."

¹This should prevent the extravagant use of parallelism as the key to solving etymological problems as it is practiced by M. Dahood and his disciples. See the critique of H. J. Van Dijk, <u>Ezekiel's Prophecy</u> on Tyre (Ez. 26,1-28,19): A New Approach, by M. Greenberg in <u>JAOS</u>, 40 (1970), pp. 536-40.

impossible to determine if elements A and B could be reversed without altering the sense. Although formally apparently equal in these two texts, the true relationship of Dy and $\gamma\gamma\gamma$ is reflected clearly in Mic. 1:2 in which the Dy are actually to be identified as the contents of the earth.¹

of special interest are Ps. 96:13 and 98:9. Here a triad is created by introducing 2^{2} in a third parallel colon.³ Since all three serve as objects of the same verb, the context suggests synonymous usage. However, if 2^{2} actually means the "inhabitable earth", a subtle progression may be intended: 2^{2} (earth)- 2^{2} (inhabitable earth)- 2^{2} (inhabitants). But the distinction should not be pressed.

שמעו עמים כלם "Hear, O peoples, all of you (lit. "them); הקשיבי ארץ ומלאה Give ear, O earth, and all it contains."

1

²The precise meaning of לכל is uncertain. The word occurs thirtysix times, always in poetry, and never with an article. On twenty-six occasions it appears parallel with another word: // ארץ (22x); // לאמים (2x); // לאמים (1x); // שמים (1x). Thrice it is combined with Yin a single phrase: ארץ (1x). Thrice it is combined with Yin a single phrase: ארץ ותבל (Job 37:12); לאמים (Ps. 90:2); ותבל ארצה (Ps. 90:2); בהכל ארצה (Prov. 8:31). Only seldom is it the A-element (with reference to ארץ only in Isa. 18:3; Ps. 77:19; 97:4). The word may be related to יבול ארצה, "produce of the soil" (BDB, p. 385). Cf. Franz Delitzsch, Psalms, 3 vols., trans. by F. Bolton (Grand Rapids: n.d.), vol. I, p. 166, "the fertile surface of the globe, the oixoupevn (as distinct from Y'A, the body of the earth, and ארמה, the covering of the soil of the earth). Cf. also F. Zorelli, Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti (Rome: 1957), s.v., potissimum terra habitata. Some also relate the word to אכל (KB, p. 1018). Its relationship to Akkadian tabalu, "trockenes Land" (AHw, p. 1298), appears certain.

³Ps. 96:13: יכי בא לשפט הארץ "For he comes to judge the earth; ישפט תבל צדק He will judge the world with righteousness; ועמים באמונתו And the peoples in his faithfulness."

Ps. 98:9: Ps. 98:9: כי בא לשפט הארץ "For he comes to judge the earth; ישפט תכל בצדק He will judge the world with righteousness; און אוים במישרים And the peoples in uprightness."

In the final text, Isa. 8:9, עמים is placed opposite מרחקי הארץ. It is clear here that עמים is not to be associated with ארץ, but its distant places. The former are the inhabitants of the latter.

In view of the normal meanings of vary and vary (and), it is doubtful that the Hebrews ever considered them to be synonymous. This, however, did not prevent the poets from addressing the var as if it var an animate (Mic. 1:2), or even moral (Ps. 96:13; 98:9), being. In view also of the consistent use of the plural oxy, recognition was given to the fragmented nature of the earth's population. It consisted of "peoples", not merely by, "a people".

Parallel terms representing "mankind"

On only two occasions is by paralleled with a term representing all of humanity. Ps. 49:2 employs the phrase, $\forall ucc$, opposite ucc, ¹ Although the precise meaning of $\forall cc$ remains in doubt, ² the sense of the phrase seems to be "the inhabitants of the world", ³ perhaps with a stress on the transitory nature of the earth. In Ps. 22:7, where by is paralleled with ucc, ⁴ the parallelism is perfectly symmetrical, and

שמעו זאת כל עמים "Hear this, all peoples; האזינו כל ישבי חלד Give ear, all inhabitants of the world."

LXX has ยั้งงก // סוֹאסטשְבָּאָח. H. J. Kraus, <u>Psalmen</u>, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1960), vol. I, p. 365, maintains that this is the only text in which the term signifies <u>Welt</u>. But see Isa. 38:11, in which **החיים**// ישבי חלד.

³So Delitzsch, <u>Psalms</u>, I, p. 127. Cf. Job 11:17; Ps. 17:14; 39:6; 89:48.

יאנט וואנכי תולעת ולא איש "But I am a worm, and not a man; הרפת אדם A reproach of mankind, הרפת אדם And despised by the people." This text minimizes the force of Speiser's categorical association of by with with ה contrast to אום and . "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 159.

the two terms could be interchanged without altering the sense.¹ Both terms serve as collective designations for "people" in general.

Parallel terms representing "nations"

The number of texts in which Dy is juxtaposed with another term signifying "nation" exceed the other categories by a wide margin. Two words, '1\lambda and Dk' appear in this capacity. Since the examples of '1\lambda // λ are so numerous, and since a difference may be recognized in each form of the parallel pair, it seems appropriate to divide the discussion into three parts: '1\lambda/\since', and Dy, and Dy, and Dy.

עם//גוי

This set of parallel pairs occurs in fourteen texts.² The remarkable feature of all, except for Ps. 105:13 (= 1 Chron. 16:20), is the degree of synonymity between the two terms. This is reflected first by the interchangeability of the two terms. This actually occurs in Isa. 8: 2 and 7 where both expressions appear with the modifiers of Isa. 8: "tall and smooth". Elsewhere a "Nichtvolk" is designated as a of the two to and a signated as a of the two terms. The and an second terms of Jer. 2:11 depends upon

¹Cf. other similar expressions: Isa. 51:7, חרפת אנוש; Jer. 49:15, בזוי באדם.

²Deut. 32:1; Isa. 1:4; 10:6; 18:2,7; 65:1b-2a; Jer. 2:11; 6:22; 50:41; Zeph. 2:9; Hag. 2:14; Ps. 33:12; 105:13 = 1 Chron. 16:20.

³Deut. 32:21. On this verse see G. Gerleman, "Der Nicht-Mensch: Erwägungen zur Hebräischen Wurzel <u>N B L</u>," <u>VT</u>, 24 (1974), pp. 152-53.

⁴Isa. 1:4. Cf. also Hag. 2:14 where Israel is identified as העס הגוי הזה and הגוי הזה.

⁵Isa. 10:6.

the synonymity of the two elements.¹ In both 6:22 and 50:41 the emotion is heightened by identifying the coming oppressor of Zion and Babylon respectively, as an Dy first, then a λ if λ is accompanied by many kings. Although the relationship between the blessed Dy/11 λ is described from two different angles in Ps. 33:12, the identity of the terms is obvious.² The parallelism in Zeph. 2:9 is quite simple, every element in the first colon having its counterpart in the second.³ Indeed, so determined is the poet to maintain the balance of thought that he departs from convention and attaches a pronominal suffix to '1 λ .⁴

The synonymity of \forall and λ is reflected also by the absence of any fixed pattern of priority in the parallel pair.⁵ Excluding Ps. 105:13

ארימיר גוי אלהים "Has a nation ever changed gods," אלהים When they were not gods? אלהים My people have changed their glory For what does not profit."

.

2

3

אשרי הגוי אשר יהוה אלהיו "Blessed is the nation whose god is Yahweh; העם בחר לנחלה לו The people he has chosen for his inheritance."

שארית עמי יכזום "The remnant of my people will plunder them; ויתר גוי ינחלום And the remainder of my nation will inherit them."

⁴MT Kethib reads ¹13; cf. Qere, ¹13. The suffixed form is reflected by LXX, και οἱ κατάλοιποι λαού μου διαρπώνται αυτους, και καταλοιποι έθνους μου κληρονομήσουσιν αυτούς. On the suffixed form see GK 8k. Unfortunately, Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 159, has failed to note this verse.

⁵Cf. the comment by M. Held, "an A-word is the more common word, used in the first of two parallel clauses; whereas a B-word is usually or even exclusively used in the second of two parallel clauses where the poet had to find a synonym." Held adds that A-words are generally more common in prose, whereas B-words are rarely used except in poetic construction. This is certainly true of **here**, but not of **here**. However, it is acknowledged that Hebrew style is more flexible in this regard than Ugaritic. "Studies in Ugaritic Lexicography and Poetic Style," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1957), pp. 5-18., as noted by R. G. Boling, "'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms," JSS, 5 (1960), pp. 223-24. (= 1 Chron. 16:20) the six appearances of Dy as the A-word are matched by an equal number of texts in which it appears in the B-position.

עם//גוים

In most instances in which the singular form of $\forall y$ is juxtaposed with the plural form of λ , the parallelism is imprecise. Balaam's first oracle describes Israel as an $\forall y$ while at the same time denying her λ : status.⁴ In Ps. 18:44 both forms represent the subjects of David.⁵

ויתהלכו מגוי אל גוי "They wandered about from nation to nation; מממלכה אל עם אחד From a kingdom to another people."

²See <u>infra</u>, pp. 62f.

³C. A. Briggs, <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of</u> <u>Psalms</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1907), Vol. II, p. 354, suggested the last line is "doubtless a textual error for **μ**." But it is inconceivable that a scribe should have altered a perfectly simple parallelism into the present complex form. Which of the nations among whom the patriarchs sojourned was considered to be the addice and which was the Dy is difficult to determine. Perhaps the flight of Jacob to his kin in Aram is in view.

ן "See, a people dwelling apart, הן עם לבדד ישכן אור שכן "See, a people dwelling apart, ובגוים לא יתחשב Not reckoned among the nations." (Num. 23:9) For a discussion of the significance of this verse see <u>infra</u>, pp. 515f. 5 ז י אפלטני מריבי עם You delivered me from the clamour of the people; אט אוים You have made me head of the nations."

Delitzsch is quite right, however, in interpreting the by rac conflicts among his own people, and the unit as foreign nations. This conclusion is confirmed by the recension of the same psalm in 2 Sam. 22. In verse 44 by appears with the first person singular suffix.¹ In the following cola, on the other hand, by also bears a foreign application, but the shift in sense is determined by the attributive clause, 'nyt'. X⁵. Isa. 13:4 poses no great problems. Both context and grammatical structure suggest that D' Dy be translated as "many people", rather than "a great people". Of all of the texts in which by and b'llare paired, Isa. 42:6 displays the greatest symmetry.² This has led many to interpret by in the plural sense, "peoples", in agreement with b'll.³ However, parallelism is not the only factor to consider. On the basis of the anarthrous use of by, especially in Israel's covenant formula, as well as the dual nature of the mission of the servant as described in 49:5f., it is preferable to retain the singular interpretation.⁴

עמים//גוים

1

The plural forms of our terms are brought together in a parallel relationship in more than twenty texts. Their synonymity is assured in

יותפלטני מריבי עמי "You delivered me from the clamour of my people; א תשמרני לראש גוים You kept me as head of the nations; א עם לא ידעתי יעבדני A people whom I have not known serve me." H. W. Hertzberg, following LXX, reads עמים for יחש. <u>I & II Samuel: A</u> <u>Commentary</u>, OTL, trans. by J. S. Bowden (Philadelphia: 1964), p. 391.

אתנך לברית עם "I will appoint you as a covenant of the people, as a light to the nations."

³E.g., North, <u>The Second Isaiah</u>, pp. 38, 112; R. N. Whybray, Isaiah 40-66, NCB (London: 1975), pp. 74f.

⁴So also Stamm, "B^erit ^Cam," pp. 510-24.

ten of these¹ from 1) the symmetrical nature of the cola in which they occur; 2) the reversibility of their order without altering the sense; and 3) the ability of either term to occupy the initial position. In a second group of texts the parallelism is less symmetrical but the synonymity of D'by and D'1 λ remains intact.² Especially important are Isa. 2:2c-3a and its parallel, Mic. 4:1c-2a.³ Because in the former D'1 λ bears the article and is preceded by 2, whereas D'by is followed by the modifier, D'1, at first sight it appears that the significance of the two terms may be different in this context. However, the reversal of the A and B elements in the latter text confirms that this variation is purely stylistic. The same applies to Isa. 2:4 and Mic. 4:3. Although Micah adds a few details, in their essentials these passages are similar, except for the transposition of D'by and D'1 λ .⁴ In spite of the complex nature of the construction of

¹In each reference the letter indicates the relative position of y. Isa. 14:6 (A); 25:7 (A); 33:3 (A); 61:9 (B); Ezek. 36:15 (B); Mic. 5:7 (B); Hab. 2:5 (B); Ps. 33:10 (B); 96:3 = 1 Chron. 16:24 (B).

²Isa. 2:2c-3a (B); 2:4 (B); 11:10 (B); 30:28 (B); 49:22 (B); Ezek. 28:25 (A); Joel 2:17 (B); Mic. 4:1c-2a (A); 4:3 (A); Hab. 2:8 (B); Ps. 106:34-35 (A).

³Isa. 2:2c-3a: ונהרו אליו כל הגוים "And all the nations will stream to it, והלכו עמים רבים And many peoples will come."

Mic. 4:1c-2a: ונהרו עליו עמים "And the peoples will stream to it, והלכו גוים רבים And many nations will come."

⁴Isa. 2:4a: ושפט בין הגוים "And he will judge between the nations, והוכיח לעמים רבים And render decisions for many peoples."

Mic. 4:3a: ושפט בין עמים רבים "He will judge between many peoples, והוכיח לגוים עצמים עד And render decisions for mighty, distant nations." [רחוק] Jer. 10:2-3, the reference to דרך הגוים in v. 2 should be closely associated with חקות העמים of v. 3. A final text, Zech. 8:22, in characteristic prose style conjoins עמים and גוים as an adjacent pair with identical meanings.

From this extensive evidence of Hebrew poetic usage, it is apparent that the distinctions between vy and vx reflected in the prose texts have been blurred considerably.

עמים//לאמים

This parallel pair occurs eight times, but Jer. 51:58 = Hab. 2:13 and Ps. 57:10 = 108:4. The former pair of verses is interesting because, although the order of the word pair remains the same, the modifiers are reversed, indicating a measure of interchangeability between סימy and 0.1^{-1} The parallelism of the cola in Isa. 17:12, Ps. 47:4; 57:10 =108:4, and Prov. 24:24 is symmetrical enough to confirm the synonymity of our terms. The slightly different meanings of the two cola in Ps. 67:5does not affect the similarity of sense of 0.29 and 0.29.

These texts all share several features: 1) עמים is always the A-element, reflecting the relatively greater importance of this term in

ן אנים בדי ריק Jer. 51:58: ויגעו עמים בדי ריק אחל the peoples will toil for nothing, ולאמים בדי אש ויעפו Hab. 2:13: וייגעו עמים בדי אש אחל the peoples toil for fire, וייגעו עמים בדי אש And the nations grow weary for nothing." 2 י תשפט עמים מישור

רלאמים בארץ תנחם And guide the nations on the earth."

the Hebrew vocabulary; 2) all forms of the pair are in the plural. Singular forms, however, are found in Isa. 51:4 and Prov. 14:28. The former juxtaposes by and לאום in chiastically parallel lines.¹ Both terms appear with the first person singular suffix, and both refer to Israel. In Prov. 14:28 the parallelism is antithetical. This text represents one of the rare instances in which לאמים bears the sense, "people, population".² Here the numerical emphasis precludes any other interpretation.³

עממיא//אמיא//לשניא

1

Daniel 7:14, an Aramaic text, contains the only example of this combination in the poetry of the Old Testament. In a style characteristic of prose,⁴ however, they appear as an adjacent triad rather than as A, B and C elements in parallel cola. In the context all three terms represent "peoples" in a general sense,⁵ having been brought together to emphasize the universality of the kingdom of the Son of Man.

> יר הקשיבו אלי עמי "Pay heed to me, O my people, אלי האזינו And give ear to me, O my nation." But cf. Prov. 11:26. For further discussion see <u>infra</u>, p. 129. "In a multitude of people is a king"s glory, But in a dearth of people is a prince's ruin."

⁴The triad also appears repeatedly in the prose of Daniel. Cf. 3:4,7,29 (singular), 31; 5:19; 6:26. Cf. the association of **Dy** with **the prose** of Daniel. Cf. in Est. 1:22; 3:12; 8:9.

⁵The similarity of meaning between אמיא and אמיא is not difficult to understand. Cf. the study of אמה, <u>infra</u>, pp.138ff.For a discussion of the relationship between לשן and nationality see <u>infra</u> pp. 591ff.

Parallel terms representing "land"

עם appears in a parallel relationship with ארץ, "land, country", four times. In Isa. 13:14 and its duplicate, Jer. 50:16, both terms occur with the third person masculine singular suffix.¹ The עם and the ארץ are to be seen here as two bases of personal security, i.e., one's "people" and his "homeland". It would be ludicrous to assume the synonymity of the expressions and to interchange them in Isa. 14:20, which, in stressing the reason for the king of Babylon's tragic end, condemns him for ruining (שחת) his ארץ and slaying (הרג) his ש. Finally, Joel 2:18 employs these two words to describe the dual object of Yahweh's favour: he will be zealous toward his land and display grace to his people. 2 Similar in sense is Ps. 85:2-3, in which yappears as the C-word, following ארצך and זעקב.

Whereas all of the foregoing texts have employed the singular forms of by and ארץ, their plural counterparts are frequently conjoined in semi-poetic parallelism by Ezekiel. Five times Yahweh is described as regathering Israel from the עמים and the ארצוה.⁴ In a sixth he declares

1				-		
		13:14			r, 50:16	
	נו	ש אל עמו יפ	י איני	מו יפנו	איש אל ע	
	ינוסו	יש אל ארצו	י ואי	צו ינסו	ואיש לאר	
		n will turr each will				
2 _N	lote also Is	a. 8:9, whe	ere עמים is	s paral	leled with	מרחקי ארץ.
3						
רצך	רצית יהוה א	"You have	shown favo	our, 0	Yahweh, to	your land;
קב	שבת שכות יע	You have	restored	the cap	tivity of J	acob;
1	נשאוג ערך עמ	You have	forgiven '	the ini	quity of yo	ur people."
4 _E	zek. 11:17:					
מן העמים	וקבצתי אתכם	"I will ga	ather you :	from the	e peoples,	
מן הארמות	ואספתי אתכם	And asser	mble you on	ut of th	he lands."	
Cf. also 2	0:34,41; 34	:13; 39:27				

that he will destroy the <u>bny</u> Ammon from among the עמים and the ארצות.¹ Interestingly, in each of the Ezekiel texts עמים is used as the A-word. It is clear that although the basic meanings of the expressions precludes a synonymous interpretation, for Israel to be scattered among the עמים also signified to be among the ארצות. Both represented the antithesis to this nation.

Parallel terms representing political entities

The instances in which by is paralleled with a word representing a nation or people from a political or administrative perspective are rare. Indeed, only Ps. 102:23, where bary appears as the A-word, uses the expression opposite the common term, $\pi \sigma \sigma \sigma$. Neh. 9:22 brings them together as an adjacent pair. Both terms refer to the nations under the rile of 0g and Sihon.² Interestingly, here the order of the pair is reversed. This may have been done intentionally to conform to the stress founi in the traditions concerning the battles with these nations. In each reference to these conflicts the role of the kings is emphasized; the part played by the subjects is of secondary importance.³ In describing the extent of the influence of Tyre's commercial empire, Ezek. 27:33 uses $\gamma \sigma \sigma$ as the B-element opposite Day.

¹Ezek. 25:7 הרתיך מן העמים "And I shall cut you off from the pecples, And make you perish from the lands." 2 "And you gave to them kingdoms and peoples, And you allotted them to them as a corner." ³Num. 21:21-35; Deut. 1:4; 2:26-3:4; cf. Ps. 135:10-11; 136:18-22.

Parallel proper names

Not only were several different designations for "nation" frequently

This use of Dy may have been necessitated by the absence of '1' in the Aramaic vocabulary. See further, infra, pp. 123f.

²E.g., 1:22:

אל מדינה ומדינה ככתבה "To each province according to its script,

ואל עם ועם כלשונו Cf. also 8:9. Note the variant form in 3:14 and 8:13, בכל מדינה ומדינה //while מדינה ומדינה are usually associated with later administrations (especially imperial), the term was also used of much earlier units. Under Ahab the Northern Kingdom was divided into מדינת, each governed by (1 Kings 20:14,15,17,19). The same term is used in Ezek. 19:8 and Dan. 8:2. On the derivation of the expression see M. Fraenkel, "Zur Deutung von Medina, 'Bezirk, Staat'," ZAW, 77 (1965), p. 215.

 3 F. C. Fensham, "Medina in Ezra and Nehemiah," <u>VT</u>, 25 (1975), pp. 795-97, has argued that in Ezra 2:1 and Neh. 7:6, the term applies to Babylonia, i.e., a province, not an area of government:

used in parallelism with by; specific names also appear. However, when this occurs, the proper name is usually the A-element. Furthermore, in such contexts, by never occurs in the absolute form, but always in a genitive relationship, being modified either by a pronominal suffix or another word in a bound construction. The names of three foreign nations, Edom,¹ Moab² and Egypt³ are used in this way, but designations for Israel are more common.⁴

Jerusalem, a city name, appears parallel to by in Isa. 52:9, 65:19 and Jer. 8:5. Again a modifier for by appears in each case. This name could be used in this way because Jerusalem was the capital of the nation, and in a sense embodied it. In each context the concern extends to the nation.

This usage indicates that by represented no theoretical abstraction. Although it was employed with great flexibility, it was specific enough to be associated with definite named entities.

Miscellaneous parallel terms

The flexibility of usage for **Dy** established earlier is also reflected in the wide range of additional terms occurring parallel to it. Most of these have little bearing on the Hebrew concept of nationality, except insofar as they illustrate the scope of the expressions used for "nation".

The national significance of the term is still near the surface in

⁴ עמי// ישראל (Deut. 33:29); // עמי/ (Isa. 1:3; Ps. 50:7; 81:9,14); עמו// בני ישראל (Joel 4:16); עמו// בני ישראל (Deut. 33:3, though here the parallelism is not synonymous); עמו// יעקב (Deut. 32:9); בית יעקב (יעקב (Isa. 58:1); עמר// בני יעקב ויוסף (Ps. 77:16).

¹//עם חרמי למשפא/ (Isa. 34:5).

²//ש כמוש/ (Jer. 48:46).

³//עם לעז/ (Ps. 114:1).

the numerous texts which provide a qualitative description of the Dy in the parallel cola. In most of these the suffixed form of Dy, attaching it to Yahweh, appears in the first line, with the descriptive word as the parallel element in the second. In effect, they function as appositional explanations.¹ Elsewhere Dy is juxtaposed with designations for leaders. In view of the symmetry of the parallelism,² the context, and the presence of Dy as the B-word after D'3'YP, good reason is provided for interpreting Dy in Isa. 1:10 as "the people who count, the nobility". This understanding does not, however, suit Job 34:20, which conjoins Dy and Jww. The second colon merely stresses that even the nobility are not immune to death. The addition of the modifier, Ju, renders Dy a suitable parallel to Jw in Ps. 74:18. In 35:18 the term, as a parallel to $/\pi$, represents an assembly of people; in 45:11 (// ML), kinsmen; in 102:19 (// TL), a future population.

1	
Parallel Expression	References
ענילם	Isa. 3:15; 49:13; Ps. 72:2; cf. also 72:4 in which
ענוים	Ps. 149:4.
כנים	Isa. 30:9; 63:8.
בחירים	Isa. 65:22; Ps. 105:43.
חסידים	Ps. 85:9; 148:14.
נחלה	Isa. 47:6; Joel 2:17; Ps. 28:9; 78:62,71; 94:5,14;
צאן נחלה	Mic. 7:14. [106:40.
עבדים	Deut. 32:36; Ps. 105:25; 135:14.
צפונים	Ps. 83:4.
קדושים	Deut. 33:3 (//מים). Cf. supra, p. 34.
2	

שמעו דבר יהוה קציני סדם "Hear the word of Yahweh, O rulers of Sodom; Give ear to the instruction of our God, O people of Gomorrah."

Antithetical Terms

The search for the significance of Dy in the Old Testament does not end with an examination of the positive evidence of its usage. In philological study it is often as instructive to establish what an expression does not mean, by examining antithetical words, as it is to determine what it does mean by observing its association with synonyms. Not all of the designations for "nation" possess antithetical counterparts. With reference to Dy however, we are fortunate in being able to identify at least four different expressions which were employed in this way.

גר

Of the terms which function as the antithesis of by the most common is $\neg \lambda$.¹ The problem of the $\neg \lambda$ is most dramatically illustrated in Genesis 23, the description of Abraham's attempt to purchase a burial plot for his wife, Sarah.² The emphasis on the internal unity of the Hittites appears to be a deliberate literary ploy. The narrator refers to them as an current cohesion, ³ and y, which identifies them with the territory.⁴ The Hittites, on the

²Verse 4 identifies the problem succinctly: גר ותושב אנכי עמכם. ³Vs. 3,5,7,10,16,18,20. On the significance of the form see infra, pp. 153ff.

⁴Vs. 7,12,13. On the significance of this expression see <u>supra</u>, pp. 25f.

¹KB³, p. 193, defines the גר as "a man who, alone or with his family on account of war, famine, epidemic, bloodguilt, etc., leaves his native village and tribe and seeks refuge and residence elsewhere, where his rights in the possession of land, marriage, and his participation in cultic and military affairs are restricted." For full discussions of the term see D. Kellermann, "גור" <u>gur</u>; גרות <u>ger</u>; גרות <u>ger</u>th; <u>m^eghurim</u>," <u>TDOT</u>, II, pp. 439-49; Martin-Achard, R., "גור" als Fremdling weilen," THAT, I, pp. 409-12.

other hand, identify each other as כני עמי, "country men, kinsmen".¹ But Abraham, the newly arrived גר, lacks even the most basic social right, the freedom to bury his deceased wife.

The Pentateuch provides a great deal of information on the status of the γ in Israel. Certain rights are granted to him: the right to Sabbatical rest,² to a fair trial,³ to participate in the Feasts of Booths and Weeks,⁴ and the Day of Atonement.⁵ His welfare is to be guaranteed by the tithe offered by the Israelites;⁶ he may identify with the people in their covenant with Yahweh;⁷ and he is to be taught the torah.⁸ The Israelites are repeatedly exhorted to show kindness to the $\rho\gamma\gamma$ in their midst.⁹ These rights, however, were not theirs by inheritance, but by concession.¹⁰

יייייי. 11. The social unity of the Hittites may be implied by the appositional clause following בני חת in v. 10, לכל באי שער עירו.

²Exod. 20:10; 23:12; Deut. 5:14.

³Deut. 1:16.

⁴Deut. 16:11,14. Although the native born are specifically instructed to live in booths during this Feast, Kellermann's conclusion, <u>TDOT</u>, II, p. 446, that the λ was excluded from participation in the Feast, is based on argument from silence.

> ⁵Lev. 16:29. ⁶Deut. 26:11-12. ⁷Deut. 29:10-13. ⁸Deut. 31:9-13.

⁹Lev. 19:10 (// עני //); 19:34; 23:22 (// עני); Deut. 10:18,19; 14:2E-29 (/ יתום ואלמנה //); 24:19-22 (// יתום ואלמנה //). Cf. the prohibition of the oppression of the גרים: Exod. 22:20; 23:9; Lev. 19:33; Deut. 24:14,17; 27:19; Jer. 7:6; 22:3; Zech. 7:10 (all // יתום ואלמנה).

¹⁰Cf. BDB, p. 158.

If the laws of Israel guaranteed the rights of the TX, they also placed certain responsibilities upon him. In order to enjoy these privileges he had to submit to circumcision,¹ observe the Day of Atonement,² offer his sacrifices in the prescribed manner,³ abstain from the eating of blood,⁴ and observe the purification rites.⁵ In numerous texts his cultic and moral duties are deliberately equated with those of the mative.⁶

The extent to which these standards were observed in Israel is difficult to determine. Hints of early compliance may be recognized in Deut. 29:9-10. At the covenant ceremony celebrated on the plains of Moab, the list of participants is given as אניכם ושטריכם זקניכם ושטריכם שבטיכם ואשיכם שבטיכם ואשיכם שבטיכם גרי According to Josh. 8:33 the also present at the covenant renewal ceremony at Mts.

> ¹Exod. 12:48. ²Lev. 16:29. ³Lev. 17:8. ⁴Lev. 17:10-16. ⁵Lev. 17:15.

This equation is made with respect to the following laws: circumcision (Exod. 12:48,49); Passover (Num. 9:14); Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29); sacrificial procedures (Num. 15:11-16); unintentional and defiant sin (Num. 15:27-31); Unleavened Bread (Exod. 12:19); purification after eating unclean meat (Lev. 17:15); blaspheming the name of Yahweh (Lev. 24:16); sexual and moral purity (Lev. 18:26); <u>lex talionis</u> (Lev. 24:22); the right to love (Lev. 19:34). In Ezekiel's vision of the restored community (47:22), the identification is almost complete: the D'7 λ even receive inheritance rights in the division of the land. NTR appears to have been a special term, used in the contexts of discussions of the 7 λ . Only in Lev. 23:42 does the former appear in isolation from the latter. Compare also Deut. 1:16 which contrasts the $\gamma\lambda$ with one's NR. 16:11,14 contrast him with the members of the household, be they family members or servants. Gebal and Gerizim. From later history, however, comes specific documentation of second class treatment of the λ . Both David¹ and Solomon² had labour gangs consisting exclusively of these aliens.

בן נכר/נכרי

Although the connotations of the Hebrew term, $(ccr)^3$ are not as overtly hostile as its Akkadian counterpart,⁴ the aversion felt by the Israelites toward outsiders is reflected more pronouncedly by this word than by \Im . To be sure the sense of the Akkadian cognate appears to surface in Isa. 62:8 where ccr ccr parallel to κ . More often, however, the Hebrews used ccr in the milder sense, "stranger, foreigner".⁵

Several texts imply a strong sense of kinship as the basis for Israel's hostile attitude toward the נכרי. Gen. 17:12 defines the כן נכר as one who is . לא מזרער. Twice אח is juxtaposed with נכר.

> ¹1 Chron. 22:2. ²2 Chron. 2:16-17.

⁴Nakrum, "feindlich, Feind," <u>AHw</u>, p. 723.

לא אחיך // איש נכרי from royal office in Israel. אחיך // נכרי, Deut. 23:21. Interest may be exacted from the foreigner but not from one's kinsmen. evidence comes from Judg. 19:12, according to which the Levite is said to have refused to spend the night in Jebus because it was an עיר נכרי אשר לא מבני ישראל.¹ This connotation renders Rachel and Leah's complaint all the more poignant, when in exasperation they agree to Jacob's scheme to leave Paddan Aram. Since they feel they have been treated as הוא by their father, they despair of receiving any inheritance.² This explains also Ruth's amazed response at the kindness she, a Moabitess, had received from Boaz.³ In post-exilic times Ezra's revulsion at the mixed marriages occurring in Jerusalem had its roots in his abhorrence of the **10**:2 he deplores the resultant pollution of the "holy race".⁴ According to Neh. 9:2, a later reform resulted in the separation of the seed of Israel from the foreigners.⁵

^LCf. also Deut. 29:21 where the נכרי אשר יבא מארץ רחוקה is contrasted with הדור האחרון בניכם.

> ²Note also Ps. 69:9: מוזר הייתי לאחי ונכרי לבני אמי

³ אנכי נכריה, Ruth 2:10.

⁴ התערכו זרע הקדש בעמי הארצות. Note the references to the נשים in Ezra 10:10,11,14,17,18.

⁵ ויבדלו זרע ישראל מכל בני נכר.

they are, by definition, defiled; their corruption is inside them by virtue of their association with the alien.¹ Even Ezekiel, who displays considerable sympathy toward the D,,² regards the CCC' as uncircumcised of heart and flesh.³ In 1 Kings 11:1,8, Solomon is castigated for his marriages with foreign women who have led him into idolatry. Because prostitutes in Israel were primarily non-Israelites, in Proverbs **n** correct and the characteristic quality of the 'Ps. 144:7-11 implies that the characteristic quality of the 'CCC' was insincerity and deceit.⁵ Ultimately, the Israelites associated the term with oppression and exploitation.⁶

The Israelite response to the נכרי was understandably much less sympathetic than toward the גר No נכרי was permitted to eat the Passover;⁷ none of his animals was suitable for sacrifices;⁸ debts owed by a נכרי to an Israelite were not remitted in the sabbatical year;⁹ interest

כי משחתם בהם מום בם¹.

²47:21-23. Cf. the comments supra, p. 68, n. 6.

³כל בן נכר ערל לב וערל בשר (44:9).

⁴So BDB, p. 649. See Prov. 2:16; 5:20; 6:24 (// אשת רע //); 7:5; 23:27 (// זונה //).

⁵אשר פיהם דבר שוא וימינם ימין שקר, v. 8.

⁶Isa. 62:8; Lam. 5:2; Ob. 11.

Exod. 12:43. But cf. the treatment of the circumcised גרים in v. 48.

⁸Lev. 22:25.

⁹Deut. 15:3.

could be collected from those who had borrowed money from an Israelite;¹ animals which died a natural death could be given to a ιcr for consumption.² The prophets also reflect this antagonism. Isaiah, in 2:6, scolded the house of Jacob for its commercial intercourse with the ιcr . scolded the house of Jacob for its commercial intercourse with the ιcr in 62:8 a day is envisaged in which the oppression from the hands of the ιcr , will cease. Zeph. 1:8 rebukes the Israelites for donning the garments of ιcr , which have become symbols of moral and spiritual decadence.

Only faint glimmers of hope for the כן נכר appear in the Old Testament. Solomon, in his dedicatory prayer at the opening of the temple expresses the radical confidence that Yahweh's response to the prayer of the יכל עמי הארץ will be the decisive demonstration to כל עמי הארץ that he is indeed Yahweh and Israel is his people. According to Isa. 61:5 the eschatalogical age will mean the subjugation of the cordinate to servant

¹Deut. 23:21.

Deut. 14:21. According to this text the 71 may also eat such meat. in apparent contradiction to Lev. 17:15. The common explanation is to attribute the documents to different periods of religious development. Lev. 17:15 (P) is said to derive from the post-exilic period when the status of the 71 had greatly improved. Cf. supra, p. 68. At the time of the composition of Deuteronomy, however, his rights were greatly curtailed and the identification of the 13 with the λ was still rather close. So A. Bertholet, Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden (Freiburg & Leipzig: 1896); cf. also S. R. Driver, Deuteronomy, p. 165. However, it may be countered that the documents do not preclude the presence of two categories of גרים, those who identified with the Israelites completely, indicating this by circumcision, and those who did not. Exod. 12:43-49 (P) initially places the ג and the כן נכר on the same footing. What alters the situation, therefore, is not another 150 years of religious evolution, but circumcision. Cf. Wenham, Leviticus, p. 246, who suggests that this is a case of upholding a principle (i.e., the meat is forbidden to Israelites), but varying its detailed application.

status for Israel. However, in 56:6-8 the כני נכר are depicted as one day becoming wholehearted participants in the love, service and worship of Yahweh. 60:10 even envisages the involvement of the כני נכרי and the בני נכרי in the reconstruction of Zion. For their part, that day will end the foreigner's fear of rejection by Yahweh. No more will he be separated from 100.¹

זר

זרים/זר represents a third frequent counterpart to ש,² Like Like time is also used commonly for "stranger, outsider".³ However, its range of application appears to have been somewhat broader. In its narrowest sense, the expression could refer to those outside the sphere of one's household or circle of friends. This is illustrated most lucidly by Job 19:13-19 in which Job complains that he has become a ז in his own house, rejected by his brothers (אחי), acquaintances (ידעי), relatives (ידעי), intimate friends (אחיד), those who live in his house (ירובי), his maids (אמרי ביתי), his servants (אמרי). Elsewhere along the same line, according to the Levirate law of marriage, a childless widow was prohibited from marrying an ז איש זר the deceased husband had an unmarried brother.⁴ According to 1 Kings 3:18 when the two harlots

¹Isa. 56:3.

²For discussions of the term see R. Martin-Achard, "Jī zar fremd," <u>THAT</u>, I, pp. 520-22; and especially L. A. Snijders, "The Meaning of the Jin the Old Testament: An Exegetical Study," <u>OTS</u>, 10 (1954), pp. 1-54.

> ³For texts in which the terms are paralleled see <u>supra</u>, p.69, n.5. ⁴Deut. 25:5.

appeared before Solomon to adjudicate their case, they assured him that their tragedy had occurred when no זו was in the house. Note also Prov. 14:10 which observes that זרים do not share the joys and sorrows of one's heart.¹

זרים אזר was used as a technical term for two different concepts. In Proverbs, אזר, like איזר, becomes a designation for "adulteress" or "prostitute".² Related to this usage is the wise man's instruction that the wife of one's youth is not to be shared with "גרים".³ According to Ezekiel, Israel was the adulteress wife who had taken in גרים instead of her own husband.⁴ Hosea went a step farther, stating that Israel had borne ⁵.ct; זרים ⁵ Quite different from this significance is the usage in Exodus-Numbers where the term is employed exclusively for "laymen", especially those not members of the priestly family.⁶

The most significant difference between the use of \Im , on the one hand, and \Im and \square on the other, is reflected in the plural forms. Except for a few isolated texts, ⁷ generally refer to individuals,

Not unrelated to this usage are several references, which apply the term to outside creditors. In Prov. 6:1 ז appears opposite y to emphasize the tragedy of incurring a debt with anybody outside the household, even if the creditor is a neighbour. Cf. also 11:15; 20:16; 27:13; Ps. 109:11 (//נושה//). Cf. also Prov. 5:10.

> ²See 2:16; 5:3,20; 7:5; 22:14; 23:33. ³Prov. 5:17. ⁴16:32, זרים as opposed to אישה. ⁵Hos. 5:7. Cf. ילדי זנונים ,1:2.

^bExod. 29:33; 30:33; Lev. 22:10,12,13; Num. 3:10,38; 17:5; 18;7. In Num. 1:51 and 18:4 it applies to non-Levites.

Ob. 11.

or at least a class of private aliens. Tree , however, often signifies strangers who are enemies of the nation. In Hos. 7:8-9 is used almost synonymously with variable , both having reference to Ephraim's foes. Ezek. 28:7 juxtaposes variable, with verse version 32:12, the expression verse is associates the terms even more closely. In numerous texts bignifies the enemies of Israel, ¹ Babylon, ² Assyria, ³ Tyre, ⁴ and Egypt. ⁵ Violent overtones are reflected in its association with $v_{2}v_{3}$.

Since \exists never represents a specific nation, nor serves as another term for "nation", we must be careful not to overstate the case. Nevertheless, in view of its application to personal and national strangers, it appears that \exists , more than \exists or ccr is presents a total counterpart to \Box at the individual and national levels.

תושב

Because of the paucity of occurrences of π and the absence of texts in which it appears independent of a parallel term,⁷ the precise

²Jer. 51:2. ³Ezek. 31:12. ⁴Ezek. 28:7,10. ⁵Ezek. 30:12. ⁶Isa. 29:5; Ezek. 28:7; 31:12; Ps. 54:5.

Except for 1 Kings 17:1 where we should probably read, a place name, with LXX.

¹Isa. 1:7; 29:5; Jer. 5:19; 30:8; 51:51; Ezek. 7:21; 11:9; Hos. 7:9; 8:7; Joel 4:17; Ob. 11. Note also Lam. 5:2, in which the significance of **T** as a stranger to a household is figuratively applied to strangers of the land.

meaning is difficult to establish.¹ This nominal form of איס, "to dwell",² occurs thirteen times in the Old Testament. Four times the word is paired with שכיר, "hireling". The two classes are treated similarly in that both are excluded from the eating of sacred food,³ or participating in the Passover meal.⁴ However, both, along with the שטע and the Amount and the natural produce of the land during the sabbatical year.⁵ In Leviticus 25:40 the אמה and the אמה are contrasted with the Israelite countryman (הא). The context also differentiates between the שכיר and the ביא אומה. Should an Israelite become impoverished he could sell himself to a fellow Israelite, but not as an שכיר His status would be that of a שכיר אומר.

Elsewhere אושב always appears alongside גר According to Lev. 25:45, both could become the personal possession of an Israelite. The reverse, however, was prohibited. Should the latter occur, the תושב had to relinquish control over the Israelite in the year of Jubilee. In any case, mistreatment of the latter by the חושב master was forbidden.⁶ The relatively free status of both א and תושב forbided in Num. 35:15,

> ¹For a short study see Kellermann, "אָּאָרָ" <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 448. ²On the form see GK 85p.

³Lev. 22:10. This contrasts with the household slaves of the priest, who were permitted to do so.

⁴Exod. 12:45. ⁵Lev. 25:6. ⁶Lev. 25:47-55.

according to which both had access to the cities of refuge.

The term is used in several texts to describe Israel's relationship to her land. According to Lev. 45:23, the true owner of the land was Yahweh. David expresses a similar notion in 1 Chron. 29;15. Seeing their lives are temporary and transient, all Israel had and was, was due to the grace of Yahweh.²

On the basis of the probable root, , , it may safely be concluded that the π was a type of alien resident in Israel. In contrast to the , however, he does not appear to have identified fully with his hosts by becoming a proselyte.³

Inasmuch as \mathcal{I} , \mathcal{I} , \mathcal{I} and \mathcal{I} , all represent aliens within an indigenous population, they serve as antitheses for the term $\mathcal{D}\mathcal{Y}$. That four different terms should have been used for the concept reflects the keenness with which the Israelites distinguished themselves as a nation from other people. The expressions are not to be interpreted synonymously, however. In contrast to the \mathcal{I} , the \mathcal{I} appears to have made some attempts to come to terms with his alienation. The same applies to the \mathcal{I} , although greater limits were placed upon his identification with

¹Cf. also Gen. 23:4, where Abraham complains that he is but a and π among the Hittites.

²Cf. also Ps. 39:13.

³F. Delitzsch, <u>Psalms</u>, II, p. 31, defines a **but** as "a sojourner, or one enjoying the protection of the laws, who, without possessing any hereditary title, has settled down there, and to whom a settlement is allotted by sufferance." This contrasts with Bertholet, pp. 156-66, who understands him to be but a λ whose residence in one location is fixed, but who lacks the latter's right to hold real estate. Noth, <u>Leviticus</u>, p. 161, includes within this group "artisans and the like."

his hosts. ז seems to have served as a general term for "stranger", being uniquely applied both individually and nationally. Nonetheless, he who was any of these lacked full membership in the family, the national community.

by in the Cognate Languages

Since * m appears to have been common in all of the Semitic languages an examination of its usage outside the Old Testament may further clarify the scope and significance of the term. In this discussion its use in early West-Semitic, the Canaanite dialects, Aramaic and other Semitic languages will be considered.

Early West-Semitic

Evidence for the use of $* \frac{c_m}{m}$ in West-Semitic may be extracted from several sources. At Mari the root, appearing as <u>hmm</u>, and signifying "paternal uncle",¹ was a common element in personal names.² The root also appears in the name <u>A-a-ha-am-mu-u</u>, found in an eighteenth century B.C. list of Egyptian slaves.³ Albright understood <u>hammu</u> here as "paternal clan".⁴ In the alphabetic texts from Ugarit, <u>cm</u> bears the sense, "people".⁵

In contrast to *<u>bal</u>, "maternal uncle". Cf. Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 196. For Huffmon's caution against confusing this root with <u>*'m</u>, "fatherin-law", cf. <u>ibid.</u>, p. 166. Cf. also <u>supra</u>, pp. 22f.

²For lists see <u>ibid</u>., p. 197; T. Bauer, <u>Die Ostkanaanäer: Eine</u> philologische-historische Untersuchung über die Wanderschicht der sogenannten "Amoriter" in Babylonien (Leipzig: 1926), p. 73.

³Interpreted by W. F. Albright, "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.," <u>JAOS</u>, 74 (1954), p. 226, as a lengthened form of <u>Aya-ba-am-mu-u</u>, "Where is the Paternal Clan?" Cf. <u>A-ia-ba-lu</u>, "Where is the Maternal Clan?"

⁴In <u>ibid.</u>, n. 26, Albright indicates this represents a modification of an earlier interpretation of <u>hammu</u> = <u>ammu</u> as "paternal uncle or clan in general."

⁵2 Aght I:28; II:17. See further C. H. Gordon, <u>Ugaritic Textbook</u>, AnOr, 38 (Rome: 1965), p. 457, #1864 (hereafter cited as <u>UT</u>).

The Canaanite Languages

Since this is the linguistic family to which Hebrew belongs it is not surprising that by should occur quite frequently, and with a significance similar to the most common Hebrew usage. The term appears twice in the Moabite Mesha Inscription, both times in the phrase, by, 1 . Here it bears the sense, "people, population". by has also been identified in two recently discovered Ammonite texts.² If these readings are correct the root is preceded in both instances by 12 to form (1), and refers to the nation by that name.³

The Phoenician texts are more helpful. KAI 51:Rs 4 has been reconstructed by Donner & Röllig as עס , "das Ganze Volk", but this reading is admittedly uncertain.⁴ The expression ז עס, which appears twice in KAI 10:10, parallels closely Hebrew עם הארץ. In the Karatepe inscription, the inhabitants of the town (קרת) Azitawadda are identified as עס ז אש ישכ בן, "this people which dwell in it".⁵ A very specialized

¹KAI 181:11,24 (= HMI 16:11,24).

²The first, the Amman Theatre Inscription, is transcribed by R. W. Dajani, "The Amman Theatre Fragment," <u>ADAJ</u>, 12-13 (1967-68), pp. 65-67, as []כן עמ[ן] כן עמ[ן]. So also F. M. Cross, "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon," <u>AUSS</u>, 13 (1975), p. 11. This reading has recently been challenged by W. J. Fulco, who prefers רבעל אבנה/כן אש[הר אנה/כן אש[הר JNES, 38 (1979), pp. 37-38. In the second, the Tell Siran Bottle Inscription, the reading is clear. See F. Zayadine & H. O. Thompson, "The Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," <u>Berytus</u>, 22 (1973), pp. 115-40; <u>idem</u>, "The Works of Amminadab," <u>BA</u>, 37 (1974), pp. 13-19); P. E. Dion, "Notes d'epigraphie ammonite," <u>RB</u>, 82 (1975), pp. 25ff.

> ³On the form and its significance see <u>infra</u>, pp. 183ff. ⁴<u>KAI</u>, II, p. 69. ⁵KAI 26A III:7-8.

development was the use of Dy to denote "era" in the dating of inscriptions.¹ Although most of the texts are dated considerably later than our period of concern, Punic usage of Dy is also of interest. Most often Dy appears with a place name in the genitive position.² In KAI 86:4 the term applies to the personnel of the temple of Melqart. Two Neo-Punic texts are also significant. KAI 145:3 speaks of אנא ישב ארמת, "the people who dwell in the land." From the first century A.D. comes the expression, Dy ALL, "sons of the people", a reference to the people of Leptis.³

Aramaic

The Sefire treaties contain the only occurrences of by in Old Aramaic. Instead of combining the term with the place name in the genitive, in several places the form GN-ny1 is used.⁴ The subjects of the king may be identified either as 5 or 7 cor 6 The association of the king with with 6 The association of the king with usage.⁷ The kinship significance appears in the recently discovered Deir ^cAlla texts which are written in an Aramaic dialect. In I:6 the word

This appears to have been a late development. See KAI 18:5, 143 אש המת לעם לפת שנה cf. also KAI 19:8; 43:5, 33 אש המת לעם לפת שנה, "which is according to the era of Lapethos, year 33"; KAI 60:1, בשת 14 לעם צרן. The more usual form of dating a text was to identify it with the year of the current king's reign. Cf. KAI 14(Eshmunazar Sarcophagus); 15; 19.

> ²For references see <u>DISO</u>, p. 216. ³KAI 126:5,6 ⁴For variations see KAI 222A:29,30; 222B:5,11. ⁵223B:3 (Mati^cel's people). ⁶224:5,10,13.

'KAI 224:21. Cf. also 223C:16, כל רבוה ועמהם מן בתיהם, "all the great ones and their people from their houses."

has been interpreted as "paternal uncle".1

J. Hoftijzer and G. Van der Kooij, eds., Aramaic Texts from Deir ^CAlla (Leiden: 1976), pp. 173 and 179. Cf. A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, "Les Textes Arameens de Deir ^CAlla," <u>Syria</u>, 54 (1977), p. 194, "chez lui." Besides these texts from the cognate languages, *^Cm has also been attested in Akkadian as ammum/hammum (CAD, A/II, p. 77; AHw, p. 44; the latter suggesting this may be a Canaanite loanword) and ummana (AHw, p. 1413); Old South Aramic (G. L. Harding, An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions [Toronto: 1971], pp. 434-43), Nabataean (J. T. Milik and J. Starcky, "Nabataean, Palmyrene and Hebrew Inscriptions", in Ancient Records from North Arabia, by F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed, Near and Middle East Series, 6 [Toronto: 1970], pp. 144,153), Safaitic (W. G. Oxtoby, Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin, AmOr Series, 50 [New Haven: 1968], pp. 100-101), and classical Arabic (E. W. Lane, An Arabic-English Dictionary [London: 1874], Book I, art 5, p. 2149). Concerning the Arabic usage, W. Leslau has argued that the meanings "people, masses of people' and "paternal uncle" for Ugaritic ^Cm should be viewed as deriving from separate roots similar to Arabic Camma, "masses", and Camm, "paternal uncle". See his "Observations on Semitic Cognates in Ugaritic", Orientalia, 37 (1968), p. 360. These two terms are defined by Lane, loc. cit., as "a company of men, a tribe, a numerous company", and "a paternal uncle, a father's brother". However, doubt concerning this separation has been expressed repeatedly. J. Wellhausen in "Die Ehe bei den Arabern," Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen, 11 (1893), p. 480, questioned this division of Camm into "patruus" and "populus", declaring that the plural corresponds exactly to Hebrew Ctreas whereas stands for "das Volk" and is always singular. In the singular of usually means nephew on the father's side. Hence the meanings, "Volk" and "Verwandte von Vatersseite", are combined in one term. See also T. W. Juynboll, "Über dei Bedeutung des Wortes ^Camm," Orientalische Studien, T. Nöldeke Festschrift, ed. by C. Bezold (Giessen: 1906), p. 354.

Conclusions

Having examined the usage of V in Hebrew and the cognate languages, our conclusions and their significance for the present study may now be summarized.

 The root *^cm appears to have been common to all of the ancient Semitic languages.

2) The Hebrew usage of **uy** was extremely flexible, its meanings ranging from a small group of people to entire populations of nations. In fact, the term became the most common designation for "nation".

3) Dy was a warm and personal relational expression.¹ Not only did it imply internal blood relationship, but this was the term employed when a people was stated to belong to its deity, its ruler, or a private citizen. One related to an Dy and it related to him.

4) The semantic evolution of Dy may be tentatively reconstructed according to the following stages:² a) In proto-Semitic *^cm appears to have been a kinship term (along with את and האר) signifying "paternal uncle".
b) It became a collective term for all male relatives. c) Its scope was expanded further to encompass all male members of the clan, tribe or settlement. d) It was applied to all legal citizens and/or members of the cultic community. e) It came to designate the entire nation, including women and children. When applied in this way, all of its members were considered to be consanguineously related.³

¹Cf. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 158.

²Cf. the reconstruction by Rost, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 89ff.

³So also Krenkel, pp. 281f.; Speiser, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 159f.; R. de Vaux, <u>The Early History of Israel</u>, trans. by D. Smith (Philadelphia: 1978), pp. 153f. (hereafter cited as <u>EHI</u>).

CHAPTER II

THE FORMS AND USE OF 11

יוג in the Old Testament

Frequency and Distribution

The 561 occurrences of 1λ in the Old Testament¹ represent a frequency less than one-third that of Dy. A comparison of their respective distributions, as reflected in table 5, also presents some interesting contrasts. The most remarkable feature of the usage of 1λ is its relative infrequency in historical narrative material, of which the Former Prophets largely consist. This is confirmed by an examination of individual books within the larger divisions of the Hebrew canon, as illustrated by table 6.² The comparatively high number of occurrences in Genesis (27), which is also primarily narrative in genre, is misleading. Seventeen of these relate directly to the Abrahamic covenant, referred to many times in highly stylized fashion; six are found in the formal Table

For studies of the term, see Rost, <u>loc. cit.</u>; Hulst, <u>loc. cit.</u>; R. E. Clements, "in goy," <u>TDOT</u>, II, pp. 426-33; Speiser, <u>loc. cit</u>.

²A comparison of some of the books which consist largely of historical narrative produces the following proportions (In each case the first figure represents Dy, the second, ¹\lambda): Exod. 1-18 (103:1); Num. 10:31 (83:5); Joshua (70:13); Judges (66:7); 1 & 2 Samuel (213:7); 1 & 2 Kings (136:22); Ruth (10:0); Esther (31:0); Ezra (28:1); Nehemiah (53:6); 1 & 2 Chronicles (157:21). The overall proportion: 950:83.

TABLE 5

Book		Number		Genre	
BOOK	Total	Singular	Plural	Prose	Poetry
Genesis	27	9	18*	26	1
Exodus	6	4	2	6	• • •
Leviticus	7	2	5	7	• • •
Numbers	5	1	4	2	3
Deuteronomy	46	13	33	42	4
Subtotals	91	29(32%)	62(68%)	83(91%)	8(9%)
Joshua	13	5	8**	12	1
Judges	7	1	6†	7	
1 Samuel	2		2	2	
2 Samuel	5	1	4	3	2
1 Kings	5	2	3	5	
2 Kings	17	5	12	17	
Subtotals	49	14(29%)	35(71%)	46(94%)	3(6%)
Isaiah	73	20	53	5	68
Jeremiah	87	28	59	38	49
Ezekiel	87	4	83	80	7
Hosea	3		3		3
Joel	10	2	8	1	9
Amos	4	1	3		4
Obadiah	4		4	• • •	4
Jonah	• • •		• • •	• • •	• • •
Micah	9	3	6	• • •	9
Nahum	2	• • •	2	• • •	2
Habakkuk	7	1	6	• • •	7
Zephaniah	7	4	3		7
Haggai	4	1	3	4	•••
Zechariah Malachi	17 5	1	17 4	16 5	1
Subtotals	319	65(20%)	254(80%)	149(47%)	170(53%)

יו אוד OLD TESTAMENT: FREQUENCY, NUMBER AND GENRE

Book	Total	Number		Genre	
		Singular	Plural	Prose	Poetry
Psalms Job Proverbs Ruth Canticles Qoheleth Lamentations Esther Daniel Ezra Nehemiah 1 Chronicles	60 3 1 • • • • • 7 • • 3 1 6 9	7 1 • • • • • • • 1 • • • 1 • • • • 3 • • • 3	53 2 1 6 1 6 6	· · · · · · ·	60 3 1 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
2 Chronicles Subtotals	12	3	9 83(83%)	12 26(25%)	76(75%)
Grand Totals	561	127(23%)	434(77%)	304 (54%)	257(4 <mark>6%</mark>)

TABLE 5--Continued

* The figure includes Gen. 14:1,9.

** The figure includes Josh. 12:23.

[†]The figure includes Judg. 4:2,13,16.

‡Assuming the correctness of the Kethib reading (χ_i ; cf. Qere χ_i) in 36:13,14,15.

of Nations;¹ two appear in proper names.² Excluding these texts, Deuteronomy (which is cast in the form of a hortatory address), the Latter Prophets and the poetical books of the Hagiographa, the proportion of historical narrative appearances is just over 15%. This would suggest that '1\lambda was more appropriately used in poetic utterance and formal pronouncement than in informal description.

TABLE 6

Quanta al Division	Frec	uency
Canonical Division	עם	גוי
Pentateuch	441 (23%)	<mark>91 (16%)</mark>
Former Prophets	485 (26%)	49 (9%)
Latter Prophets	497 (26%)	319 (57%)
Hagiographa	456 (24%)	102 (18%)
Totals	1879 (99%)*	561 (100%)

A COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF DY AND XIN THE OLD TESTAMENT

*The total is less than 100% because the percentages represent approximations.

This conclusion is supported by a comparison of those who use the terms **vy** and **x**. The employment of the former was fairly evenly distributed among the narrators/authors, Yahweh, and Israelites, with the advantage going to the first.³ Whereas the proportion of occurrences

> ¹Gen 10. ²Gen. 14:1,9. ³Cf. table 2, <u>supra</u>, p. 16.

attributed to Israelites (28-29%) and aliens $(3-4\%)^1$ remains quite constant, according to table 7, the narrator accounts for fewer than 9% of the appearances of 31λ , but Yahweh is credited with more than 58%.²

Forms

Plurality

The overwhelming preference for the plural form of 11 represents the outstanding feature of the term's usage. Whereas the singular form of Dy was observed to outnumber the plural by a margin of more than 6:1,³ D¹¹ occurs more than four times as often as 11.⁴ This pattern is consistent throughout the four canonical divisions, although according to table 5 individual books may vary in their ratios or even reverse them.⁵ This preference for the plural appears to have been governed for the most part by contextual demands.

¹Since Yahweh usually spoke to Israelites, the corresponding predominance of Israelites as the addressees, reflected in table 8 is predictable. In view of the absence of '1' from the cognate languages (cf. <u>infra</u>, pp.123ff.) the occasional use of the term by aliens should be attributed to the Hebrew authors who place regularly used but uniquely Hebrew words into their mouths. See Gen. 20:4 (Abimelech); Num. 23:9; 24:8,20 (Balaam); 2 Kings 17:26 (foreigners settled in Samaria by the Assyrians); 2 Kings 18:33; 19:2; Isa. 36:18; 37:12; 2 Chron. 32:13,14,15,17 (Sennacherib via Rabshakeh); Neh. 6:6 (Sanballat); Job 12:23 (Job); 34:29 (Elihu); Ps. 83:5 (enemies of Israel).

²Since the problem of differentiating the prophets' speech from Yahweh's is common to both $\forall y$ and $\forall x$, the difficulty does not affect the comparison.

³Cf. tables 1, <u>supra, pp. 13f and 5, supra, pp. 85f.</u>

⁴Cf. tables 1, <u>supra, pp.13f.and 5</u>, <u>supra</u>, pp. 85f.

 5 All of the books which use the term more than ten times prefer the plural form. Examples of more exaggerated proportions are Ezekiel (84:3) and Zechariah (17:0).

TABLE 7

Book	Editor	Yahweh	Israel- ite	Alien	Other
Genesis	8	18		1	
Exodus	1	4	1		• • •
Leviticus		7			• • •
Numbers		1	1	3	
Deuteronomy			46		• • •
Joshua	5		8		• • •
Judges	5	2			• • •
1 Samuel			2		• • •
2 Samuel	1		4		• • •
1 Kings	3		2	• • •	• • •
2 Kings	12		2	3	
Isaiah		64*	7	2	
Jeremiah	3	76	8		
Ezekiel		87			
Hosea		3			
Joel		10			
Amos		4			
Obadiah		4			
Jonah					
Micah		9			
Nahum		2			
Habakkuk		4		3	
Zephaniah		7			
Haggai		4			
Zechariah		15			2**
Malachi		5			
Psalms		1	58	1	
Job				3	
Proverbs	1				
Ruth					
Canticles					
Qoheleth					
Lamentations			7		
Esther					
Daniel					3**
Ezra	1				
Nehemiah	2		3	1	
1 Chronicles	2		7		
2 Chronicles	5		3	4	
Totals	49	327	162	18	3

גוי IN THE OLD TESTAMENT: SPEAKER

*The speech of the prophets as narrator or prophet, and that of Yahweh have been distinguished only where this is clear from the text. Otherwise, prophetic speech is treated as the speech of Yahweh.

** The interpreting angel.

TABLE 8

Book	Reader	Yahweh	Israel- ite	Alien	Other
Genesis	8	3	15	1	
Exodus	1	1	4		• • •
Leviticus			7		
Numbers		1	1	3	• • •
Deuteronomy			46		
Joshua	5	1	7		
Judges	5	2			
1 Samuel			2		• • •
2 Samuel	1	4			
1 Kings	3		2		
2 Kings	12	2	2	1	
Isaiah		7	50	16*	
Jeremiah	3	6	47	31	
Ezekiel			43	29	15
Hosea			3		
Joel			5	5	
Amos			4		
Obadiah				4	
Jonah					
Micah			9		
Nahum				2	
Habakkuk		3	3	1	
Zephaniah			3	4	
Haggai			4		
Zechariah			17		
Malachi			5		
Psalms		38	16	5	1
Job				3	
Proverbs	1				
Ruth					
Canticles					
Qoheleth					
Lamentations		4	3		
Esther					
Daniel			3		
Ezra	1				
Nehemiah	2		4		
1 Chronicles	2	2	5		
2 Chronicles	5	1	6		
Totals	49	75	316	105	16

אוי IN THE OLD TESTAMENT: ADDRESSEE

* In the prophetic books, oracles against foreign nationas are treated as if they were addressed to them, even if the immediate audience might have been Israel (e.g., Amos 1-2).

Suffixes

The formal rigidity of λ becomes most apparent when the suffixed forms are examined. Whereas **Dy** appears hundreds of times with pronominal endings, λ appears in this way only nine times and in only four contexts.¹

In Genesis 10 each segment of the genealogy of the sons of Noah concludes with a colophonic summary which includes the form \Box_{λ}^{2} . In each instance \Box_{λ}^{1} , represents but one of four organizing principles, being preceded by \Box_{λ}^{1} , \Box_{λ}^{1} and \Box_{λ}^{1} . Even though \Box_{λ}^{1} , is the final element in each series, there is no grammatical basis for the commonly accepted isolation of the Σ_{λ}^{1} as the primary focus of attention, and the treatment of the preceding elements as the determining factors in the arrangement of the Σ_{λ}^{1} The uniformity of the pronominal

¹Table 9. Cf. Speiser who comments in "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 158,

. . . when Israel is spoken of as God's people, the forms employed are $\frac{c_{ammi}}{c_{amm}}$, $\frac{c_{amm}}{c_{amm}}$, $\frac{c_{ammo}}{c_{ammo}}$, but never goy with possessive suffix. In fact, $\frac{c_{am}}{c_{am}}$ is found hundreds of times with pronominal endings, as against only seven with goy, each in connection with land.

This perception is repeated by Clements, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 427. Such comments are erroneous and/or misleading in three respects: 1) the suffixed form occurs in nine texts. Zeph. 2:9 and Ps. 106:5 have been overlooked. 2) the connection between the land and the 1λ is not as direct as the generalization would have us believe. In any case, to lump together the texts from Ezek. 36 and Gen. 10 in this way obscures not only the vast difference between the contexts, but also the contrasting roles played by 1λ and γ in each instance. 3) Ps. 106:5 and Zeph. 2:9 both use the suffix to identify the 1λ as belonging to God.

²10:5,20,31.

 3 E.g., Speiser, loc. cit., p. 159, "It is surely no accident that the so-called Table of Nations (Gen. 10) speaks of <u>goyim</u> exclusively, all such entries being classified according to geographic (<u>b'rştm</u>) and linguistic (<u>llsntm</u>) principles. The subgroups there are designated as <u>mispahot</u>, thus showing that <u>mispaha(h)</u> was basically an administrative rubric." The placing of **DXYR** in the initial position in v. 5 (cf. in vs. 20,31) is often taken to imply that here geographic considerations

Text	Form	Reference of Suffix
Gen. 10:5	גויהם	Sons of Japheth
Gen. 10:20	גויהם	Sons of Ham
Gen. 10:31	גויהם	Sons of Shem
Gen. 10:32	גויהם	Sons of Noah
Ezek. 36:13	גויך (K)	Mountains of Israel
	(Q) גוייך	11 11 11
Ezek. 36:14	גויך (K)	Mountains of Israel
	(Q) גוייך	1 1 11 11
Ezek. 36:15	גויך (K)	Mountains of Israel
	(Q) גנייך	11 11 11
Zeph. 2:9	* גוי	Yahweh
Ps. 106:5	גוזיך	Yahweh

THE OCCURRENCES OF אול WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

TABLE 9

Pointed by MT, 112.

suffixes, as well as the regular prefixing of prepositions before each $(either \exists or \flat)^1$ suggest that they should all be ascribed basically similar functions in the context (even if some special emphasis is allowed for D'1) in view of its regular appearance at the end of the series). The common interpretation, "These are the names of the nations organized on territorial, kinship and linguistic bases," is unjustified. The primary concern of the Table is to trace the history of the Noachian family, and to show how its growth and segmentation was reflected in the association of the various groups of descendants with specific territories (NYN), languages (NYC), kinship groups (NYC) and D'1). According to the structure of the genealogy, the starting point is the sons of Noah, not the nations contemporary with the author.²

The selection of λ in place of the more common kinship term, by, in a genealogy such as this is surprising. On the one hand, the term may have been intended to complement the other three by referring to a basis of nationality not reflected in them.³ On the other hand, its usage here

were primary in the organization of the names, whereas in the latter two kinship was of greater significance. So Hulst, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 323f.; D. J. Wiseman, "Genesis 10: Some Archaeological Considerations" (paper presented at the 925th ordinary meeting of the Victoria Institute, London, Dec. 6, 1954), p. 16 (= <u>JTVI</u>, 87 [1955], and hereafter cited as "Genesis 10").

¹In view of the variation among the colophons in this genealogy and others in Genesis (25:15; 36:30,43), it is doubtful that distinctions should be drawn between the significance of the two prepositions: the <u>lamed</u> should be treated as a <u>lamed</u> of reference (cf. BDB, p. 516), and the <u>beth</u> as a "<u>beth</u> of a standard of measurement of computation" (BDB, p. 90; GK 119h). The fact that they are interchanged suggests that the variation is purely stylistic.

²This interpretation would help to account for the great variation in the forms of the entries. The author is aware that they consist of a mixture of eponyms, tribal names, gentilics and toponyms.

³Perhaps, the political aspect. See further, <u>infra</u>, pp. 494ff.

may recall an original tribal association of the root which has been all but forgotten.¹ This interpretation is weakened, however, by the redundancy it creates in view of the presence of another tribally associated term, משפחת ²

1'11 appears three times in Ezek. 36:13-15.³ In the context the mountains of Israel are personified as though in possession of the nation inhabiting them. The metaphor is striking because it reverses the roles usually thought to characterize the relationship between a nation and <u>its</u> territory.⁴ It is strange also because it depicts the mountains as a carnivorous, man-eating beast of prey. The strangeness of the figure may in part account for the anomalous suffixed form of **11**. If such literary liberties are required to emphasize a point, why not also heighten the impact by introducing a grammatical surprise?

The consonantal version of Zeph. 2:9⁵ is capable of two possible interpretations. *()* may be understood as an unaugmented form signifying

¹It may be recognized also in the divine promise to the patriarchs that their descendants would become a κικ κτιά Gen. 12:2 (J); 17:4,5,6, 16,20 (all P); 18:18 (J) 21:13,18 (E); 25:23 (J); 35:11 (P); 46:3 (E); 48:19 (E). This use of κικ in the Table may point to its antiquity. For a discussion of this tribal use of κικ and its relationship to gawum/ ga'um in the Mari texts see P. Fronzaroli, "L'ordinamento gentilizio semitico e i testi di Mari," Archivio Glottologico Italiano,45 (1960), pp. 47-49; 132-34. See further infra, pp. 124ff.

²On awen see infra, pp. 110ff.

³Whether <u>K^ethib</u> (as given) or $\underline{Q^ere}$ reading (גווון) is correct is irrelevant at this point.

⁴See further, infra, pp. 298ff.

⁵ שאריה עסי יבזוס "The remnant of my people will plunder them; And the left-overs of my nation will inherit them." "a nation".¹ In view of the requirements of the parallelism, however, this is unlikely. That the Masoretes understood '1' to be a suffixed form is clear, not only from the vocalization (?i''), but also from the marginal $\frac{Q^e}{re}$ suggestion ('''').² Both terms, Dy and '1', refer to Israel the nation of Yahweh.

In Ps. 106:5 the relationship between the nation and Yahweh receives even greater stress. Here χ appears parallel to χ and χ and χ and χ , two terms expressive of the most intimate relationship between Israel and her deity. χ may have been preferred to χ in this instance because the latter has already occurred in v. 4.

In spite of these texts, the refusal of the authors to apply pronominal endings to '1\lambda elsewhere is remarkable. In contrast to D\lambda, '1\lambda appears to have been a cold formal expression. One did not normally relate to a '1\lambda as he did to an D\lambda. Only in exceptional cases is this convention broken. In the two instances in which Yahweh is described as relating to his '1\lambda, this term is adopted because of the need for a correlative.

Proper Nouns

In contrast to עם, גוי, אוי never appears in personal names. It is used in three proper nouns, but each one represents a designation for a place or people. In Genesis 14:1,9 Tidal, king of Goiim (תרעל מלך גוים), is named along with two other Mesopotamian kings allied against five kings

So understood by a 10-11th century manuscript of LXX, which has equos, in place of the more usual equous.

 $^{^{2}}$ On the form cf. GK 8k. This interpretation is also favoured by the versions.

of the Dead Sea area. Tidal is commonly identified with the commmon Hittite name, Tudhaliya,¹ a name borne by at least five kings.² In the present context **D'1** appears to designate the realm or people under Tidal's authority. Although at the present time a certain identification of Goim is impossible, many have seen here a reference to the Umman Manda, "the people of Manda", which appear occasionally in the cuneiform texts. These documents use the name for certain barbarian hordes, "noxious bands of warriors,"³ who would descend with destructive fury upon ancient Mesopotamia. If the identification is correct, Goiim seems to serve as a translation of the Hittite name, hinting perhaps at a gentilic aspect to the term.

The use of גוים as a proper noun in Josh. 12:23 and Judg. 4:2,13, 16 is quite different. Both texts attach the term to specific places in northern Palestine. In the former, מלך גוים לגלגל 4 appears in a long

¹So E. A. Speiser, <u>Genesis: Introduction, Translation and Notes</u>, AB (Garden City: 1964), p. 107; J. A. Emerton, "Some False Clues in the Study of Genesis XIV," <u>VT</u>, 21 (1971), p. 42; R. de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 218.

On the name see E. Laroche, <u>Les noms des Hittites</u>, Études linguistiques, 4 (Paris: 1966), p. 276, where Tudhaliya is given as a name of a mountain. But like Arnuwanda, it is frequently used as a theonyme and royal name as well. Cf. <u>ibid</u>., p. 283. On the history of the Hittites see H. A. Hoffner, "The Hittites and Hurrians," <u>Peoples of</u> <u>Old Testament Times</u>, ed. by D. J. Wiseman (Oxford: 1973), pp. 197-221. (Hereafter this volume will be referred to as <u>POTT</u>).

³So J. R. Kupper, "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria," <u>CAH</u>, 3rd ed., II/1, pp. 38-39. On the Umman Manda see further, F. Cornelius, "ERIN-Manda," <u>Iraq</u>, 25 (1963), pp. 167-70; R. de Vaux, "Les patriarches hébreaux et les découvertes modernes," <u>RB</u>, 55 (1948), pp. 333-34; A. Falkenstein, in a review article of <u>Archives royales de Mari</u>, Tomes VII, VIII, <u>BiOr</u>, 17 (1960), p. 176; W. F. Albright, "New Light on the History of Western Asia in the Second Millennium B.C.," BASOR, 78 (1940), p. 31.

⁴BHS and J. Gray, <u>Joshua, Judges and Ruth</u>, p. 127, suggest we read with LXX, לגליל, "in Galilee."

list of kings defeated by the Israelites. Since D'11 is applied to migrating hordes elsewhere, Albright recommended a similar interpretation here. He understood it as referring to the migrating Sea Peoples who had settled in this region, and whose background is remembered in the name.¹ Simons, on the other hand, prefers the Septuagint reading, and interprets D'11 as a truncated form of Harosheth Hagoyim found in Judges 4.² This at least has the advantage of consistency with the context, since all of the other kings appear to have been rulers of city states. On the other hand, the insertion of the single exception may have been intentional to reflect a unique circumstance. The reference to D'11 may reflect the mixed nature of the population of Gilgal and hint once more at a gentilic nuance in the root.

The name הגוים in Judg. 4:2,13,16, means literally, "the wooded region of the אוויגוים." Aharoni rejects Albright's association of this name with the Sea Peoples,³ preferring to follow Maisler in seeing here not a place name at all but the forested regions of Galilee.⁴ The weakness of this position arises from the impression left by 4:2 which

¹W. F. Albright, "Some Archaeological and Topographical Results of a Trip through Palestine," BASOR, 11 (1923), p. 8.

²J. Simons, <u>The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old</u> <u>Testament</u> (Leiden: 1959), p. 280 (hereafter cited as <u>GTTOT</u>); so also J. Gray, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

³Loc. cit., p. 8. The site is identified by Albright in the vicinity of el-Harithiyeh. So also P. F. M. Abel, <u>Geographie de la</u> Palestine, 2 vols. (Paris: 1933), Vol. II, p. 343f.

⁴Y. Aharoni, <u>The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography</u>, trans. by A. F. Rainey (London: 1967), pp. 201-203. Cf. B. Maisler, "Beth She^carim, Gaba, and Harosheth of the Peoples," <u>HUCA</u>, 24 (1952-52), pp. 80-84. Cf. LXX, ἕως δρυμοῦ τῶν ἐθνῶν.Note also the reference to p. Isa. 8:23.

observes Sisera as living in (ישב ב) Harosheth-hagoyim, and v. 16, where the pursuit is described as having extended to (רדף עד) Harosheth-hagoyim.¹ Although the final answer to the problem awaits further investigation, there can be little doubt that the element גוים reflects an original foreign or mixed population, at least from the Israelite perspective.²

Application

The restricted scope of '1) presents a sharp contrast to the broad range of application observed for by above. The significance of this term is clearly illustrated by the following texts which identify D'1) by name: Deut. 7:1 (the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites);³ 2 Sam. 8:12 (Aram, Moab, Ammon, the Philistines, Amalek, Zobah); 2 Kings 17:30,31 and 18:33-34 (Babylon, Cuth, Hamath, Ivvah, Sepharvaim, Arpad, Hena); 19:13 (Gozan, Haran, sons of Eden, in addition to those named in 18:33-34); Isa. 18:2,7 (Cush); 60:5f. (Midian, Ephah, Qedar, Nebaioth); 66:19 (Tarshish, Pul,⁴ Lud, Meshech, Rosh, Tubal, Javan, distant coastlands); Jer. 25:17ff. (Judah, Egypt, Uz, the Philistines, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, the islands beyond

¹So Simons, GTTOT, p. 289; de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 792, n. 61.

²Cf. Maisler, p. 82, **D'1** probably means "a conglomeration of various ethnic groups living in one area, or at least represents an ancient term for an ethnically and socially indefinite population (hordes, tribes) in contrast to the permanent and politically organized population of a country or region (cf. Tid al, king of Goyim, in Gen. 14)."

³Cf. also Exod. 34:11,24; Lev. 18:24; Deut. 4:38; 7:17,22, etc. For a study of the various texts listing these nations see T. Ishida, pp. 461-90.

⁴So Hebrew text. Cf. LXX, Put.

the sea, Dedan, Tema, Buz, Arabian peoples, Zimri, Elam, Media and Babylon)¹; Joel 4:8 (the Sabaeans); Amos 6:14 (Assyria). It is apparent that the term could be applied to a wide variety of entities: world powers,² medium sized states,³ city states⁴ and tribal groups.⁵ The common element, however is not readily recognizable, except that a ¹¹ seems to have been a distinctive social entity recognizable by name.

But אוא was also used in much more general ways. Where the authors had the entire population of the earth in view they would often be addressed as אורי(י) הארץ.⁶ It was also applied generally to the nations around Israel,⁷ those to which the Israelites would be scattered as punishment for disobedience,⁸ those who bring about the destruction of other nations,⁹ and those peoples who have lost their political independence but continue

¹Here identified as Shishak, an <u>Athbash</u> for Babylon. See J. Bright, <u>Jeremiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary</u>, AB (Garden City: 1965), p. 161.

²Cf. also Gen. 15:14: Exod. 9:24 (both Egypt); Jer. 5:15; 6:22; Hab. 1:6 (all Babylon).

³Cf. also 2 Kings 6:18 (Aram); Jer. 48:2 (Moab); Gen. 20:4; Zeph. 2:5 (Philistia); Ezek. 37:22, et al (Israel and Judah).

⁴Cf. also Jer. 49:31 (Hazor).

⁵Note the Canaanite tribes mentioned in Deut. 7:1.

⁶Gen. 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; Deut. 28:1; Jer. 26:6; 33:9; 44:8; Zach. 12:3.

⁷Note variations of גוים אשר סביבת, Lev. 25:44; Deut. 17:14; 1 Kings 5:11; 2 Kings 17:15; Ezek. 5:14; 36:4; Joel 4:11; Neh. 5:17; 6:16. Cf. also 1 Kings 18:10; Ps. 105:13.

⁸Deut. 28:36,49,50; Joel 1:6, etc.

⁹Egypt (Ezek. 32:12); Tyre (Ezek. 26:3,5; 28:7); Babylon (Isa. 13:4; Jer. 25:14; 27:7; 50:9; 51:27,28,41); Assyria (Ezek. 31:12; Nah. 3:5); Moab (Isa. 16:8); Edom (Jer. 49:14; Ob. 1,15,16).

to maintain some sort of "national" identity.¹ These texts indicate clearly that **\1** was a common term for "nation". Few texts employ the term in any other way.

Two exceptional occurrences deserve comment. Literally interpreted, Zeph. 2:14 reads: "And flocks will lie down in its midst; all its animals of a nation."² Not surprisingly, attempts to improve on the Hebrew date back to ancient times. The Septuagint translators rendered '1\lambda as $\gamma\bar{\eta}s$. <u>BHS</u> recommends emendation to (N)'\lambda, an alteration reflected in RSV, "field", and JB, "valley". However, in view of the presence of a parallel term **D'T'y**, it appears that the poet was employing '1\lambda in a figurative sense to refer to gregarious creatures in general.³ This usage reappears in Joel 1:6 in which the invading swarms of locusts are identified as an innumerable '1\lambda.

Since גוי serves as a collective designation for "nation", it is not surprising that national characteristics should occasionally be identified. Common moral and spiritual qualities are reflected by the

¹Nations subject to Assyria (2 Kings 17:26,33,41; 18:33; 19:12, 17; Isa. 10:7; 36:18; 37:12; Ezek. 31:6,17; Nah. 3:4; 2 Chron. 32:13, 14,17); nations subject to Babylon (Isa. 14:6,9,12,18; Jer. 25:9,11; 27:7; 28:11,14; 51:7,20,44; Hab. 1:17; 2:5,9); nations subject to Cyrus (Isa. 41:2; 45:1); nations subject to Israel (2 Sam. 8:11; 22:44; Isa. 54:3; Amos 9:12; Zech. 9:10; Ps. 18:44; 1 Chron. 18:11. Cf. also Tyre's trading associates (Isa. 23:3).

² ורבצו בתוכה עדרים כל חיתו גוי.

³אדע appears 40 times in the Old Testament, usually referring to "flocks, herds" of sheep or cattle. Three times, however, the expression is used figuratively of people: Jer. 13:17, Israel is the איז איז; Zech. 10:3 אין אירוי, אררי אבריך, מברין, עדרי לובית יהודה // עדרי your companions".

adjectives המר והנמהר,¹ ,עריץ,² ,חטא⁴,נכל, חנף ²,צדיק,⁶ and המר והנמהר.⁷ Cultural and customary qualities may also be noted.⁸ More often, however, reference will be made to a nation's greatness,⁹ strength,¹⁰ or location.¹¹

In view of this consistent "national" significance of 1λ , Genesis 20:4 demands special comment. On first sight, the context appears to require a word meaning "people, persons", in a general, non-national and non-political sense. Since 1λ bears this significance nowhere else, many recommend an alteration of the text.¹² This operation, however, is

¹Exod. 9:6.

²Gen. 20:4; Isa. 26:2. Cf. Isa. 58:2, אשר צדקה עשה.

³Isa. 10:6 ("godless"); cf. גוי לא חסיד, Ps. 43:1; גוי לא קרא, Isa. 65:1; הגוים אשר נקרא שמי, Amos 9:12; שכחי אלהים, Ps. 9:18; אשר יאלהים, Jer. 7:28; אשר לא שמעו בקל יהוה, Jer. 18:8. Contrast these with Ps. 33:12, אשר יהוה אלהיו, Statest

> ⁴Deut. 32:21. ⁵Isa. 1:4. ⁶Isa. 25:3. ⁷Hab. 1:6, "bitter and hasty".

Uncircumcised nations (גוים ערלים), Jer. 9:25; אשר לו חקים, Deut. 4:8; גוי לא תדע לשנו, Deut. 28:49; cf. אשר לא תשמע לשנו, Jer. 5:15. Cf. also the typical physical characteristics of its people in Isa. 18:2, ממשך ומרוט, "tall and smooth".

⁹E.g., גוי אין מספר, Gen. 12:2 and many more; גוי גדול, Joel 1:6.

¹⁰E.g., גוי עצום, Num. 14:12, and many more; גוים אדרם, Ezek. 32:18. Cf. גוי לא יושע, Lam. 4:17.

¹¹גוי מצפון, Jer. 50:3; גוי רחוק, Joel 4:8; Mic. 4:3; מרחוק, Deut. 28:49; Isa. 5:26.

¹²BHS suggests יוֹג be deleted, explaining its presence as a dittography of הגם. Speiser explains the need for emendation as follows: "The evidence . . . points overwhelmingly to an old textual corruption. The original must have read either <u>hgm</u>, which came to be expanded to quite unnecessary. In the first place, Abimelech is generalizing on the basis of the oriental conception of corporate solidarity and kingship, the fate of a nation being bound up with the personal fate of its monarch. As will become evident below, a model was almost by definition a γ_{13} , and although we may be surprised at the choice of this term, rather than Dy, it should not surprise us that he identifies his people by the former. Furthermore, in his complaint concerning the inadvertent nature of his error, Abimelech again reflects the principle of corporate solidarity: "And how have I sinned against you, that you have brought on me and my kingdom a great sin?" Apart from a recognition of Abimelech in some sense embodying the nation, this statement is as incredible as verse $4^{\frac{1}{2}}$

Dan. 11:23 also appears to use '1% in the sense of "people", or at least "military force". S. R. Driver, following Bevan, interprets '1% as a small band of partisans who helped Antiochus overcome his rivals.² This use of the term, however, would be unique. It seems preferable to interpret the expression as a reference to the reduced Syrian state.³

hgyhgm through dittography (the -w-, as a vowel letter, would not be used in very old texts), or h. .gm, wherein the lacuna was first taken up by some reinforcing particle, but later displaced by dittography. The first of these alternatives seems preferable." <u>Genesis</u>, p. 149. See further also J. Skinner, <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis</u>, ICC, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: 1930), pp. 316f.

For a similar interpretation, cf. H. Gunkel, <u>Genesis</u>, HAT (Göttingen: 1910), p. 222. "Viel einfacher ist die Erklärung, dass Abimelech es für selbstverständlich hält, dass der Zorn Gottes nicht nur über die Person des Königs, sondern über das ganze Volk kommen wird; ebendasselbe in 7. 8. 9."

²The Book of Daniel, CB (Cambridge: 1905), p. 182. Cf. J. Baldwin, Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary, TOTC (Leicester: 1978), pp. 192f.

³So J. A. Montgomery, <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the</u> <u>Book of Daniel</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1927), p. 452; E. J. Young, <u>The Prophecy</u> of Daniel: <u>A Commentary</u> (Grand Rapids: 1949), p. 242.

A discussion of the use of λ in poetic parallelism may follow roughly the same lines as that of by above.

Parallel terms representing "the earth"

The association of $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$ and γ_{λ} occurs more than twice as often as the Dy/ $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$ combination. A wide range in the degree of synonymity is reflected in these texts. Ps. 46:11, which employs the most identical form of parallelism possible,¹ is typical of several in which $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$ and ppearto be used interchangeably. But the context (vs. 6-8) which refers to the uproar of the D'1 λ /b' $\gamma\lambda$ and the devastation of the $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$ clearly differentiates the two. Both terms are preceded by D in Isa. 14:26 to stress the universality of Yahweh's designs.² The juxtaposing of the figurative $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$ and $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$.³ If the latter may be portrayed as possessing leaders, the term seems to refer to its inhabitants. In Jer. 6:18-19 both the D'1 λ and the $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$ and the $\gamma\gamma_{\lambda}$ have been inebriated by the cup of Yahweh, Babylon.⁴ Ps.

1 "I will be exalted among the nations; ארום בגוים ארום בארץ I will be exalted in the earth." זאת העצה היעוצה על כל הארא "This is the plan planned against all the earth; And this is the hand which is stretched out וזאת היד הנטויה על כל הגוים against all the nations." עורר לך רפאים כל עתודי ארא "It (Sheol) arouses for you the rephaim, all the leaders of the earth; It raises from their thrones all the kings הקים מכסאותם כל מלכי גוים of the nations." כוס זהב בבל ביד יהוה "Babylon has been a golden cup in Yahweh's hand, משכרת כל הארץ Intoxicating all the earth; The nations have drunk of her wine; מיינה שתו גוים על כן יתהללו גוים Therefore the nations are going mad."

67:3 speaks of the way//salvation of Yahweh being known גוים//בל גוים//בל גוים. The parallelism in 82:8 is climactic rather than synonymous.¹ Nevertheless, the force of the statement depends upon the virtual identification of ארץ and שוע. In a surprising twist, Yahweh's judgment upon the former is based upon his authority over the latter. Since judgment implies moral responsibility for the one judged, the reverse order of the pair might have been anticipated.

In the remaining texts in which λ and $\gamma\lambda$ are paralleled, their relationship is not quite as close. Since $D^{1}\lambda$ and $D^{2}\lambda$ are juxtaposed with λ are juxtaposed as the contents of the latter. Jer. 10:10 declares that the $D^{1}\lambda$ are unable to endure the wrath of Yahweh which causes the $\gamma\lambda$ to quake. Each term retains its basic significance in 46:12 according to which the $D^{1}\lambda$ hear, and the $\gamma\lambda$ is full of sound. 50:23 depicts Babylon as the hammer of the $\gamma\lambda$, but an object of horror among the $D^{1}\lambda$. The verbs in Hab. $3:6^{2}$ and $3:12^{3}$ are quite appropriate to their respective subjects, again reflecting a slightly different sense for each. In none of these texts could the order of the pair be reversed without altering the meaning of the verse.

Several general observations on the pairing of κ and κ may be made. 1) When paired κ always occurs in the plural form. The κ does not consist of one κ always. 2) A distinct preference for κ and κ are also but many. 2) A distinct preference for κ and κ are also but many.

קומה אלהים שפטה הארץ "Arise, O God, judge the earth! כי אתה תנחל בכל הגוים For it is you who possess the nations."

2

- עמד וימדד ארץ "He stood and surveyed the earth; ראה ויתר גוים He looked and startled the nations."
- נזעם תצעד ארץ "In indignation you marched through the earth; ו באף תדוש גוים In anger you trampled the nations."

גוים also appears occasionally paralleled with construct phrases involving ארץ. Isa. 49:6 describes the mission of the Servant as follows:

ינתתיך לאור גוים "And I will make you a light of the nations, "הארץ "That my salvations may go to the end of the earth." "Three times אפסי הארץ appears opposite גוים.³ In Isa. 52:10 the אפסי הארץ are described with almost human qualities in that they see (ארץ) the salvation of Yahweh. Ps. 22:28 ascribes memory and the ability to repent to the juxtaposing of the expression with bility to repent to indicate that just as the משפחות משפחות the constituent parts of the אפסי הארץ, so the dot as the related to the אפסי. The treatment of the

¹These first two observations apply also to Exod. 34:10, a rare prose occurrence of the parallel pair.

²Cf. above, p. 99, n. 6 for references. Could this be another example of a broken up parallel pair? Cf. E. Z. Melamed, "Breakup of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device," <u>Scripta Hierosolymitana</u>, 8 (1961), pp. 115-53.

³The precise meaning of the expression is obscure. Since it appears only in poetry, γλα κασ' πλαγ have been purely literary in nature. See Deut. 33:17; 1 Sam. 2:10; Isa. 45:22; 52:10; Jer. 16:19; Mic. 5:3; Zech. 9:10; Ps. 2:8; 22:28; 59:14; 67:8; 72:8; 98:3; Prov. 30:4. In each context, the expression emphasizes the universality of the action in question. In view of the parallel expression by the action in Ps. 22:28, the phrase may signify all who are encompassed by the γλα. But cf. Ugaritic aps, "end, top (of throne)", UT, p. 364, #309; Phoenician, χεο, KAI 26A IV:1.

as the possession (אחזה) of Yahweh opposite the גוים as his inheritance (נחלה) in Ps. 2:8 is less personal.

Finally, because the texts do not fit into any other category, and because, like $\gamma\gamma\lambda$, $D\gamma\gamma\lambda$ represents a geographical entity, the use of this term alongside $D\gamma\lambda$ deserves mention.¹ In Isa. 40:15 the description of the insignificance of the $D\gamma\lambda$ as a drop in a bucket² is compared with the $D\gamma\gamma\lambda$ which are as minuscule as fine dust. Formally Jer. 31:10 resembles some of the texts discussed above.³ In the first colon the $D\gamma\lambda$ are challenged to pay heed to the word of Yahweh. In the second, the $D\gamma\gamma\lambda$ represent the locus of the divine declaration. Since to the Israelites the $D\gamma\gamma\lambda$ represented the distant shores,⁴ this parallel usage may support the thesis that $D\gamma\lambda$ represents an objective term for "nations".

Parallel terms representing "mankind"

The occurrences of **1** opposite a designation for mankind are limited. Jer. 49:15 deals with the public humiliation of Edom.⁵ The

Cf. also the bound expressions כל איי הארץ (Zeph. 2:11) and (Gen. 10:5).

שמעו דבר יהוה גוים "Hear the word of Yahweh, O nations, הגיד באיים ממרחק And declare in the coastlands afar."

⁴Cf. C. R. North, <u>The Second Isaiah</u>, p. 84. J. Mauchline suggests that in Isaiah 40-55 איים refers to the peoples of the Mediterranean littoral. "Implicit Signs of a Persistent Belief in the Davidic Empire," VT, 20 (1970), p. 301.

5 For see, I have made you small among the nations; כי הנה קטן נתתיך בגוים Despised among men."

Cf. the pairing of by and אדם in Ps. 22:7. See supra, p. 53.

first colon, in keeping with the preceding context, stresses the international scope of the event.¹ The second, however, in agreement with the following verses, appears to emphasize that individuals will also take note of her fate.² Assonantal considerations may also have influenced the selection of the vocabulary: in an oracle concerning Div the use of DTW adds poetic colour.³ In Ps. 94:10 DTW and D'1) both denote mankind as the object of Yahweh's instruction.⁴ It is possible that the former intends to stress discipline given at national levels, in contrast to the universal, or even individual teaching of the latter. But such distinctions should not be pressed. This contrasts with Job 34:29, in which '1) (singular) and DTW appear as an adjacent pair.⁵ The author consciously binds the two disparate terms together by adding TN'.

A final text, Deut. 32:8 pairs κ with ϵ , κ , but also employs in the following colon.⁶ The separation of the sons of man and the allocation of their territories to the κ are both attributed to Elyon.

Several other designations for "mankind" also appear with גוי . In Jer. 25:31, the גוים are virtually identified with כל בשר. Both expres-

¹In v. 14 the nations are summoned to battle against Edom.

²In v. 17 "all who pass by her"(כל עבר עליה) express their horror.

³Cf. also LXX (as well as Acts 15:17 in dependence on LXX) rendering of ματά ανθρωπος, in place of MT אדום in Amos 9:17.

איוכיח "He who chastens the nations, will he not reprove? המלמד אדם דעת He who teaches man knowledge?"

ויסתר פנים ומי ⁶שורנו "And when he hides his face, who can behold him? ועל גוי ועל אדם יחד That is with reference to nation and man together?"

^bFor a full discussion of this problematic text (both textually and hermeneutically) see <u>infra</u>, pp. 434ff. On the relationship between בני אדם and other terms for "mankind", see Melamed, pp. 148-51.

כי ריב ליהוה בגוים "For Yahweh has a controversy with the nations; נשפט הוא לכל בשר He is entering into judgment with all flesh."

sions emphasize the universality of Yahweh's judgment.¹ The pairing of with with m Ps. 9:20,21 is quite deliberate.² In spite of their presumptuous assertions, the χ are merely frail humans. A final text, Ps. 43:1, parallels χ with χ and χ The association is intentional, to stress both the national and personal nature of the opposition to the psalmist.⁴

Parallel terms representing "nations"

Not surprisingly, $\iota(\sigma, \kappa)$ is paired with other designations for "nation" more often than any other category of terms. In this respect it resembles $\iota(\sigma, \kappa)$ with which it is juxtaposed most frequently. These occurrences have already been discussed.⁵

לאמים//גוים

Most of the earlier observations concerning the relationship between ζ and ζ apply also to those texts in which ζ appears opposite Like the former pair, the latter also occurs nine times.⁶ In

Cf. the use of כל ישבי הארץ in v. 29. For the use of כל ישבי הארץ as "mankind, corrupted flesh", see Gen. 6:12-13. Cf. also Fs. 65:3; 145:21; Isa. 40:5-6; Jer. 12:12; 32:27; 45:5.

ערים "Vindicate me, O God, וריבה ריבי מגוי לא חסיר And defend my case against an ungodly nation; מאיש מרמה ועולה תפלטני Deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man."

⁴All three of the pairs mentioned in this paragraph minimize the force of Speiser's claim that Dy is individualized as איש, whereas גוי corresponds to אוש. "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 159.

⁵See supra, pp. 54ff.

⁶Gen. 25:23; Isa. 34:1; 43:9; Ps. 2:1; 44:3,15; 105:44; 149:7; Prov. 14:34 (לאמים//גוי).

most instances the plural element of both terms is used. χ appears consistently as the A-element. The terms are employed with virtual synonymity throughout; to interchange them would not affect the meaning of the text.¹

אמים//גוים

Ps. 117:1 represents the only occurrence of אמים in the Hebrew Old Testament.² The parallelism here is of the simplest kind.³ Except that נווים, being the more common term, is naturally in the A-position, the two could be readily interchanged without altering the sense.⁴

לשנות//גוים

For the sake of completeness, we include here a discussion of Isa. 66:18. Inasmuch as the verse is not usually classified as poetic, and סיון, and לשנוה appear as an adjacent, rather than parallel pair, the text differs from the previous passages. But since both the preceding and succeeding phrases apply to both, the relationship of the terms is similar to that found in many parallel pairs. The context offers no hints that the usual linguistic sense of לשוו is being stressed. The function of the term compares with that of אטול, which appears repeatedly alongside אמיא and אמיא in the Aramaic texts of Daniel.⁵

גוי and לשן are brought together in several additional texts. According to Gen. 10:5,20,31, the descendants of the sons of Noah were

On the meaning and usage of לאם, see infra, pp. 128ff.

²Cf. אמ(ו)ת in Gen. 25:16 and Num. 25:15. See further <u>infra</u>, pp. 139ff.

יהוה כל⁵גוים "Praise Yahweh, all nations; Extol him, all peoples."

⁴On the meaning and usage of אמה, see <u>infra</u>, pp. 138ff. ⁵Dan. 3:4,7,29(singular),31; 5:19; 6:26. Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 60. separated on the basis of their לשונות מולה. In Zech. 8:23 the words appear in a bound relation.¹ Although it is possible that the combination is based on an expression such as הגוים והלשנות found in Isa. 66:18,² this may also represent a standard sterotyped phrase which has been broken up in the Isaiah text.³ The relationship of the two is not difficult to explain. Language is one of the most obvious indicators of nationality.⁴ Therefore, אולים in Isa. 66:18 is almost appositional or epexegetical to D'l.

משפחות//גוים

חשפחות is paired with אוים in poetic parallelism on two occasions. The parallelism of the cola in Jer. 10:25 is not only quite symmetrical, but also synonymous.⁵ The comment in the latter part of the verse that "they have devoured Jacob" applies equally to אויס and הווסש. The parallelism of Nah. 3:4 is even more symmetrical.⁶ The similarity of the sense of the terms is beyond doubt.

Similar to what has been frequently observed already, this poetic paralleling also has its counterparts in different grammatical constructions

מכל לשנות הגוים.

²So Keil, The Twelve Minor Prophets, vol. II, p. 318.

³Melamed, pp. 115-53.

⁴For a full discussion of the real tionship between language and nationality, see infra, pp. 587ff.

5 שפך חמתך "Pour out your wrath על הגוים אשר לא ידעוך On the nations which do not know you; אוען משפחות אשר בשמך לא קראו And on the families that do not call your name." The verse is quite similar to Ps. 79:6, except that here משפחות דיפומלכות אמלכות

> שלרת גוים בזנולים "Who sell nations by her harlotries, ומשפחות בכשפיה And families by her sorceries."

elsewhere. The method of association in Ezek. 20:32 closely resembles the poetic usage.¹ Here משפחות הארצות represents an epexegetical clarification of the גוים, who are characterized by their idolatry.

Mention has already been made of Ps. 22:28 in which משפחות גוים occurs opposite אפסי הארץ. It is possible that the משפחות are intended to be viewed as sub-groups of the D. . But considerable evidence exists to indicate that the former was also used of "nations" in the fullest sense. In Amos 3:1-2, the sons of Israel are first designated as a much which Yahweh brought up from Egypt; immediately thereafter they are compared with all the משפחות האדמה. Jer. 1:15³ and 25:9⁴ are certainly capable of this interpretation.' Zech. 14:17f. singles out Egypt from all the משפחות הארץ as משפחת מצרים. Egypt is hardly to be classified as a smaller people or tribe. Furthermore, in the context number is freely interchanged with D'11 (vs. 16,18,19). Similar freedom is found in the patriarchal narratives. Gen. 12:3 and 28:14 speak of the blessing of Abraham extending to משפחות כל משפחות סר the other hand, although the vocabulary shows but little variation in other respects, 18:18, 22:18 and 26:4 replace this expression with כל גויי הארץ. In the stereotyped repetitions of the terms of the Abrahamic covenant it is doubtful that a difference in sense is intended. LXX, in

בהיה כמשפחות הארצות לשרת עץ ואבן.

²This would agree with Keil's understanding of משפחה as smaller peoples or tribes, synonymous with עמים <u>עמים</u>. <u>Loc. cit.</u>, p. 31. See also Wiseman, "Genesis 10," p. 17, "The word is used somewhat loosely for 'clan' or any national subdivision, whether Hebrew or not, or even of animals." In Jer. 33:24 the Northern and Southern Kingdoms are spoken of as two אוס משפחות, who are the by of Yahweh but despair of being a יגוי.

כל משפחות ממלכות צפונה⁵. Cf. v. 10 which juxtaposes גוים and גמלכות.

⁴כל משפחות צפון.

any case, translates both consistently with באטח. Gen. 10:5,20,31 deserves one more comment. Along with לשנות and משפחות, גוים appears as a third expression of the division of the human race.¹

All of these texts suggest a fairly close association between משפחה and גוי

Parallel terms representing "lands"

Only three texts, commonly acknowledged as poetic, pair '1' with YTN. Isa. 26:15 describes the expansion of Israel in terms of an increase in the '1' and the extension of its borders.² It is doubtful that '1' here is restricted to the population. Although '10' is frequently used before direct objects before which it signifies "to add to", no term for "people" ever occurs in this capacity. Furthermore, if the intention had been to describe an increase in the population, the Hiphil form of '1', followed by a more specific term would have been expected.³ It appears that the growth of a '1' involved more than a numerical increase in its people. The second colon suggests it also involved territorial expansion.⁴

¹Cf. the study on awens by F. I. Andersen, "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure," <u>Bible Translator</u>, 20 (1969), pp. 29-30. He notes also the emphasis on "the community of nations as a set of brothers," p. 34.

² יספת לגוי נכבדת "You have increased the nation, you are glorified; You have extended all the borders of the land." Cf. Atra-Hasis II:2, <u>ma-tum ir-ta-pi-is ni-s[u im]-ti-da</u>, "the land extended and the peoples multiplied."

³E.g. Gen. 16:10; 17:20; Ezek. 36:10,11; etc.

⁴Cf. Prov. 14:28, which speaks specifically of the relationship between the population of a king's subjects and his glory. Isa. 9:2 speaks of the growth of a '1λ in terms of material prosperity. γτγ occurs elsewhere only in Ps. 48:11 and 65:6. In both instances, however, refers to the earth. Isa. 66:8 is equally significant.¹ Of all the texts, both poetic and prose, which associate 1λ with $\gamma\lambda$ in the sense of land, this is one of only two in which $\gamma\lambda$ appears as the A-word.² The verse is difficult insofar as it portrays a land as being born.³ It seems that here, contrary to the normal pattern, the second colon controls the meaning of the text. Note also that according to verse 8b Zion is spoken of as bringing forth sons, not real estate.

The final poetic text, Ps. 106:27, renders both terms in the plural.⁴ The symmetry of the parallelism as well as the interchangeability of the terms suggest a synonymity of meaning. Alternatively, the two may indeed reflect two aspects of the dispersion: not only would the population be intermingled with other peoples, but they would also find themselves on alien territories. Although both statements are true, in the present context the distinctions should not be pressed.

Ezekiel combines גוים and ארצות no fewer than fifteen times. In most of these the subject matter is similar to Ps. 106:27.⁵ But 22:4 speaks

The symmetry of the cola is remarkable: היוחל ארץ כיום אחד "Can a land be born in one day? גריולד גוי פעם אחת Can a nation be brought forth at one moment?"

²Cf. 1 Chron. 14:17.

³On the other hand, geographic entitities are often portrayed as women who give birth, not to new cities or lands, but to their inhabitants. Cf. the sea (Isa. 23:4); Israel (Isa. 26:18); the earth (Isa. 26:19); Jerusalem-Zion (Isa. 54:1; 66:7,8; Jer. 4:31; Mic. 4:10). This view is quite different from that reflected on Seleucid coins which speak of Sidon as the mother of its colonies, Cambe, Hippo, Citium and Tyre. G. F. Hill, Catalogue of Greek Coins of Phoenicia (London: 1910), p. cvi.

אולהפיל זרעם בגוים "And to cast their seed among the nations, And to scatter them in the lands."

⁵11:16; 12:15; 20:23; 22:15; 29:12; 30:23,26; 36:19. Cf. also 36:24 which speaks of regathering from the גוים and the ארצות.

of Israel becoming a reproach to the גוים אורעות. Although the parallelism of all three elements is not exact, these terms are combined with in 25:7, 32:9 and 39:27 in such a way that sharp distinctions in meaning are precluded. In 5:5-6 ארעות seems to have lost some of its literal significance and taken on some nuances of גוים Although it is quite natural to describe Jerusalem's neighbours as "lands that surround her" (סביבותיה ארעות), it is unusual to find lands rebelling against God.

The situation is different in 35:10. The plural forms of both terms are used, but they refer, not to foreign nations, but to the two kingdoms of greater Israel. In view of the emphasis in the context on the bloodshed of the people (גני ישראל), v. 5), on the one hand, and the desolation of the mountains of Israel (ארי ישראל), v. 12), on the other, two different aspects of Israel's nationhood seem to be in view.

This association of אוי אוי occurs in other prose texts, although not with equal consistency of meaning. Lev. 26:38 is also concerned with the scattering of Israel among the אוים אויש, but the context provides specific hints that the terms are not to be treated synonymously. In verses 34ff. the אויש of Israel is promised rest, while her people are removed to the אויש אויש, "land of the enemy". According to 1 Chron. 14:17 the fame of David spread הארצות and his fear of the king of In a judgment oracle, Jer. 25:12 predicts the desolation of the king of Babylon, that אוי אויש, and the land of the Chaldaeans.¹

The remaining texts deal with Rabshakeh's defiant speech to the people of Jerusalem. Although κ and κ are conjoined in 2 Kings 18:33 and Isa. 36:18, the introduction of a third party, the gods, renders

אפקד על מלך בבל ועל הגוי ההוא . . ועל ארץ כשדים.

the relationship less direct. The verses imply that the gods are the gods of the D'll but also state explicitly that the Mrver are the lands of the gods.¹ The parallel text in 2 Chron. 32:17 ties all three together in an extended construct chain.²

The texts which bring λ and $\gamma \gamma$ together reflect a fundamental association between a nation and its land. Indeed in some instances the terms appear to be interchangeable, except that λ is overwhelmingly preferred as the A-word. We might safely conclude, therefore, that to speak of a λ involved, by implication, also a physical geographical entity; the two were inexorably combined.³ Where γ is used opposite λ or ν in this way, the resultant ambivalent sense may perhaps be best captured by the English expression, "country".

Parallel terms representing political entities

The frequent association of גוי with politically oriented expressions stands in sharp contrast to the Hebrew poets' reluctance to use by in this way. Several different, but related terms may be juxtaposed with יוֹג.

ממלכה//גוי

Texts in which אוי is paired with ממלכה are common.⁴ In Jer. 51:20,⁵

דהצל הצילו אלהי הגוים איש את ארצו¹. The implications of this statement will be considered below, pp. 421f.

כאלהי גוי הארצות אשר לא הצילו עמם מידי².

³See <u>infra</u>, pp. 298ff. for a detailed study of the relationship between a nation and its territory.

⁴Compare this with **v** which appears opposite and only in Ps. 102:23 and Neh. 9:22.

> ⁵ ונפצתי כך גוים "And with you I will shatter nations; And with you I will destroy kingdoms."

Nah. 3:5¹ and Zeph. 3:8² the parallelism is quite symmetrical and the synonymity of the terms seems assured. Even though the parallelism may not be as balanced in other texts, similar correspondence of significance is frequently present. Jeremiah in 51:27 speaks of the marshalling for battle of the northern nations, Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz, all of which come under the dual classification of D'1, and N10000. The relationship of the terms is slightly different in Ps. 46:7. The D'1, rise in uproar and the Allon fall, no doubt at the sound of Yahweh's voice referred to in the following colon.³ The form of Ps. 79:6⁴ is almost identical with that of Jer. 10:25, except that Allon fall is replaced by Allon in the latter.⁵

Two Isaiah texts deserve comment even if the terms do not constitute a parallel pair. The consonantal text of 13:4 may be interpreted in two ways. The Masoretes understood ממלכות גוים as a construct unit. If this interpretation is correct, גוים seems to function as an explicative or epexegetical genitive, defining the <u>nomen regens</u> more precisely. Viewed in this way, a subtle progression may be discernable in the three

אומלכות קלונך "And I will show the nations your nakedness, And the kingdoms your disgrace." "For it is my decision to gather nations, To assemble kingdoms."

המו גוים "The nations made an uproar; מטו ממלכות The kingdoms tottered; He raised his voice; the earth melted."

Δ

שפך חמתך "Pour out your wrath Upon the nations which do not know you; אל הגוים אשר לא ידעוך אל הגוים אשר לא ידעוך אל ממלכות אשר בשמך לא קראו [קראו

⁵This interchange is further evidence that ממלכה could be used of "nation" in the fullest sense. Note also Ps. 135:10-11, which contains the following sequence: ממלכות, גוים.

expressions identifying the cause of the tumult in the mountains: עם רב, ¹ עם רב. The poet begins with the most general and neutral term, and ends with the most explicitly militaristic word. The repointing of ממלכות as an absolute, ² however, preserves the parallelism better.

Isa. 60:12 combines the singular forms of אוא and ממלכה as an adjacent pair. Since the context distinguishes clearly between kings (מלכים) and the nations, a slightly different nuance between our terms should probably also be recognized. However, insofar as both refer to the same entity, they remain very closely related. A similar distinction in nuance is also reflected in Ps. 105:13 (= 1 Chron. 16:20), to which reference has already been made.³

This pairing of גוי ממלכה שאם ממלכה was not merely a poetic device. The bound relationship ממלכות הגוים appears in Hag. 2:22 and 2 Chron. 20:6. In the former the "kingdoms of the nations" stand in opposition to Yahweh. According to the latter, Yahweh, who resides in heaven, nevertheless reigns over the "kingdoms of the nations". The words are paired adjacently in 2 Chron. 32:15. Rabshakeh declares that "no god of any גוי or ממלכה has been able to deliver his people" from the Assyrians. This adjacent pair recurs in Jer. 1:10 and 18:7,9. In 29:18 כל ממלכות הארץ is associated with

here corresponds to עמים רבים in 17:12.

As recommended by Gray, <u>Isaiah</u>, p. 239, and <u>BHS</u>, and interpreted by most recent translations. The LXX interpretation of πισμα as "kings" may suggest this meaning as well as "kingdom" for this word. Phoenician usage would support this. Cf. KAI 10:2; 14:4, etc. See further S. Erlandssen, <u>The Burden of Babylon: A Study of Isaiah 13:2-14:23</u>, CBOT, 4 (Lund: 1970), p. 19.

³Cf. supra, p. 56.

לל הגוים.¹ The association of our terms is equally close in Ezek. 29:15. To say that Egypt will be the smallest of the ממלכות is equivalent to declaring that she will not exalt herself above the ממלכות. In a context quite different, Ezek. 37:22 looks forward to a day when Judah and Israel will no longer be two ממלכות and two גוים אולים. but one אולי מילה Finally, in a surprising turn, Exod. 19:6, disregarding the normally objective and detached use of אול קרוש that Israel is to be a ממלכת ממלכת and a ².גוי קרוש the correlation between או and a concerne suggests a close correlation.³

To summarize, the Hebrew poets and authors recognized a fundamental relationship between a \prime 1 λ and a $\alpha d c \alpha$. This is reflected by the frequency with which the terms are paired, the synonymity of the terms in specific parallel associations, and the widespread distribution of the texts in which they are paired. On the other hand, \prime 1 λ always appears as the A-element in poetry, whereas in the adjacent pairs, a moderate preference for the priority of $\alpha d c \alpha$

מלך//גוי

This unexpected pair appears no fewer than a dozen times, often with apparent synonymity. However, in contrast to the widespread distribution

²Cf. the association of עם with קרוש in Deut. 7:6; 14:2,21; 26:19; 28:9.

³Cf. Isa. 61:6-9.

The expression לל ממלכות הארץ occurs many times in the Old Testament. Deut. 28:25; 2 Kings 19:15,19; Isa. 23:17; 37:16; 37:20; Jer. 15:4; 24:9; 29:18; 34:17; Ezra 1:2; 2 Chron. 36:23. Cf. also ממלכות הארץ in Ps. 68:33 and ממלכות צפונה אמלכות 1:15.

of the previous pair, the poetic paralleling of df and df is restricted to Isaiah 40-66 (6x) and the Psalms (4x). Genesis and Jeremiah each contribute one semi-poetic occurrence.

Of the six Isaiah texts, 41:2, 60:3,16 and 62:2 employ the terms with near synonymity. In each case 1λ and 7n could be interchanged without any significant alteration in sense. In the remaining passages two differences are distinguishable. 45:1 appropriately speaks of the subjugation of the 0.1λ and the ungirding of the loins of the 0.7λ . In 52:15, to reverse the terms and refer to the startling of the 0.7λ and the shutting of the mouths of the 0.1λ would have been unusual. However, given the highly figurative nature of Hebrew poetry, in neither case would such an alteration have been impossible.

Of the citations in the Psalms, 102:16 uses אוי and מלך with apparent synonymity.¹ In 72:11 the priority of מלכים seems to have been determined by the identification of several kings in the previous verse. Similar considerations apply to 135:10, except that in this instance the names of the kings follow. In both texts מלכים is to be interpreted in its normal sense. The final text, 110:5-6 seems also to distinguish between the Dil and their rulers, the Did.

Although the remaining texts do not treat our terms as synonyms, they seem also to reflect the fundamental relationship between the two. Gen. 17:6 predicts that 0, λ and 0, α , α , will come from Abraham. Verse 16 offers the same hope to Sarah. The expressions appear as an adjacent pair

1

וייראו גוים את שם יהוה "So nations will fear the name of Yahweh; And all the kings of the earth your glory."

in Jer. 25:14 and 27:7.1

Parallel proper nouns

13 appears in parallel with the name of a specific nation only in Amos 9:12.⁵ If the Masoretic text is original,⁶ a climactic move may

Note the form of the pair in each case: גוים ומלכים גדולים. For the sake of completeness, three additional terms appearing together with או whould be mentioned. Although the parallelism in Jer. 10:7 is more complex, the relationship between מלכות and הגוים borders on synonymity. The connection between מלכות and הגוים in Ps. 22:29 is more remote. In Dan. 8:22, from one גוי four מלכים מלכים emerge.

²Cf. our comments, supra, p. 51.

³The only exceptions are Ps. 72:11 and 110:5-6. The reason for the reverse in the former has already been alluded to. It may also be significant that both psalms are designated as "royal psalms", in which the role of the king is emphasized. On "royal psalms", see J. H. Eaton, <u>Kingship and the Psalms</u>, SBT, 2nd series, 32 (London: 1976); S. <u>Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship</u>, trans. by D. R. Ap-Thomas (Nashville: 1962), Vol. I, pp. 42-80.

⁴See <u>infra</u>, pp. 493ff.

⁵But cf. also Jer. 9:25 where בית ישראל is associated with the uncircumcised גוים.

But note the LXX variant which reads by for by.

be discernable. In the first colon it is the remnant of one nation, Edom, which is stated to be in the possession of the restored booth of David. In the second, however, the remnant of the world are identified as 55D'1) who are called by the name of Yahweh. Edom appears to serve as a representative of those D'1) referred to in the second colon, consequently belonging to the class known as D'1).

Miscellaneous parallel terms

Although the number of additional terms juxtaposed with xis considerably smaller than those occurring with **by**, the ones which may be isolated are important. These may be classified according to several broad categories.

Parallel designations for Israel

Only in Ps. 106:5 does the designation for Israel occur opposite 1. The unusual suffixed form has already drawn comment.¹ Equally surprising is the association of 1.1 with control and ... Both are relational in nature and more appropriate to by. It may be that since by has already been employed in v. 4a, a new correlative had to be either found or created. This unusual combination may have been intended to express the extraordinary nature of Yahweh's action toward Israel. Otherwise, the only common denominator among the terms is the suffixed J.

Two texts pair λ with segments of the population of Israel. In Isa. 60:22 אלף appears as the A-element.² Mic. 4:7 is similar in

² הקטן יהיה לאלף "The smallest one will become a clan, And the least one a mighty nation."

¹Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 95.

meaning, except for the replacement of שארית with ". These are to be interpreted as examples of climactic parallelism in which the second stich strengthens the force of the first by means of hyperbole.

Parallel terms with negative overtones

A critical attitude toward the **D**1) is reflected in several Psalms which juxtapose '1) with emotionally charged correlatives. As an example, we note 9:6 which places the term opposite **y** 2 The plural form of the latter appears in v. 18. In another bitter note, the psalmist in 59:6 calls upon God to punish all the **D**1) and to withhold his grace from the treacherously wicked ($(\zeta \kappa r' \kappa \eta)$). Most blunt, however, is 106:41, according to which the **D**1) are identified outrightly as **D**2. It is obvious that in these passages the true significance of '1) has been obscured by the strength of feeling expressed by the polemical tone. However, although '1) provided an effective vehicle for the expression of this animosity, this was not the only term so used. As noted above, **D**9 was employed in many similar contexts as well.⁴

יושמתי את הצלעה לשארית "I will make the lame a remnant, And the outcasts into a strong nation." 2 אנרת גוים 2 אבדת רשע 2 אבדת רשע 3

³For additional examples see 2:1-3; 9:3-6, 17:18; 43:1; 44:9-16; 46:7; 59:1,2,5; 79:1,4,6,7; 83:5; 86:8; 106:34-39; 115:4-8; 118:10; 135:15-18. Cf. also גוים//זרים in Ezek. 28:7.

⁴Cf. supra, pp. 42f.

1λ in the Cognate Languages

In contrast to the widespread usage of Dy in the languages cognate to Hebrew, *>11 has not surfaced in any Northwest Semitic text other than the Old Testament and documents dependent upon it.¹ A connection with >12, "interior", found in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, is to be rejected.² Relating the root to either Hebrew 12, literally "back, body",³ but also used in the sense of "community, congregation, corporation", in Job 30:5, or Phoenician-Punic 12, "community, corporation",⁴ is no more helpful.⁵ The root has, however, been identified in several second millennium Mari tablets, where it appears as

So M. Noth, "Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen," Veröoffentlichungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschungen des Landes Nordrhein Westfalen, 94 (1961), p. 14 (= <u>Aufsätze</u>, II, p. 251, hereafter referred to as "Ursprünge"). Cf. R. de Vaux, p. 154, n. 4. For bibliography on 11, 11 in the Semitic languages see D. Cohen, ed. Dictionnaire des racines Semitiques (Paris: 1970), p. 107. גוי appears in the Beth Mashku document, a fragment of a document addressed to one of Bar Kochba's commanders, and is translated by O. H. Lehmann and S. M. Stern as "the Romans". "A Legal Certificate from Bar Kochba's Days," VT, 3 (1953), pp. 391-92. S. A. Birnbaum, who renders the term, "heathen", argues that "the language of the document had an Aramaic background. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Aramaic was the mother tongue of the Beth Mashku Jews." "The Beth Mashku Document," PEQ (1955), p. 32. He also notes that the form D'' contains a defective spelling for o and a plene spelling for i, similar to Gen. 25:23 and Ps. 79:10. Cf. Lehmann and Stern, p. 391, who read גוים. Cf. also P. Benoit, et al, Les grottes de Murabba at, DJD, II (Oxford: 1961), text 42, pp. 155-59, who translate "Pafens".

²Cf. <u>DISO</u>, p. 49, for references.

³Cf. Isa. 38:17; 50:6; 51:23; Prov. 10:13; 19:29; 26:3.

⁴Cf. R. Gordis, <u>The Book of Job:</u> Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies (New York: 1978), p. 331.

⁵So also Hulst, THAT, I, p. 293.

<u>ga'um/gawum</u>.¹ The enigmatic nature of the word is reflected in the variety of explanations that have been suggested: 1) "territoire";² 2) "group, gang (of workmen");³ 3) military unit;⁴ 4) tribe.⁵ Because of the paucity of references and the indefinite nature of the contexts, it is difficult to establish whether an ethnic, sociological or territorial sense is intended. The single occurrence of the root in the personal name, <u>Ba-ah-lu-ga-yi-im</u>,⁶ is of little assistance. The most common

ARM 4 1:13,15; 5 87:5; 6 28:7-9; RA 47 122 ii:4 et passim in this text: RA 49 18 r. v:20, et passim.

²G. Dossin, <u>ARM</u> 4 1:15. Cf. M. Birot, "Trois textes economiques de Mari (I)," RA, 47 (1953), p. 127.

³CAD, V, p. 59. So also apparently Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation'," pp. 160-61.

⁴Cf. A. Malamat, "Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel," RAI, 15, ed. by J. R. Kupper (Paris: 1967), pp. 134-35; <u>idem</u>, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," JAOS, 82 (1962), p. 144, n. 3.

⁵So Dossin, <u>ARM</u> 4 1:13 (The inconsistency of interpretation prevails even within this edition of the text. Cf. line 15, where Dossin renders it "territoire".); J. Bottero, <u>Textes economiques et administratifs</u>, <u>ARM</u>, 5 (Paris: 1957), p. 224; J. R. Kupper, <u>Les nomades en Mesopotamie au</u> <u>temps des rois de Mari</u> (Paris: 1957), p. 20, n. 1; D. O. Edzard, "Mari und Aramäer," ZA, 56 (1964), p. 144, "Stammesteil"; P. Fronzaroli, <u>loc</u>. cit., pp. 47-49; <u>AHw</u>, p. 284, "Volk"; J. T. Luke, "Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965), p. 145; de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 239, "<u>gayum/gawum</u> seem to have been the name given to a group of families with the same ethnic origin, but is used also . . . with a geographic meaning."

⁶<u>ARM</u> 5 87:5. On p. 141 G. Dossin comments, "Noter le nom propre amorrheen: Bahlu-gayim 'Le seigneur du pays'." Pour l'element <u>gayum</u> qui dorrespond exactment a l'hebreu 'peuple, pays'." Cf. Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, pp. 123, 174, 180. interpretation of the term as a gentilic unit seems to suit all contexts most satisfactorily. Noth argues that $g\bar{a}wum/g\bar{a}'um}$ is a technical term for half-nomadic groups, lacking a counterpart in the language of sedentary, urban populations.¹ According to Malamat this gentilic usage was its original significance, similar to that of 1λ in the Old Testament. By the time the Mari texts were being written, however, it was being used in the contexts of administrative and territorial organization. He is not surprised that $g\bar{a}wum$ could also be used in a military sense, since "military units in patriarchal society were originally based on gentilic principles."²

Even if "tribe, Volk" may be tentatively accepted as an appropriate translation for $\underline{ga'um}/\underline{ga'wum}$, the pattern of the occurrences of this root is puzzling. It is attested first at Mari on the upper Euphrates before 1800 B.C., only to disappear shortly thereafter. Why it should surface centuries later in an entirely different geographic context we may only speculate. In any case, by the turn of the millennium, the expression was firmly entrenched in the Hebrew vocabulary.³ It is tempting to

²<u>RAI</u>, 15, pp. 134-35; <u>JAOS</u>, 82, p. 144, n. 3. See also more recently, <u>idem</u>, <u>"Ummatum</u> in Old Babylonian Texts and its Ugaritic and Biblical Counterparts," <u>UF</u>, 11 (1979), p. 528.

³712 occurs in two poetic texts which we date in the eleventh century or earlier, Deut. 32:8,28,43 and Josh. 10:13. For a defence of this early date for the former, see W. F. Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII, <u>VT</u>, 9 (1959), pp. 339-46; O. Eissfeldt, <u>Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32 1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78</u> samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes, Berichte über die

¹"Das die Bedeutung nicht leicht exakt zu bestimmen ist, liegt daran, dass es sich offenbar um eine Art terminus technicus handelt für eine Sache, die in der Kulturlandesphäre kein genau entsprechendes Gegenstück hatte und daher auch nicht mit einem Begriff der Kulturlandsprache zutreffend wiedergegeben werden konnte, weil mit diesem Wort irgendeine Gemeinschaftsform gemeint war, die die Mari-Leute aus ihrer eigenen Vergangenheit vor dem Sesshaftwerden ererbt hatten." "Ursprünge," p. 14.

hypothesize that the resurrection of this archaic West Semitic expression reflected the growing national self-consciousness of the Israelites.

Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschat zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, 104:5 (Berlin: 1958). This date is not accepted by all. E.g., G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32," <u>Essays in Honor of J. Muilenburg</u>, ed. by B. W. Andersen & W. Harrelson (London: 1962), pp. 26-67. The latter derives from the Book of Jasher, which appears to have been composed in the early part of David's reign. Cf. 2 Sam. 1:18. So also J. Gray, <u>Joshua, Judges and Ruth</u>, p. 111.

Conclusions

On the basis of our investigation of the use of λ in the Old Testament, and its cognate <u>ga'um/gawum</u> in the cuneiform texts of Mari, it is possible to formulate some conclusions concerning the significance of this term.

1) גוי appears to have been a West Semitic term whose usage was relatively restricted.

 In the early second millennium *<u>gawum</u> was used at Mari as a gentilic designation, meaning, "tribe, Volk".

3) 3) και a common Hebrew designation for "nation" from the earliest period of the nation's existence.

4) (ا) was a relatively inflexible term, grammatically, not given to much variation in its forms.

5) גוי was a rather cold, formal, objective term. Only in exceptional cases was it employed in expressions of relationship.

6) In contrast to the ethnic connotations of Dy, גוי, עם appears to have possessed distinct political overtones.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMS AND USE OF לאם

in the Old Testament לאם

Frequency and Distribution

Apart from by and 11, designations for "nation" in the Old Testament are relatively rare. In contrast to the hundreds of texts in which these are employed, the thirty-five occurrences of לאם seem inconsequential. Several general features of the usage of this expression are noteworthy. 1) is restricted to poetic texts. Even within these, however, the distribution is uneven. The Psalms (14x) and Isaiah (10x)¹ account for more than two-thirds of its appearances. Elsewhere לאם is distributed among Genesis (4x), Proverbs (4x), Jeremiah (1x) and Habakkuk (1x). 2) The plural form is overwhelmingly preferred. Indeed the singular occurs only in Gen. 25:23 (bis), Isa. 51:4, Prov. 11:26 and 14:28. 3) Suffixes are rarely attached to this term. The only exception is found in Isa. 51:4, where the suffix is necessitated by the parallelism with אים (4) never occurs as an element in a personal name. 5) Neither the plural nor the singular form ever appears as the nomen regens in a construct relation.

¹Seven of these occur in 40-66.

Application

In the main DN⁵ is used to refer to the nations in general, rather than to identify specific ones. Although Prov. 14:34 employs the term almost as an abstraction,¹ the D⁵X⁵ are those who devise vain things (Ps. 2:1), are in a tumult (Ps. 65:8; Isa. 17:12,13), are judged and punished by Yahweh (Ps. 7:8; 9:9; 47:4; 149:7), are guided by him (Ps. 67:5), are called upon to praise him (Ps. 67:5; 148:11), are the audience before whom the psalmist will praise Yahweh (Ps. 57:10; 108:4), in contrast to Israel will be covered with darkness (Isa. 60:2), laugh at the psalmists trouble (Ps. 44:15), abhor those who declare the wicked to be righteous (Prov. 24:24), will serve Jacob (Gen. 27:29), will be given in exchange for Israel (Isa. 43:4), will be subject to David (Isa. 55:4 <u>bis</u>), and are the subjects of Babylon who labour in vain (Jer. 51:58). In none of these texts are the **D'NX'** precisely identified.

In several instances, however, the term is used more specifically. In Gen. 25:23 the descendants of Rebekah are designated as two לאמים. It is clear that the reference is to Israel and Edom. Yahweh addresses Israel as his לאם in Isa. 51:4. The term also serves as a designation for the Canaanite nations in two texts, Ps. 44:3 and 105:44.

In two instances in which the singular form of לאם appears, the meaning differs significantly from these "national" occurrences. In Prov. 11:26 and 14:28, the word bears the sense, "population", similar to a common usage of by.

> צדקה תרומם גוי "Righteousness exalts a nation, But sin is a disgrace of peoples."

1

in Poetic Parallelism לאם

It has already been noted that DN⁺ occurs exclusively in poetic texts. The consistency of usage within this genre is remarkable. In the first place, of the thirty-five occurrences of the term, in only eight is there no direct parallel correlative. But even this observation requires modification. The use of D⁺N⁺ in Isa. 17:13 is directly related to verse 12, where it appears with D⁺N⁺ as a parallel. The same applies to Gen. 25:23b and c where the singular forms follow parallel references to the D⁺DN⁺ and D⁺N⁺. In Ps. 7:8 D⁺NA⁺ should be interpreted synonymously with D⁺DN⁺ of verse 9, even if the two are not formally parallel.¹ Although the two occurrences of D⁺DN⁺ in Isa. 55:4 are formally independent of any parallel terms, the following verse twice refers to *N⁺. The isolated expression appears in Ps. 65:8, but the motif is similar to Isa. 17:12-13, a text already alluded to. This leaves Prov. 11:26 as the only remaining isolated occurrence of the term. This consistency of usage is also reflected by the uniform appearance of D⁺N⁺ as the B-word in the parallel pair.

In most instances אלא is juxtaposed with שע or אוי . These have already been discussed.² In the remaining texts, no correlative is found which has not been conjoined with these two terms elsewhere. In Isa. 41:1 and 49:1 the איים //לאמים are called to attention to hear the words of Yahweh. The paralleling of this term with שיים Isa. 43:4 is reminiscent

²Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 59f. and 108f.

¹G. R. Driver maintained that this is one of at least two texts (cf. Ps. 148:11) in which the term bears the sense of its Akkadian cognate <u>limmu</u>, "ruler". <u>Canaanite Myths and Legends</u> (Edinburgh: 1956), p. 158, n. 12 (hereafter cited as <u>CML</u>) but cf. Barr's refutation, <u>Comparative</u> <u>Philology</u>, p. 254. This explanation of the term is also rejected by J. C. L. Gibson, <u>Canaanite Myths and Legends</u>, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: 1977), p. 149 (hereafter cited as <u>CML</u>²).

of Ps. 22:7 where Dy is used similarly, and 94:10 which uses '1' instead.¹ Although the immediately parallel expression in Isa. 60:2 is YT, the usage of the should be associated with verse 3 in which the '1' and o'the are employed. Ps. 9:9 juxtaposes the word with in announcing both as objects of divine judgment. 148:11 is unique. Not only is immediately paralleled with YT, add ', add ',

¹The same parallel, with a reversal of the elements, occurs in UT V AB ii:7-8.

²Cf. also Ps. 2:1-2, where לאמים is also associated with מלכי, although not in parallel construction.

³The verse is regarded by some as a later gloss. Cf. Briggs, <u>Psalms</u>, II, p. 540. Driver, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., cites this as a second instance in which bkb should be translated "ruler". But cf. Barr, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 255.

in the Cognate Languages לאם

The pattern of usage of **b**⁵ outside Hebrew displays some interesting features. The form appears in a seventh century B.C. Aramaic ostracon from Ashur.¹ Here the word is generally treated as an Akkadian loanword from <u>limu</u>, used of an official magistrate from whom the year was given its name.² But this expression is to be distinguished from its homonym, bearing the basic sense, "one thousand", but being also used of the commander of a military unit of one thousand men.³ Although the sense, "family, clan", is absent from any continuous context, it seems to be required in several lexical texts. In the first, <u>li-'-mu</u> appears alongside <u>maš-šu-u</u>, <u>ta-li-mu</u> and <u>im-nu</u> as a synonym of <u>abu</u>.⁴ Elsewhere it occurs as a synonym for <u>sabu</u>, "army", ⁵ and <u>ki-im-tu</u>, "family, kin".⁶

KAI 236 Rs. 1: E. Lipinski, <u>Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions</u> and <u>Onomastica</u>, <u>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</u>, 1 (Leuven: 1975), pp. 94ff. (hereafter cited as SAIO).

For this meaning <u>limu</u> see "<u>limu</u> A," <u>CAD</u>, 9, pp. 194-96; "<u>limu(m)</u> I, <u>limmu</u>," <u>AHw</u>, p. 554.

³Cf. <u>limu</u> B," <u>CAD</u>, 9, pp. 197-98; <u>AHw</u>, pp. 553-54. The presence of these homonyms may account for the LXX translation of **DK** as $\delta \rho \chi o v \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ in Gen. 27:29; Isa. 34:1; 41:1; 43:4,9, and as $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ in Is. 51:4. But even Driver, who applies this meaning to other Old Testament passages acknowledges that in each instance cited LXX has gone astray. "L'interpretation du texte masoretique a la lumiere de la lexicographie hebraīque," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis, 26 (1950), p. 346.

⁴LTBA 2 lvi 53-56. Cf. Malku I, 136-38, where <u>li-'-mu</u> is omitted in a duplicate of this list. A. D. Kilmer, "The First Tablet of <u>Malku</u> = Sarru together with its Explicit Version," <u>JAOS</u>, 83 (1963), p. 427.

^DExplicit Malku I, 88-91 contains the following series: pa-la-u, li-i-mu, ni-i-rum, [um-ma] - [nu]. Kilmer, p. 435.

^bSo <u>AHw</u>, p. 479. Explicit Malku I 316-18 records the following series: <u>ki-i-mu</u>, <u>ki-ma-tu</u>, <u>li-i-mu</u>. Kilmer, p. 439. The form <u>li-i-'</u> also appears in a group with <u>ummanu</u> and <u>niru</u> (Erimhus VI 1), but doubts about its applicability in this context have been expressed. <u>CAD</u>, 9, p. 198. It appears that a numerical designation was extended in meaning to refer to the ruling officer over the thousand, and in a derived sense became an expression for the extended family, the clan.¹

The root the hand has also surfaced in several texts from Ugarit. On the one hand, the term serves as one element in an epithet for ^CAnat.² Several possibilities concerning its significance in this context have been suggested. Some relate the expression to Akkadian <u>limu</u>, "ruler".³ De Moor, on the other hand, has recognized in <u>limm</u> a derivation from the name of the Amorite deity, Lim, the word here having reference to the race

Compare this semantic development with the shift in the meaning of אלף in Hebrew. This term also originally signified the numeral, 1000, but later came to represent a unit of one thousand men under the leadership of one officer (Exod. 18:21,25; Num. 31:14; etc.). Eventually its meaning was generalized even more so that it could be used synonymously with שנח and השנח (Judg. 6:15; 1 Sam. 10:19,21). Compare also Isa. 60:22; where אלף occurs parallel to אלף compare also the note by W. F. Albright, "Dedan," in <u>Geschichte und Gegenwart</u>, A. Alt Festschrift, Beiträge zur historische Theologie, 16 (Tübingen: 1953), p. 10, n. 3. If this reconstruction of the semantic development is correct, the process is the reverse of that which obtained for by, אמה and אמה. Cf. Malamat, on these terms, UF, 11 (1979), p. 528.

ybmt limm. In most instances this epithet occurs parallel to <u>btlt</u> ^Cnt, but always as the B-element. So 51 II: 14-16; 76 I:15-16; 76 III:3-4; 2 Aght VI:19; ^Cnt II:32-33; III:8-9; IV:65-66. Cf. also 2 Aght VI:19. In <u>nt III:9 ybmt</u> is replaced by <u>ymmt</u>, probably due to the assimilation of the labial b to the following labial <u>m</u>. So J. Gray, <u>The Legacy of Canaan: The Ras Shamra Texts and their Relevance to the</u> <u>Old Testament, VTS</u>, 5 Leiden: 1957), p. 197, n. 4 (hereafter cited as <u>LC</u>); contra Gordon, <u>UT</u>, #1065, p. 408, who suggests a possible connection with <u>any</u>, the eldest of Job's daughters.

³So Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 158, n. 12. J. Gray, <u>LC</u>, p. 197 interprets the word as "the Prince," i.e., Baal. Cf. Gordon, who reads "heroes", <u>UT</u>, #1065, p. 408. Driver's interpretation, however, is unlikely, seeing <u>limu</u>, "ruler", was unique to Mesopotamia. Furthermore, this <u>limu</u>, referred not to any "ruler" in general, but to a specific kind of ruler, the eponym of the year. So Barr, <u>Comparative Philology</u>, p. 255. On p. 133 Barr also notes that whereas the Akkadian term was based on the <u>gitil</u>, <u>gitl</u> model, the Hebrew reflects a <u>gutul</u>, <u>gutl</u> pattern.

of Lim.¹ Ginsburg understood the epithet as a proper noun, Yabamat La'immim.² A fourth view interprets the word as "peoples".³ This seems to us the most satisfactory suggestion.

Regardless of the final answer to the enigmatic appellation of Anath, in several texts the translation of <u>limm</u> as "peoples" is undoubtedly correct. In $\frac{c_{nt}}{nt}$ II:6-8 \underline{lim} is placed parallel to \underline{adm} .⁴ The parallel expression in 62 I:6-8 and 67 VI:23-25 is <u>hmlt</u>.⁵ One additional mutilated text, 76, is worthy of note here, because <u>lim</u> occurs twice parallel to <u>ars</u>,⁶ confirming the correctness of the interpretation, "peoples".

¹J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra," <u>UF</u>, 1 (1969), p. 183.

²H. L. Ginsburg, "The North Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat," BASOR, 97 (1947), pp. 8-9.

³Cf. C. Virolleaud, <u>La legende Phenicienne de Danel</u>, MRS I (Paris: 1936), p. 236, "peuple". More recently, A. Caquot, <u>et al</u>, eds., <u>Textes Ougaritiques</u>, Tome I: <u>Mythes et legendes</u> (Paris: 1974), p. 92.

4thtsb bn grytm"She fought between the two cities;tmhs lim hp y[m] (?)She smote the peoples of the west;tsmt adm sat spsShe destroyed the population of the east (sunrise)."

Cf. Krt 37, 151, where 'Il is called ab adm, "father of mankind". But Gray still insists that <u>lim</u> in this text means "princes". <u>LC</u>, p. 33.

b^Cl mt ⁵ "Baal is dead!

<u>my lim bn dgn</u> What will become of the people of the son of Dagon? <u>my hmlt åtr b^C1</u> What will become of the multitudes who follow Baal?" Cf. Ezek. 1:24, המלה כקול מחנה.

⁶Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 116, following Gaster, reconstructs 76 I:7-9 as follows: [<u>ė́l hd y]gs llėmm</u> "El Hadad will come among the peoples; [<u>wb^Cl] ytb lårs</u> And Baal will return to the earth." Cf. Isa. 60:2, where לאמים and ארץ are paralleled. If Driver's recon-

struction of 76 I:14-17 is correct, the two meanings of <u>limm</u> would be brought together in a single text: Since to date no Ugaritic texts have been unearthed employing <u>limm</u> with the sense "one thousand", its primary Akkadian meaning, it may be tentatively concluded that among western Semites the expression was used primarily in its broader derived sense.

[wt ^C n btlt] Cnt	"The Virgin Anath answered,
[tsh ybmt] lemm	The sister-in-law of rulers cried,
[<u>el hd ygs</u>] <u>llemm</u>	El Hadad will come among the peoples,
[wb ^C 1 yt]b [.] <u>lars</u>	And Baal will return to the earth."

Conclusions

Although the study of the usage of **לאס** is hampered by the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence, both biblical and extra-biblical, the results of our findings may be synthesized.

That DN⁵ was not part of the every day vocabulary of the Hebrews is suggested by several considerations. 1) The word occurs only thirtyfive times in the entire Old Testament.¹ 2) Within the Old Testament, its distribution is quite restricted, the Psalms and Isaiah accounting for twothirds of its occurrences. 3) The word appears only in poetic texts. 4) It rarely appears in isolation from a correlative.² 5) Where it is paralleled with another term, DN⁵ is consistently the B-element. 6) The ways in which the expression is used betray few signs of the vitality and creativity, characteristic of ordinary speech. The words with which it is associated are restricted to by and ¹¹, along with several additional terms which appear elsewhere juxtaposed with these two. No new associations are introduced. Furthermore, morphologically, DN⁵ seems almost to have fossilized into a standardized plural form. Singular forms are restricted to Proverbs, ³ Gen. 25:23,⁴ and Isa. 51:4. Only the last

¹In Rabbinic Hebrew the word disappears entirely. Cf. M. Jastrow, <u>A Dictionary of the Targumim the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the</u> <u>Midrashic Literature</u>, 2 vols. (New York: 1950), p. 686.

²Its isolated presence in Prov. 11:26 may be attributed to the cosmopolitan outlook of much of the wisdom literature, as well as the profound influence which the broader international wisdom movement had upon Israel.

⁵Prov. 11:26 and 14:28. These texts are anomalous in their usage of the terms as well. Cf. supra, p. 129.

⁴This text is often regarded as archaic (e.g., Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 158). In <u>Genesis</u>, p. 194, the same author, however, suggests but was preferred to by because the latter would have been redundant if it had been applied to the twins.

named, with its pronominal suffix, reflects any formal vitality.¹ This archaic interpretation is supported by the extra-biblical data. The expression occurs in the poetic texts from the mid-second millennium B.C.,² but is absent from all other Northwest Semitic dialects. It is remembered in Akkadian lexical lists, but only as a shadowy concept. It is never employed in the sense of "family, clan", in a continuous context.

In many respects the usage of לאס is reminiscent of יוא. Both appear to have been rather cold, formal terms. The association of לאס with מלכים in Ps. 2:1 and 148:11 confirms this similarity. In other respects, however, אס is used more like by. This is especially true of Prov. 11:26 and 14:28 where the singular forms require the interpretation, "population". This is also suggested by the paralleling of with לאס which is also paired elsewhere with by, but never with יוא.

Because of the consistent usage of two with correlatives, it is difficult to determine the precise significance of the root. Perhaps it represents an approximate mid-point on a continuum between by and '12. In any case Ps. 67, refusing to show partiality, brings all three together in a single context.

¹A correlative capable of bearing a suffix is required here.

²For a thorough recent discussion of these texts, including their date, see A.Caquot, "La litterature ugaritique," <u>DBS</u>, fascicle 53, pp. 1361ff.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORMS AND USE OF אמה

in the Old Testament אמה

The final term to be considered in this investigation, אמה , occurs only two or three times in the Old Testament. The confusion arises from the variation in the forms used. Although the plural appears in each instance, Gen. 25:16 and Num. 25:15 adopt the feminine ending, אמות , whereas Ps. 117:1 uses the masculine, אמימ.

Nor is the significance of the terms consistent in these texts.¹ The contexts in which the feminine forms occur clearly suggest a more restricted scope than the masculine counterpart. In Gen. 25:16 the sons of Ishmael are listed as eponymous ancestors of the "encampments" (סירת),² the "duars" (סירת),³ and the "clans" (אמת), which constitute the Ishmaelite peoples. The leaders of these units are identified as , a term commonly used of the tribal leaders in Israel, but rarely

LXX interprets אמה differently in each text: Gen. 25:16, έθνη; Num. 25:15, έθνοις Ομμωθ ; Ps. 117:1, λαοί.

²So translated by de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 239. Cf. A. Malamat, <u>UF</u>, 11 (1979), p. 533, who translates "hamlets", explaining this to be "a specialized word . . . for the open settlements typical of semi-nomadic tribes."

So de Vaux, loc. cit. Malamat, loc. cit., n. 35, understands the σ'רה as an apparently fortified type of nomadic settlement. of the king.¹ It seems that in this instance אמה represents, not a designation for a nation, but a sub-group of the same. This is confirmed by references to Ishmaelite political structures elsewhere. According to Gen. 17:20, Ishmael shall become the father of twelve מלכים and a (singular). This contrasts with the descendants of Sarah among whom will be included מלכים and מלכים

According to Num. 25:15, Zur, the father of Cozbi was the אמות אמות אמות אמות. As the consonantal text stands it may be interpreted two ways. Either the אמות are to be seen as sub-divisions of the cre response response response as a clarifying comment on a rare word.³ In either case, the sociological unit in question is something less than a nation.

Since both of these texts have been eliminated from our discussion of designations for "nation" only the masculine form of Ps. 117:1 remains. The use of λ as the B-element in a parallel pair with λ demonstrates that a national sense is required here. But doubts concerning the authenticity of MT have been frequently expressed. Kraus, following <u>BHK</u>, recommends that a ward to λ and the lamed having been lost in

שיא) = tribal chief or representative in Num. 1:16,44, + 58x. The term is used of a king only in 1 Kings 11:34 (Solomon) and Ezekiel, where it is applied to both Zedekiah (7:27; 12:10,12; 21:30; 19:1[?]) and the future Davidic king (34:24; 37:25; etc.). For further discussion see Malamat, ibid., p. 534.

²Cf. v. 19.

³כית אב is commonly treated as a secondary gloss. So G. B. Gray, <u>Numbers</u>, p. 387; de Vaux, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.; <u>BHS</u>; Malamat, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 533f. Malamat concludes that the Midianites were divided into five אמות Cf. Num. 31:5; Josh. 13:21, as well as the genealogy in Gen. 25:4, where Midian is assigned five sons.

Elsewhere in the Old Testament, אמה appears only in the Aramaic portions of Daniel⁷ and Ezra.⁸ In the former it is frequently associated with אמה אמה . In the absence of אמה גוי appears to have served as a

¹H. J. Kraus, <u>Psalmen</u>, II, p. 798. Dahood's suggestion (<u>Psalms</u> <u>III</u>, p. 152), to repoint the word as <u>'emim</u>, "gods", literally, "frightful ones", is far-fetched.

²Malamat, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 534.

Not only does he need to create a new Hebrew root, but this usage of אסא is unattested in any other Semitic language. Cf. <u>DRS</u>, p. 22. Contrast this with the widespread use of אמס for "people, nation". <u>Ibid</u>., p. 23.

> ⁴Loc. cit. ⁵Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 136. ⁶Loc. <u>cit</u>., pp. 534f. ⁷3:4,7,29 (singular), 31; 5:19; 6:26; 7:14. ⁸4:10.

third designation for the various nationalities of which the Babylonian empires consisted.¹ If this interpretation is correct, it is consistent with the traditional interpretation of Ps. 117:1. This "national" significance of the term in Aramaic may indeed explain why the form in our text differs from the prose citations in Genesis and Numbers. The appropriateness of the term in the present context depended upon this deviation from the normal pattern. Had the usual Hebrew spelling, Nink, been retained, the connotations would have been too limited for the psalmist's requirements. The difficulty was resolved by forming the plural after the Aramaic model because in that dialect the expression bore an unequivocal "national", rather than mere "tribal" significance.²

Had the text been written in Hebrew, אוי would certainly have been expected in this position. Cf. the association of לשון, Gen. 10:5, 20,31; Isa. 55:18; Zech. 8:23.

²This Aramaic interpretation is supported also by A. Hurwitz, <u>The</u> <u>Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew</u>, 169f., as cited by Malamat, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit.</u>, p. 534, n. 41 (in Hebrew, Jerusalem: 1972), p. 169f.

in the Cognate Languages אמה

It appears that the root *'mh/'mt bearing the sense, "people, nation", enjoyed fairly widespread usage in the languages cognate to Hebrew.¹ However, among the ancient Northwest Semitic languages, apart from biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, and the languages derived from these, it has been attested only in Ugaritic. The incompleteness of <u>Krt</u> 6, in which <u>umt</u> occurs, is unfortunate. However, the presence of <u>Ahm</u>, "brothers", in the context suggests a kinship significance.² In every other occurrence the expression appears in the phrase $c_1 \underline{umt/k}$.³ Loewenstamm, notes that in each of these instances the reference is to the literal brother of the speaker.⁴

The Akkadian cognate, <u>ummatum</u>, has surfaced in several different contexts, including the Old Babylonian Tell al-Rimah tablets,⁵ and the

For a brief survey see Cohen, ed. DRS, p. 23. A. Jeffrey, <u>The</u> Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an (Baroda: 1938), p. 69, argued that the Arabs borrowed the term, <u>'ummatu</u>, from the Jews, although the possibility that the Arabic may have been borrowed from an earlier common source is not ruled out. He notes the expression, <u>bks</u> <u>h'nt</u>, "at the peoples' cost", in one Safaitic text (Horovitz, KU 52). For a more recent study on its Arabic usage, cf. F. M. Denny, "<u>Ummah</u> in the Constitution of Medina," JNES, 36 (1977), pp. 39-47.

²Cf. Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 28, "family"; Gibson, <u>CML</u>², p. 80, "clan"; H. L. Ginsburg, <u>The Legend of King Keret: A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze</u> <u>Age</u>, <u>BASOR</u>, Supplementary Studies, 2-3 (1946), p. 33, "kinship". J. Aistleitner, Wörterbuch zur Ugaritischen Sprache (Berlin: 1963), p. 25, "Sippe".

³For references see R. E. Whitaker, <u>A Concordance of the Ugaritic</u> <u>Literature</u> Cambridge, Mass.: 1972), p. 72, <u>s.v.</u> <u>umt</u>. The expression has been variously translated: Gordon, <u>UT</u>, p. 360, no. 225, "sibling, kinsman"; Caquot, <u>et al</u>, <u>Textes ougaritiques</u>, p. 456, 'Litteralement, 'de ma famille maternelle'"; Gray, <u>LC</u>, p. 60, n. 1, "<u>'umt</u> suggests the Arabic . . . 'people'".

⁴As cited by Malamat, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 533, and n. 3.

⁵S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker and J. D. Hawkins, <u>The Old Babylonian</u> <u>Tablets from Tell al Rimah</u> (London: 1976), Nos. 244 v:22; 245 (<u>passim</u>); 254:6; 263:3; 323:17. correspondence of Hammurapi,¹ and the Mari texts.² In the first-named, the term seems to denote a unit of workmen or soldiers. However, in No. 245, which appears to be a register of individuals in Karana who have come from other localities, the term seems to refer to the family or clan to which the person just named belonged.³ Hammurapi's letters deal with military affairs, and their editors have understandably interpreted <u>ummatum</u> as a military unit.⁴ But Malamat argues that these documents deal with soldiers connected with specific families or clans.⁵ The most important Mari text is the Foundation Inscription of King Yahdunlim.⁶ Here the expression clearly applies to tribal entities, the Yaminites and the Hanaeans.⁷ In the second Mari document, <u>ummatum</u> seems to designate a unit of workmen;⁸ in the third, a fighting force.⁹ This is not surprising,

A. Ungnad, <u>Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-</u> <u>Dynastie</u>, VAB 6 (Leipzig: 1914), no. 37:27 (rendered "Hauptkorp"); R. Frankena, <u>Briefe aus dem British Museum</u>, AbB 2 (Leiden: 1966), no. 23 (= Ungnad, <u>BB</u>, no. 40):2'-4' (rendered "Heereseinheit"); no. 36:4f. (rendered "Truppeneinheit").

²G. Dossin, "L'inscription de fondation de Iahdun-Lim,roi de Mari," <u>Syria</u>, 32 (1955), pp. 1-28, col. III:3-IV:3 (For recent translations see A. L. Oppenheim, <u>ANET</u>, p. 556; E. Sollberger and J. R. Kupper, <u>Inscriptions royales sumeriennes et akkadiennes</u> [Paris: 1971, pp. 246f.]; J. R. Kupper, <u>ARM</u>, VI, Text 77:15-20; <u>ARM</u>, IV, Text 74:20-30.

> ³Following Malamat, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 529. ⁴Cf. <u>supra</u>, n. 1. ⁵Loc. <u>cit</u>., p. 530. ⁶Cf. <u>supra</u>, n. 2.

⁷Dossin, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 14, translates <u>um-ma-at</u> <u>tur-mi-im</u> (III: 17), "race perfide" and <u>um-ma-at Ha-na</u> (III:28), "race de Haneens". For his commentary see p. 27. Cf. Malamat, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 531f.

⁸ARM VI, 77:15-20.

⁹ARM IV, 74:20-30. Here <u>ummatum</u> is translated by von Soden as "Stammeinheit der Abteilung", "Neue Bände der <u>Archives royales de Mari</u>," Orientalia, n.s., 22 (1953), p. 205. however, since in the early stages armies were organized on gentilic principles.¹

So far our discussion has been concerned exclusively with the usage of <u>ummatum</u>. The etymology of the term may provide some clues concerning its significance as well. At the turn of the century Mantius declared, "Es gehört gewiss zum Stamm $\underline{c_{mm}}$ wovon u. A. $\underline{c_{am}}$ 'das Volk' und gewiss auch der Name des Ammoritervolkes, $\underline{c_{ammon}}$ (identisch mit <u>ummanu</u>)."² In recent thought, scholars have preferred to explain the term as a derivative of *'mm, "mother".³ If this interpretation is correct, the use of the root in a gentilic sense would imply descent of the group from a common mother.⁴

The same observation has already been made with regard to the usage of Dy (cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 28ff) and *λ* (cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 125). See further Malamat, loc. cit., p. 528; <u>idem</u>, <u>RAI</u>, 15 (1966), p. 135.

²W. Mantius, "Das stehende Heer der Assyrerkönige und seine Organization," ZA, 24 (1910), p. 106, n. 1.

³Cf. Malamat, loc. cit., p. 527, "No doubt <u>'ummah</u> derives from Semitic <u>'m</u> 'mother'." He goes on to speak of a "mother unit". Cf. also Cohen, <u>DRS</u>, p. 22f., according to which both the Hebrew and the extrabiblical forms are discussed under "<u>'MM</u>"; Caquot, et al, loc. cit., p. 456, <u>'umt</u> = literally, "famille maternelle". But this interpretation is not new. Note A. A. Bevan, <u>A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel</u> (Cambridge: 1892), p. 80, "This word is common to Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, and of course originally means 'the offspring of one mother'."

⁴According to J. Montgomery, <u>Daniel</u>, p. 202, this accounts for Theodotian's translation of אמיא in Dan. 3:4 as φυλαι, "the motherstocks". The Greek expression is explained by Liddell-Scott as "<u>a race</u>, tribe. . . <u>a body of men united 1. by supposed ties of blood and</u> <u>descent</u>, <u>clan</u>. . . "P. 1961 (italics theirs).

Conclusions

Unfortunately, the data on the usage of *ADX among the Northwest Semites is scanty. According to Hebrew usage, the root seems to have had primary reference to a tribal group. Where it refers to nations as such the form is altered to the masculine gender, in harmony with the Aramaic usage. In the extra-biblical sources, the root appears from the early second millennium B.C. onward, being attested in Old Babylonian, Mari and Ugaritic texts. In these the term seems to reflect an original gentilic sense, although it is frequently used of military units and groups of workmen as well. The association of this expression with *DX, "mother" suggests a matriarchal basis of unity.

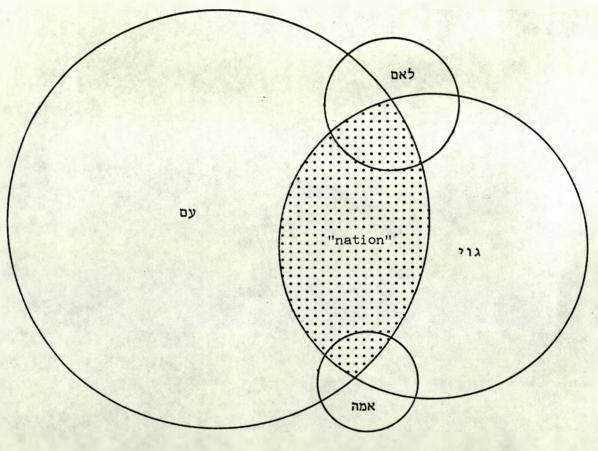
<mark>* * * * * * * * * * * * * *</mark>

Before leaving this aspect of the discussion a few general synthesizing comments are in order. The breadth of the Northwest Semitic vocabulary, especially that of the Hebrews, is reflected in the variety of expressions available to designate "nation, people". The interrelationships and usages of the four main terms may be portrayed as in diagram 1. Although the semantic ranges of all four overlap somewhat in this very area, each brings with it distinctive nuances. Of the four, DX seems to have been the most colourless term, its significance being for the most part determined by correlatives, usually another designation for "nation". The remaining three appear all to have derived from tribal contexts. In Dy and ANX the ethnic connection of the members of the group seems still to have been faintly remembered. Where the former is used for "nation" the basis of kinship implied lay in descent from a common ancestor on the

father's side; in the case of the latter, on the mother's. The Akkadian usage of <u>gawum/gayum</u>, as well as the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 and the terms of the patriarchal promise, suggest that even in 11, this ethnic association has not been entirely lost. However, this nuance is not prominent. Most often a group identified as a 11 is acknowledged as a distinct political entity, rather than a kinship group.¹ But these are general observations. The ease with which they could be synonymously paralleled and interchanged indicates the common semantic range.

DIAGRAM 1

THE SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE NORTHWEST SEMITIC DESIGNATIONS FOR "NATION"



For a full discussion of this nuance of 1, see infra, pp. 493ff.

PART TWO

THE FOUNDATIONAL FACTORS IN THE NORTHWEST SEMITIC PERCEPTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary explanations of the factors which contribute to the development of national self-consciousness, the terms "people" and "nation" are often distinguished. Thus Speiser writes:

<u>People</u> tends to emphasize common cultural and social characteristics, while <u>nation</u> is mainly a political designation associated as a rule with state and government.¹

Gelb is even more explicit:

The definition of "nation" is relatively easy: "nation" is a political term denoting a body of persons linked together by a state or by a common will to state. Definition of the ethnic term "people" is more difficult, as the traits characterizing a people are more numerous and more complex. The main traits of a people are community of tradition, customs, religion, culture, language, and geographic position. Not all of these traits are of equal strength, and indeed some of them may even be absent.²

In the light of our investigation into the usage of by and λ it is tempting to equate the former with "people" and the latter with "nation". The danger inherent in drawing such fine distinctions between the two, however, lies in the illusion it creates: the development of a nation may occur independently of the factors involved in the growth of self-consciousness

1"'People' and 'Nation'," p. 157.

²I. J. Gelb, <u>Hurrians and Subarians</u>, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 22 (Chicago: 1944), p. v. This definition is repeated in "The Function of Language in the Cultural Process of Expansion of Mesopotamian Society," in <u>City Invincible</u>; A Symposium on Urbanization and <u>Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East</u>, ed. by C. H. Kraeling and R. M. Adams (Chicago: 1960), pp. 315-16, and again in "Sumerians and Akkadians in their Ethno-linguistic Relationship," in <u>Genava</u> (Geneva: 1960), p. 259. Cf. the approval of D. J. Wiseman, editor of <u>Peoples of</u> Old Testament Times (Oxford: 1973), p. xv.

among a people. It is clear that, although both by and it bring with them distinctive nuances, their semantic ranges overlap considerably. Consequently, a more holistic contemporary definition of "nation", such as that provided by the <u>Oxford English Dictionary</u> may be more suitable. Here a nation is viewed as,

An extensive aggregate of persons so closely associated with each other by common descent, language, or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory.¹

According to this definition, the development of a nation was affected by five factors: ethnic, linguistic, historical, political, and territorial. Assuming that the historical may be subsumed within the ethnic and political factors, all of these have been hinted at in the previous studies as constituting elements in ancient Levantine perceptions as well. One significant dimension, the religious, however, is lacking.

Gelb has correctly noted that these traits need not all have been of equal strength in the growth of a people. Indeed some might even have been absent. The present task is to determine the role each was perceived by the peoples of the ancient Near East to play in the development of national identity. It should be emphasized that our objective is the recovery of ancient perceptions, not historical reality. We are not primarily concerned with determining how ancient nations came into being, but how their existence was understood. The validity of these perceptions requires a separate investigation.

¹Oxford English Dictionary (1971), <u>s.v.</u> "nation." K. A. Kamp and N. Yoffee, "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Prospectives," <u>BASOR</u>, 237 (1980), p. 98, appear to use "ethnic group" where many would prefer "nation". "Amorites also perceived themselves as having a common origin,were labeled 'Amorites' in texts, shared a belief system, had a distinct language, and respected the same leaders. In short we may consider them an ethnic group."

CHAPTER V

THE ETHNIC FACTOR

Introduction

The ethnic unity of a group of people depends upon the genealogical kinship of its members.¹ If they all share descent from a common ancestor this condition will have been met. In discussions of the factors that underlie the development of peoples and nations as distinct, identifiable entities in the ancient Near East, the kinship dimension is often assigned only a minimal role. Indeed, it is common to remove it entirely from the definition of "nation", restricting its influence to the concept of "people".² The question arises, however, whether the distinctions made by Gelb and others are not merely modern impositions on ancient Oriental concepts. Buccellati, for one, is not ready to remove the ethnic factor from the development of statehood absolutely. To the contrary, he finds the consciousness of descent from a common ancestor to be the distinguishing feature between two categories of states, which he labels, "national states", and "territorial states". He describes the two as follows:

A territorial state is one where the people identify themselves as dwellers of a given territory. A national state, on the other hand, is one where the people are aware of their identity as a group on the basis of other factors than simply contiguity within the same territory. What are these factors? First of all, the conception of <u>kin</u>

¹Cf. the discussion of the definition by Kamp and Yoffee, pp. 88f. ²Cf. the definitions given above, p. 148. <u>relationship</u> (italics his) among the members of the group: the people conceive of themselves as descendants from a common ancestor, and they trace their history back to him.¹

This position requires closer scrutiny. To what extent did the peoples of the ancient Levant acknowledge descent from a common ancestor as a significant factor in the growth of their national self-consciousness? Our observations on the designations for "nation" used by the western Semites hinted at this possibility. by and how both represent original kinship terms. Even **11** appears to have had a gentilic origin. What additional indications are there that kinship among the members of a state continued to be recognized into the first millennium B.C.?

This question could be answered by examining the traditions of national origins which have been handed down. Unfortunately, such accounts have been preserved only by the Hebrews. Consequently, it is impossible to determine how representative they are of that period. Furthermore, although the degree of historical reliability attributed to these traditions varies greatly,² agreement is fairly general that the Hebrews traced their

²The problem is illustrated by the position of M. Noth (<u>The</u> <u>History of Israel</u>, 2nd ed. [New York: 1960], pp. 4-6) on the basis of Israelite unity. He argues that the tribes were bound together by a common language, a restricted geographical region, and a common historical experience. The reputed <u>heroes eponymi</u>, along with the common ancestor are

. . . simply the personification of the historical situation after the occupation of the land. Concerning the historical evolution of

¹He adds that territorial states derive their names from the territory which they occupy, whereas national states bear a special name as a people. Furthermore, with respect to government, the only attested form of the former is the dynastic monarchy, while in the latter, the monarchy is only a later development, having been preceded by the tribal league. G. Buccellati, <u>Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria: An Essay on</u> <u>Political Institutions, with Special Reference to the Israelite Kingdoms</u>, Studi Semitici, 26 (Rome: 1967), pp. 13-14 (hereafter referred to as <u>Cities and Nations</u>).

origins to common ancestors. To re-examine these accounts would contribute little to what is already known. The problem will, therefore be addressed from an entirely different angle. The major part of the inquiry will consist of an examination of the methods by which nations and/or their citizens were identified. If the members of a nation were considered to be consanguineously related, it could be expected that this would be reflected in the forms by which they were identified in the texts. We shall examine these appellations, the expressions, <u>bny-GN</u>, <u>byt-GN</u>, and <u>zr^c-GN</code>,¹ as well as simple eponymous national names.</u>

'Israel' we have no sort of information, only traditions about events in prehistorical times, the contents of which . . . presuppose the subsequent 'Israel' of history.

This is essentially the position taken by two recent studies on the patriarchs, J. van Seters, <u>Abraham in History and Tradition</u> (New Haven: 1975), and T. L. Thompson, <u>The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives</u>: <u>The Quest for the Historical Abraham</u>, BZAW, 133 (Berlin and New York: 1974). For a critical response see K. A. Kitchen, <u>The Bible in its World</u>: <u>Archaeology and the Bible Today</u> (Exeter: 1977), pp. 58ff. Since we are concerned not with historical reality, but ancient perceptions of reality, about which agreement is more general, we need not enter into the debate about the validity of the patriarchal traditions as historical evidence at this point.

¹Because of the incongruity of Hebrew mirror and English scripts, in these formulaic type expressions we will transliterate the prefixed element.

Bny-GN

Because the expression $\underline{bn}(\underline{y})-GN^1$ "son(s) of GN" was employed so commonly throughout the ancient Near East to identify persons, the phrase represents a suitable point of departure for our study. We commence with examination of its application to Israel.

Bny Israel

The data

Frequency and distribution

According to table 10, the expression<u>bny</u> Israel occurs 638 times in the Old Testament.² This represents one-fourth of all of the appearances of the name Israel.³ Although the phrase appears in all of the major segments of the Old Testament, its uneven distribution is striking.⁴ The Exodus traditions account for well over 50% of the total.⁵ If the totals for Joshua, Judges and 1 Samuel 1-7 are added, the pre-monarchic occurrences are seen to outnumber the monarchic and post-monarchic 513 to 125. When the historical narratives are separated from the prophetic and poetic texts, the results are equally remarkable. Bny Israel appears 82 times

³Israel appears 2500 times.

⁴<u>Bny</u> Israel is lacking in Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Proverbs, Job, Qoheleth, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Esther.

⁵Contrast this with the fewer than 20% of all of the references to Israel accounted for in these books.

¹The abbreviation GN is used to designate 1) original geographic names, and 2) geographic names derived from the population inhabiting a region.

²This phrase accounts for almost 50% of all occurrences of the plural construct form of 12 (638/1127).

TABLE 10

Book	Form		Genre of bny Israel	
	Israel	bny Israel	Narrative	Poetry
Genesis	43	7	7	
Exodus	170	124	124	
Leviticus	70*	54	54	
Numbers	238	171	171	
Deuteronomy	72	21	20	1
Subtotals	593	377(64%)	376	1
Joshua	160	69	69	
Judges	184	61	61	• • •
1 Samuel	151	12	12	
2 Samuel	117	5	5	
1 Kings	203	21	21	
2 Kings	164	11	11	• • •
Subtotals	979	179(18%)	179	
Isaiah	92	5	3	2
Jeremiah	125	9	1	8
Ezekiel	185	11	11	
Hosea	44	6	5	1
Joel	3	1		1
Amos	30	5	1	4
Obadiah	1	1		1
Micah	12	1	• • •	1
Subtotals	492	39(9%)**	21	18
Psalms	62	2	• • •	2
Daniel	4	1	1	
Ezra	40	4	4	
Nehemiah	22	9	9	
1 Chronicles	114	4	4	
2 Chronicles	186	23	23	• • •
Subtotals	428	43(10%)	41	2
Grand Totals	2492	638(26%)**	** 617	21

FREQUENCY, DISTRIBUTION AND GENRE OF <u>BNY</u> ISRAEL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

*Excluding the four gentilics in Lev. 24:10-11.

** The form is lacking in Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther.

*** Or approximately 25% of all the references to Israel, including those found in the books mentioned in the previous note.

in the historiography of Israel dealing with the period after the coronation of Saul. Of these, however, no fewer than 37 reflect back on the nation's earlier history.¹ The expression is relatively uncommon in the prophets,² rare in the Psalms,³ and lacking entirely in the large Proverbs-Esther segment of the Hebrew canon. In fact, as table 10 re-veals, <u>bny</u> Israel appears only 21 times (3% of the total) in poetic texts.

Speaker and addressee

1

Table 11 shows that in the narrative texts the vast majority of references to the <u>bny</u> Israel come from the pen of the narrator (359x) or the lips of Yahweh (225x). Israelites themselves use the phrase only 46 times. Interestingly, the instances in which foreigners employ the expression all derive from the traditions of the nation's early history.⁴ With respect to the addressee, as reflected by table 12, attention need only be drawn to the three occasions in which Israelites use it when addressing aliens.⁵

2 Chron. 30:6 represents an appeal to the <u>bny</u> Israel to return to the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The Exodus from Egypt and the wilderness wanderings are remembered in 1 Sam. 10:18; 15:6; 2 Sam. 7: 6,7; 1 Kings 6:1; 11:2; 2 Kings 17:7; 18:4; Neh. 8:14,17; 1 Chron. 6: 49(64); 2 Chron. 5:10. Yahweh's covenant with Israel is recalled in 1 Kings 8:9; 19:10,14; Neh. 1:6 (<u>bis</u>); 2 Chron. 6:11. Reminiscences of the conquest of Canaan appear in 2 Sam. 21:2 (<u>bis</u>); 1 Kings 9:20,21, 22; 14:24; 21:26; 2 Kings 16:3; 17:8,9; 21:2,9; 2 Chron. 8:8,9; 28:3; 33:2,9.

²39 times out of 507 references to Israel.

³Ps. 103:7; 148:14.

Exod. 1:9, Pharaoh is concerned about the עם בני ישראל becoming mightier than his own people; 12:31, he commands Moses and the <u>bny</u> Israel to leave; Josh. 2:2, the king of Jericho receives the report of the spies from the <u>bny</u> Israel; 10:4, Adonizedek complains that Gibeon has made peace with Joshua and the <u>bny</u> Israel.

⁵Judg. 11:27, Jephthah speaks of the bny Israel to the king of

TABLE 11

Book	Editor	Yahweh	Israelite	Alien
Genesis	7			
Exodus	71	45	6	2
Leviticus	8	45	1	
Numbers	72	85	14	
Deuteronomy	10	3*	8	
Joshua	58	5	4	2
Judges	57		4	
1 Samuel	10	1	1	
2 Samuel	3	2		
1 Kings	17	2	2	
2 Kings	10		1	
Isaiah		5**		
Jeremiah		9		
Ezekiel		11		
Hosea		5	1	
Joel		1		
Amos		4	1	
Obadiah		1		
Micah		1		
Psalms			2	
Daniel	1		• • •	
Ezra	4			
Nehemiah	7		2	
1 Chronicles	4			
2 Chronicles	23		3	•••
Totals	359	225	50	4

THE USAGE OF BNY ISRAEL: SPEAKER

* Moses is the actual speaker. In these instances he is serving as the spokesman for Yahweh, however.

** In the prophets it is difficult to distinguish between the prophets' own utterances and those of Yahweh.

TABLE 12

Book	Reader	Yahweh	Israelite	Alien
Genesis	7			
Exodus	71	3	48	2
Leviticus	8		46	
Numbers	72		99	
Deuteronomy	10		11	
Joshua	58		9	2
Judges	57		3	1
1 Samuel	10		1	1
2 Samuel	3		2	
1 Kings	17	2	2	
2 Kings	10			1
Isaiah			3	2*
Jeremiah			9	
Ezekiel			11	
Hosea			6	• • •
Joel	• • •		1	
Amos			5	
Obadiah				1
Micah			1	
Psalms		2		• • •
Daniel	1			
Ezra	4			• • •
Nehemiah	7	2		• • •
1 Chronicles	4			• • •
2 Chronicles	20	1	2	• • •
Totals	359	10	258	11

THE USAGE OF BNY ISRAEL: ADDRESSEE

* In the prophets oracles against foreign nations are treated as addressed to those nations, even though the immediate audience may have been Israelites.

Usage

According to table 13, the phrase, bny Israel, was capable of bearing several meanings.

Literal: the sons of Jacob. In the patriarchal narratives, buy Israel is used literally of the twelve sons of Jacob.¹ This sense is reflected also in several Exodus passages. 1:1 represents the superscription to the list of individuals who made the descent into Egypt with the patriarch.² In verse 5 they are specifically identified as the heads of those households which came from the loins of Jacob ($\eta \gamma$, $\psi \eta c$ $c c c e \psi \cdot \psi s$, $(r \eta c)$). In 13:19 the narrator recalls the oath made by the sons of Israel to Joseph to carry his bones back with them when they should return to Canaan.³ That this literal interpretation is required in the instructions concerning the onyx stones to be worn by the priest is indicated by the notice that the names of the <u>bny</u> Israel inscribed thereon are twelve, and that they are to be arranged according to the order of their births.⁴ Beyond this, the only instances in which <u>bny</u> Israel has reference to the immediate family of Jacob appear in the superscriptions to the genealogies of the patriarchal family.⁵

bny Ammon; 1 Sam. 15:6, Saul recognizes the kindness of the Kenites to the bny Israel; 2 Kings 8:12, Elijah expresses horror at what Hazael will do to the bny Israel.

Gen. 45:21; 46:5,8; 50:25.

²Note that they are identified as the sons of <u>Israel</u> but they accompany <u>Jacob</u>.

³Cf. Gen. 50:25.

⁴28:9-12,21,29; 39:6,14.

^bGen. 46:8; 1 Chron. 2:1. In contrast to Exodus 1:2ff., where only the immediate sons of Jacob are listed, Gen. 46:8ff. includes names from the second generation. 1 Chron. 2:1ff. is even more detailed. Cf. Gen. 35:22 where the names are identified as the <u>bny</u> Jacob. Deut. 32:8

TABLE 13

Book	Literal	Collective	Northern Kingdom	Males Only
Genesis	5	2		
Exodus	8	116		
Leviticus		54		
Numbers		171		
Deuteronomy	1	19		1
Joshua		67		2
Judges		61		
1 Samuel		11	1	
2 Samuel		5		
1 Kings		21		
2 Kings		11	• • •	
Isaiah		5		
Jeremiah		5	4	• • •
Ezekiel		10	1	
Hosea		5	1	
Joel		1		
Amos		5		
Obadiah		1	• • • 30	
Micah		1		
Psalms		2		
Daniel		1		
Ezra		4		
Nehemiah		9		
1 Chronicles	1	3		
2 Chronicles		17	6	• • •
Totals	15	607	13	3

THE USAGE OF BNY ISRAEL: SIGNIFICANCE

<u>Males, as opposed to females</u>. In several texts <u>bny</u> Israel is used specifically of the male members of the nation. Most explicit is Deut. 23:18 where **בני ישראל** occurs opposite **העראל**. Hints of this significance may also be detected in Josh. 5:2,3¹ and 1 Sam. 9:2,² although in both it may be argued that the phrase serves simply as a collective designation for the whole nation. Where the expression refers to a body of fighting men, women would naturally be excluded.³

<u>Bnv Israel as a collective designation</u>. Apart from the foregoing texts, <u>bny</u> Israel is used quite consistently in a collective sense, referring to the people belonging to the nation. In most instances the entire nation is in mind. Occasionally, however, special circumstances may limit the expression to the majority of tribes. Thus the Levites may be isolated from the <u>bny</u> Israel as in Num. 26:62. In Josh. 22:1-6, after the reported completion of the conquest of Canaan, the tribes Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh are permitted to return to the eastern side of the Jordan, in accordance with an agreement made while Moses was still leader of the nation.⁴ Prior to the crossing, however, these two and onehalf tribes construct a memorial on the western side of the river as a permanent witness to their membership in the nation. The significance of

MT also appears to use a literal sense although here the reference is probably to the seventy descendants who went to Egypt rather than the twelve immediate sons. On the problems of this text see <u>infra</u>, pp. 435ff.

¹All the bny Israel are circumcised.

²No one among the bny Israel was more handsome than Saul.

³1 Sam. 11:8 (opposite אנשי יהודה); 17:53; 1 Kings 20:15,27 (<u>bis</u>), 29. Note also the juxtaposing of <u>bny</u> Israel with <u>bny</u> Benjamin in Judg. 20.

⁴Num. 32:1ff.

the act is totally misinterpreted by the <u>bny</u> Israel, who immediately mobilize their forces for battle against these apostate tribes.¹ Throughout this account the expression, <u>bny</u> Israel, has reference to the majority of the tribes in opposition to the minority making their way back to the Transjordan.² The response of the rest of Israel to the outrage committed by the Benjamites in Judges 20 is described in similar fashion. This conflict, however, is not so peacefully resolved as the <u>bny</u> Israel³ succeed in virtually annihilating the tribe. This restricted usage becomes especially common after the division of the kingdom, when <u>bny</u> Israel frequently designated the northern kingdom, as opposed to Judah.⁴ Ezekiel applies the phrase to the exiles in Babylon.⁵ The members of the restored community are so designated in Ezra and Nehemiah.⁶

Danell has correctly observed that in the cases cited above, when bny Israel is applied to the majority of the tribes, this group is not so designated because it is considered qualitatively more genuinely Israelite.⁷ It is rather a matter of numbers; the larger portion is called

¹Josh. 22:12.

²Cf. also Num. 32:7,9,17,18 and Josh. 4:12, as well as 22:9,11,12, 13,31,32,33, where the same situation occurs.

So 20:3,13,14,18,19,23,24,25,26,27,30,32,35. There is some alternation here with כל איש ישראל (cf. vs. 11,17,20,22,33,36,38,39, 41,42,48) and שבטי ישראל (v. 12).

⁴1 Kings 11:8; 12:24 (but note the identification of the <u>bny</u> Israel who lived in the cities of Judah, v. 17); 18:20(?); 20:15,27,29; 2 Kings 17:22,24; 2 Chron. 10:18; 13:12,16,18; 28:8; 31:6.

⁵E.g., 2:3. ⁶Ezra 3:1; 6:16,21; 7:7; Neh. 1:6; 2:10; 7:73; 9:1; 10:40. ⁷G. A. Danell, <u>Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament</u>

(Uppsala: 1946), p. 93. Cf. also pp. 66,71,77.

<u>bny</u> Israel, whereas the smaller is identified by its tribal name(s). Therefore, <u>bny</u> Israel may be juxtaposed with <u>bny</u> Reuben, <u>bny</u> Gad,¹ <u>bny</u> Benjamin,² <u>bny</u> Judah,³ and <u>bny</u> Levi.⁴ As if to emphasize that the isolated tribes were not to be considered less Israelite in any way, a special point is made of noting the kinship between the Israelites and the two and one-half tribes,⁵ the Benjamites,⁶ and the people of Judah.⁷

Most frequently, however, <u>bny</u> Israel functions as a collective designation for the entire nation. Although in many contexts its alternation with the absolute form, Israel, appears to be quite arbitrary,⁸ a glance at some of the syntactical constructions involving the two forms reveals a definite distinction in usage. On the one hand, <u>bny</u> Israel is never found as the genitive of a designation for God; only once does it appear after a term representing the territory of the nation;⁹ kings and judges are never identified as "the king(s)/judge(s) of <u>bny</u> Israel."¹⁰

¹Num. 32: Josh. 4:12; 22, passim.

²Judg. 20. Cf. the variant plural gentilic בני ימיני in 19:16 and 1 Sam. 22:7. On these forms see GK 127d.

³This is especially true in the prophets. Cf. Hos. 2:2; Jer. 32:30,32; 50:4,33. Also 2 Chron. 13:18.

⁴Neh. 10:40.

⁵Num. 32:6; Deut. 3:18-20; Josh. 22:3,4,7,8.

⁶Judg. 20:13,23.

'1 Kings 12:24; 2 Chron. 11:4; 28:8,11,15.

⁸E.g., Exod. 19:1-2.

⁹Josh. 11:22, ארץ בני ישראל.

¹⁰If bny Israel is intended to serve only as the regular gentilic

Although the evidence is somewhat limited, this collective significance of bny Israel is confirmed by the occasional association of the

for Israel, these omissions present a sharp contrast to the bound structures involving other gentilics. Note, for example: 1) אלהי + gentilic, Josh. 24:15; Judg. 6:10 (העברים); Exod. 3:18; 5:3; 7:16; 9:1 (העברים); Judg. 10:6 (פלשתים); 1 Kings 11:5,33 (צדנים). 2) ארץ + gentilic, Num. 21:31; Josh. 24:8; Judg. 10:8; 11:21; Amos 2:10 (האמרי); Gen. 50:11; Exod. 3:17; 13:5,11; Deut. 1:7; 11:30; Josh. 13:4; Ezek. 16:3; Neh. 9:8 (הכנעני); Isa. 23:13; Jer. 24:5; 25:12; 50:1,8,25,45; 51:4,54; Ezek. 1:3; 12:13 (כשדים); Isa. 23:1 (כתים); Gen. 40:15 (העברים); Gen. 21: 32,34; Exod. 13:17; 1 Sam. 27:1; 29:11; 30:16; 31:9; 2 Kings 8:2,3; Zeph. 2:5; 1 Chron. 10:9; 2 Chron. 9:26 (פלשתים); cf. Jer. 25:20 (מלכי ארץ פלשתים); Gen. 36:34; 1 Chron. 1:45 (ההימני); Josh. 13:5 (הגבלי). 3) אלר/מלכי + gentilic, Num. 21:26,29,34; 32:33; Deut. 1:4; 3:2,8; 4:46,47; 31:4; Josh. 2:10; 5:1; 9:10; 10:6; 12:2; 13:10,21; 24:12; Judg. 11:19; 1 Kings 4:19; Ps. 135:11; 136:19 (האמרי); Josh. 5:1 (הכנעני); Dan. 9:1 (מלכות כשרים); 2 Chron. 36:17 (כשרים); Jer. 25:25; 51:11,28; Est. 10:2; Dan. 8:20 (מדי); Gen. 26:1,8 (פלשתים); 1 Kings 16:31 (צדנים).

> ¹Exod. 16:1 + 26x. ²Num. 36:8,9; Josh. 19:51. ³Num. 36:3; Josh. 4:5,8. ⁴Exod. 4:29; ⁵Num. 3:45,46,50; 8:17.

דברו אל כל עדת ישראל ^ס occurs in Lev. 19:2; דברו אל כל עדת בני ישראל in Exod. 12:3; Ezekiel uses דבר אל בית ישראל in 3:1 and 20:27.

expression with ש. עם בני ישראל עם סכניד only in Exod. 1:9.¹ <u>Bny</u> Israel follows שו in an appositional relationship only in the conversations between Yahweh and Moses in Exod. 3:10 and 7:4.² Other variations are lacking entirely. Occasionally the simple form Israel, is juxtaposed with by as parallel elements in poetry,³ but Joel 4:16 represents the only witness to the use of <u>bny</u> Israel in this way.

A brief look at the ways in which individual Israelites are referred to reveals some additional interesting features. Only in such cases does the normal form of the Hebrew gentilic with ' ending occur.⁴ But even this form appears only five times.⁵ Since <u>bny</u> Israel represents the most common designation for the Israelites as a whole, it is surprising that <u>bn</u> Israel should never be used in the gentilic sense.⁶ Instead, a variety of combinations of שיא and ישראל seem to have been

It is perhaps surprising that although "Israel" occurs 2500+ times and שט nearly 2000 times, the construct relation עם ישראל is found in only four texts: 2 Sam. 18:7; 19:41; Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7.

²Compare this with the more than sixty texts in which by and Israel stand in appositional association.

³Deut. 33:29; Isa. 1:3; Ps. 50:7; 81:9.14.

⁴For a discussion of Hebrew gentilics see GK 86h, 125e, 127d.

⁵Masculine (Lev. 24:10; 2 Sam. 17:25); feminine (Lev. 24:10) הישראלית (Lev. 24:10).

לן ישראל⁰ identified is one of the immediate sons of Jaccb: Joseph (1 Chron. 5: 1; 7:29), Levi (1 Chron. 6:23; Ezra 8:18). Cf. also Gen. 23:3 <u>et</u> passim where ארי is used for the plural gentilic; however, when the singular is required, the form ארי is used (v. 10). preferred.¹ These forms, however, have their more literal counterparts in אנשי מבני ישראל or אנשי ישראל, expressions which are often interchanged with <u>bny</u> Israel.

Antithetical evidence

The foregoing discussion has been concerned primarily with the positive features of the use of <u>bny</u> Israel. The occasional presence of antithetical counterparts may shed additional light on the significance of the form.

Lev. 25:39-55 seeks to regulate slavery in Israel. In this text the acquisition of male and female slaves from the nations around (אמת מאת, v. 44) as well as from the resident aliens in their midst (גוים אשר סביבהיכם these may be considered private property (אחזה, v. 45) which the owner is authorized to bequeath to his sons at his death. However, this treatment of one's own countrymen,³ one of the <u>bny</u> Israel, is strictly forbidden. Furthermore, careful provision is made for the countryman

איש ישראל, Num. 25:8(<u>bis</u>), 14; Judg. 7:14. In most cases, however, the expression serves as a collective for "the men of Israel." So Josh. 9:6,7; Judg. 7:23; 8:22; 9:55; 20:17,20(<u>bis</u>), 22,36,38,39 (<u>bis</u>), 41,42,48; 21:1; 2 Sam. 15:13; 16:15; 19:43,44(<u>bis</u>); 23:9; 1 Chron. 10:1. The expression לאיש ישראל is vague. In some contexts it could be interpreted as "every man of Israel," but usually is best understood as "all the men of Israel." Cf. Deut. 27:14; 29:9; Josh. 10:24; Judg. 7:8; 20:11,33; 1 Sam. 14:22; 17:19,24; 2 Sam. 16:18; 17:14,24; 19:42; 20:2; 1 Kings 8:2; 1 Chron. 10:7; 2 Chron. 5:3. Num. 25:6; Judg. 4:6; 21:10; 1 Sam. 9:2.

> ²On the meaning of **תושב**, see <u>supra</u>, pp. 75ff. ³Lit. "one of your brothers" (אחיכם), v. 46.

(אחיר) who, because of poverty, is forced to sell himself as a slave to a א or תושכ. In such cases, one of his near relatives,¹ could purchase his freedom by paying the appropriate redemption price. The basis for this special treatment of the <u>bny</u> Israel is indicated in verse 55: "The <u>bny</u> Israel are my servants whom I brought up from the land of Egypt." The distinction between the <u>bny</u> Israel, who were to consider one another as brothers, and aliens is thus clearly made.

Judg. 19:10ff. provides a concrete illustration of the recognition of this distinction. The Levite refuses to listen to the advice of his servant and spend the night in Jebus, protesting, "We shall not turn aside into the city of foreigners who are not of the <u>bny</u> Israel."² Instead they continue on their way as far as Gibeah of Benjamin. The fact that the Benjamites were of the <u>bny</u> Israel should have guaranteed their well-being.

Although its significance should probably not be exaggerated, it is interesting that in the narratives of Samuel-Kings, in which <u>bny</u> Israel occurs relatively infrequently, this form should have been favoured in several contexts which involve non-Israelites. The parenthetical explanation of the identity of the Gibeonites in 2 Sam. 21:2 is careful to point out that they were of "the remnant of the Amorites" and not of the

²גכרי אשר לא מבני ישראל. On the meaning of נכרי, see <u>supra</u>, pp. 69ff.

V. 48. The word used, אח, is the same as that for "countryman" in v. 47. However, in v. 49, the more literal understanding is required in view of the terms which follow, או בן דדו יגאלנו או דדו או בן דדו יגאלנו, "or his uncle, or his uncle's son, may redeem him, or one of his blood relatives from his family."

bny Israel.¹ The narrator makes the same distinction in his description of Solomon's forced labour policies in 1 Kings 9:20-22. The treatment of the Amorite remnant, that is the Hittites, the Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, who were conscripted as forced labourers (700) is distinguished from that of the bny Israel, who were called up for military and court duty alone.² The reader is also reminded in 1 Kings 11:1-2 that Solomon's taking of foreign wives (1000) was a violation of the prohibition for the bny Israel from intermarriage with foreigners (1000, Elsewhere bny Israel is used similarly in opposition to the Kenites,³ the Philistines,⁴ and the Aramaeans.⁵ Even if the exact significance of this feature is difficult to assess, it is noteworthy that the narrators, who otherwise displayed considerable reluctance to use this form of the name, felt more comfortable when their accounts concerned integration with non-Israelites.

Interpretation of the data

Although <u>bny</u> Israel may be used to refer to the immediate sons of Jacob, or to the male members of the nation, the expression serves most commonly as the gentilic. Since the Hebrew language possesses a

לא מבני ישראל המה כי אם מיתר האמרי ובני ישראל נשבעו להם <u>Bny</u> Israel appears twice, apparently for emphasis.

V. 20, כל העם הנותר מן האמרי... אשר לא מבני ישראל המה V. 20. In v. 21 the present population is identified as בניהם אשר נתרו אחריהם , in contrast to the בני ישראל <u>Bny</u> Israel occurs three times in vs. 20-22.

> ³1 Sam. 15:6. ⁴1 Sam. 17:53.

⁵1 Kings 20:15,27,29. These distinctions do not appear to have been uniformly applied. Cf. Josh. 20:9, according to which access to the cities of refuge was guaranteed to the γ_{λ} as well as the <u>bny</u> Israel. regular gentilic form with the , ending, the use of the <u>bny</u>-GN form here requires explanation. Why does the Israelite gentilic not follow the regular pattern?¹ This question may be answered by examining the significance of the prefixed j2, a study which has led to two divergent opinions: 1) j2 is used in this case in a quite literal sense as an indicator of descent. 2) j2 is applied in a more figurative way as an indicator of membership within a group. We shall investigate both possibilities.

as an indicator of membership in a group

Some scholars are quite firm in their rejection of any literal significance of the name <u>bny</u> Israel. Haag, for example, writes, "Er bezeichnet die gegliederte Gemeinschaft Israels als Einheit und ist nicht also Betonung eines einzigen leiblichen Stammvaters des Volkes aufzufassen."² The evidence for this view is considerable.

Hebrew usage. Although in its literal significance it is clear that 1 means "son", the term may also carry several derived senses,³ especially when it is followed by a genitive. As such it may indicate a quality or characteristic of an object or person.⁴ Second, it may

¹Examples of such genitives are given above, pp. 162f., n. 10. ²H. Haag, "<u>)</u> <u>ben</u>," <u>TWAT</u>, I, p. 673. For the English translation see <u>TDOT</u>, II, p. 151.

For fuller discussion and citations see the Standard lexicons; Haag, loc. cit.; J. Kühlewein, "הַ ben Sohn," <u>THAT</u>, I, pp. 316ff.

⁴E.g., כן אדם, "son of man", i.e., human (93x in Ezekiel; Ps. 8:5; plural in Deut. 32:8 Q; Qoh. 1:13); בני (Ps. 144:3); בני (Dan. 2:38; 5:21, Aram.); בני איש (Ps. 4:3; 49:3; 62:10; Lam. 3:33). Note also בן מרי, "mighty man" (1 Sam. 14:52; 18:17, etc.); כן מרי, "rebels" (Num. 17:25). indicate membership in a guild or profession,¹ or a group in which a common experience or status is shared.² A third usage places a geographic genitive after בני קדם. The most general example of this is סס, translated literally as "sons of the East," but more idiomatically rendered as "easterners."³ This conception also underlies several late texts. Ezra 2:1 speaks of the returning exiles as the הבני המדינה, i.e., those belonging to the imperial province of Judah. The expression is unusual, but in the context clearly refers to the citizens of a specified region.

To move from these general expressions to specific ones in which an actual geographical location is named is a small step. Thus Haag is able to cite the following as examples in which geographic and national entities are

בני בהשררים , "perfumer" (Neh. 3:8); בני בהשררים, "singers" (Neh. 12:28). Especially important are בני הנביאים, "sons of the prophets" (1 Kings 20:35; 2 Kings 2:3,5,7,15; 4:1,38; 5:22; 6:1; 9:1. Cf. the singular , בני הגדוד, Amos 7:14); בני הגדוד, "troops" (2 Chron. 25:13).

בני הגללה 2, "exiles" (Ezra 4:1; 6:20; 8:35; Dan. 2:25, Aram.; Ezra 6:16, Aram.); בן חורים, "nobleman, freeman" (Qoh. 10:17); כני אביון "the poor" (Ps. 72:4); בן נכר "foreigner" (Gen. 17:12,17,etc.); בני "sojourners" (Lev. 25:45). Cf. rabbinic התושבים, M. Jastrow, <u>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the</u> Midrashic Literature, 2 vols. (New York: 1950), I, p. 176.

presented as sons of a place or land:¹ the sons of Bethlehem, ² Jericho,³ Jerusalem, ⁴ Zion, ⁵ Samaria, ⁶ Eden, ⁷ Edom, ⁸ Ammon, ⁹ Heth, ¹⁰ Babylon, ¹¹ Egypt, ¹² Javan, ¹³ Memphis (Noph), ¹⁴ Kedar, ¹⁵ Asshur.¹⁶ Others would add Rehob, ¹⁷ Jabesh¹⁸ and

¹<u>TWAT</u>, I, pp. 673f. (= <u>TDOT</u>, II, p. 151).

²Ezra 2:21. Haag erroneously cites Neh. 7:26, which has אנשי בית and Jer. 6:1, which has בני בנימין.

³Ezra 2:34; Neh. 7:36.

⁴Isa. 51:18; 54:13; 60:4 (//בנתיך); Jer. 5:7; Joel 4:6.

⁵Isa. 49:22 (also mentioned are her daughters), 25; Jer. 30:20 (The masculine suffix in کدر actually refers to Jacob, v. 18. So also J. A. Thompson, <u>The Book of Jeremiah</u>, NICOT [Grand Rapids: 1980], p. 562. The reference should therefore be removed from Haag's list.); Joel 2:23; Zech. 9:13; Ps. 147:13; 149:2; Lam. 4:2.

> ⁶Ezek. 23:10. ⁷2 Kings 19:12; Isa. 37:12. ⁸Ps. 137:7.

⁹Num. 21:24; Deut. 2:19; Judg. 3:13; Isa. 11:14; Jer. 9:25; Ezek. 25:2-10.

> ¹⁰Gen. 23:3,5,7,10,16,20; 25:10. ¹¹Ezek. 23:15 (συττα), 17,23. ¹²Ezek. 16:26. ¹³Zech. 9:13; cf. Joel 4:6. ¹⁴Jer. 2:16. ¹⁵Isa. 21:17. ¹⁶Ezek. 16:28; 23:7.

¹⁷2 Sam. 8:3,12. W. F. Albright, <u>Archaeology and the Religion of</u> <u>Israel</u>, 5th ed. (Garden City: 1968), p. 221, n. 104. So also A. Malamat, "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon," <u>JNES</u>, 22 (1963), p. 2.

¹⁸₂ Kings 15:10,13,14. So M. Unger, <u>Israel and the Aramaeans of</u> <u>Damascus: A Study in Archaeological Illumination of Bible History</u> (London: 1957), p. 114, n.23. Anath.1

Not unrelated to this association of j with geographic names is the use of ethnicons as genitives. In its principal form this usage is represented by expressions like var, cct var, cct var, cct, war, his, your countrymen", respectively.² With a proper name like Israel replacing Dy, the more specific "sons of Israel" signifies "Israelites". In cases such as these the prefixed cct identifies the persons involved as members/citizens of the nation.³

<u>Cognate usage</u>. The strongest extra-biblical support for this interpretation derives from Akkadian sources. Several different expressions using <u>mar/u</u> (the equivalent of West Semitic <u>1</u>) occur.⁴ <u>maru</u> <u>ugarim</u>, "inhabitants of the district"; <u>maru</u> <u>alim</u>, "citizens of the

¹Judg. 3:31; 5:6. So Albright, <u>Archaeclogy and the Religion of</u> <u>Israel, loc. cit.</u>; A. Alt, "The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine," <u>Essays on Old Testament History and Religion</u>, trans. by R. A. Wilson (Garden City: 1966), p. 235, n. 21 (This article is the English translation of "Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina," [1930]). Some view Shamgar ben Anath as a prince of this town. So B. Maisler (Mazar), "Shamgar ben Anath," <u>PEQ</u>, 66 (1934), pp. 192-94; J. Bright, <u>A History of Israel</u>, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: 1952), p. 172. Shamgar is usually understood as a Hurrian name (cf. <u>Si-mi-ga-ri</u>). So Maisler, de Vaus, <u>EHI</u>, p. 823. A. van Selms, "Judge Shamgar," VT, 14 (1964), pp. 294-309, however, has argued for a Semitic explanation. Beth Anath is mentioned nowhere in the Old Testament but is generally associated with a place by this name probably in the region of Galilee mentioned in a Rameses II inscription. Cf. ANET, p. 256. On the form see further, infra, pp. 177f.

²See <u>supra</u>, p. 40.

³This usage is even applied to animals. Cf. כני נשן, a poetic expression for the flocks of Bashan in Deut. 32:14.

⁴The entire spectrum of meanings of West Semitic 1 seems to have been represented by maru. Cf. <u>CAD</u>, 10, pp. 314-15, especially.

city"; ¹ <u>maru matim</u>, "citizens of the country"; and specific forms of $\underline{mar}/\underline{u}$ GN.² Not to be overlooked because they represent the nearest parallels to <u>bny</u> Israel are forms which have an ethnic or tribal name following $\underline{mar}/\underline{u}$.³ This usage appears to have been common wherever Akkadian was used.⁴

More relevant to our discussion, however, are the occurrences of <u>bn-GN</u> in the alphabetic West Semitic texts. The Ugaritic sources speak of <u>bn dgrt</u>,⁵ "citizen of Ugarit", <u>bn msyr</u>,⁶"citizen of Egypt", and <u>bn</u> <u>årmy</u>, "citizen of Aram, an Aramaean".⁷ To date no plural forms involving

A. L. Oppenheim, A New Look at the Structure of Mesopotamian Society," JESHO, 10/1 (1967), pp. 1-11, concludes that the <u>maru alim</u>, "the citizens of the city", were a thin stratum, formed by the moneyed people who had invested their wealth either in arable land or in mercantile overland trade ventures.

²E.g., maru Sušim, "citizens of Susa"; maru Nippuri, "Citizens of Nippur"; maru Babili, "citizens of Babylon". Cf. <u>CAD</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

³E.g., ^d<u>Nabu-sum-iskun sarri mar</u> ^m<u>dakuri</u>, "Nabu-shum-ishkun, king of the Bit Dakkuri tribe"; <u>Musallim-^dMarduk mār Amukkanu</u>, "Mushallim, member of the Amukkanu tribe"; <u>zuku sa mār Bahiani</u>, "soldiers of the members of the Bahiani tribe".

⁴For citations of the forms listed above see <u>CAD</u>, 10, pp. 315-16; AHw, p. 616.

^bUT 2:18. Cf. the feminine counterpart <u>bt</u> <u>ugrt</u> in 2:27 and 1006:11. Cf. also the normal gentilic form <u>ugrty</u>, 64:8,9.

⁶UT 306:13; 321 I:47. Cf. <u>bn mşrym</u> in <u>UT</u> 1089:10 and the simple form of the gentilic mşrym, <u>UT</u> 1089:7.

⁷UT 321 III:22; 1046:7,9; 1064:10. So interpreted by F. Thureau-Dangin, "Une tablette bilingue de Ras Shamra," RA, 37 (1940-41), p. 115; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Sur les debuts de l'histoire arameene," VTS, 1 (1953), p. 46; M. McNamara, "De populi Aramaeorum primordiis," <u>Verbum Domini</u>, 35 (1957), p. 137. Cf. also <u>bn arm</u> in 1046:5. Cf. the reference to '[?p] in the 5th-3rd century B.C. Phoenician inscription from Abydos, KAI 49:22. See further, infra, pp. 282f. bny-GN have surfaced.1

Several Aramaic texts might be cited in support of this usage of <u>bny-GN.</u> Some have recognized the form in line 10 of the eighth century B.C. Hadad inscription: [1] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח But Dion's recent interpretation of בני סבירי חלבת[י ג] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח[י] סיקח But Dion's recent interpretation of בני סבירי חלבת[י ג] סיקח[י] ס

²Translated by Gibson, <u>AI</u>, p. 67, as "to establish cities and establish towns; and to the inhabitants of the villages my authority extended." Similarly Donner and Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, II, p, 218, who, however, suggest כפירי be interpreted as a proper geographic name. Also of interest is a second Zinjirli inscription by Barrakkab, son of Panammu. In line 14 he refers to שמש , "daughters of the east", and the Lin dughters of the west". <u>AI</u>, p. 80; KAI 215:14.

³P. E. Dion, <u>La langue de Ya'udi</u>, Éditions SR (1974), p. 28. For discussion of the form see p. 57.

⁴Cf. also the broken I A:16, which is usually restored this way. So Gibson, <u>AI</u>, pp. 28-29; J. A. Fitzmyer, <u>The Aramaic Inscriptions of</u> <u>Sefire</u> (Rome: 1967), p. 14, 40f.(hereafter cited as <u>Sefire</u>). בית גש is also possible. Cf. <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 247.

⁵KAI, II, p. 247.

This contrasts sharply with the Hebrew texts in which the singular form appears only four times (excluding <u>bn</u> Anath, Rehob, and Jabesh, cf. below), whereas the plural occurs hundreds of times.

prefers to interpret the phrase as a designation for the ruling dynasty of the city.¹ If this interpretation is correct, the value of this text for our discussion is limited. The only clear example of the form <u>bny-GN</u> derives from a much later Palmyrene text in which the expression "people of the village", occurs.²

The form <u>bny</u>-GN has not appeared on any Phoenician texts discovered to date. From Neo-Punic sources, however, two examples may be cited. KAI 126:5-6 reads המחב כנא עם מישקל ארץ מ[ש]לך כנא עם "lover of the citizens (literally "sons of the people"); benefactor of the land; protector of the citizens."³ The phrase is made specific in KAI 118:3, יאש בבנא מעטככער, "the man from the sons of M^CSNK^CW."⁴ This example displays a striking resemblance to the fairly common Hebrew

Conclusion. Having observed the use of the form <u>bny</u>-GN in texts that were widely separated, both geographically and chronologically, it appears that this expression was used extensively in the Semitic world to refer to the members of a tribe or the citizens of a city or country. Haag and others may therefore draw on strong cognate support for their interpretation of 'II in the expression bny Israel as an indicator of

¹Sefire, p. 40. Fitzmyer also draws attention to <u>ARAB</u>, I, No. 614, where the people are called <u>Arame mar</u> <u>Gusi</u>.

D. Schlumberger, <u>La Palmyrene du nord-ouest</u> (Paris: 1951), p. 174, Text 24, translates, "les gens du village." So also <u>DISO</u>, p. 43.

³KAI 126 = Tripolitana 32. Cf. the translation by Donner and Röllig, "Liebhaber der Söhne des Volkes, Ausschmucker des (Vater) landes, Retter der Sohne des Volkes." <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 131.

⁴Cf. Donner and Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 123, "der zu den Söhnen des M^CSNK^CW (gehört)."

⁵See supra, p. 165 and n. 1.

membership within the nation, devoid of any hint of descent from a common ancestor.

13 as an indicator of descent

Although the arguments for interpreting CL in <u>bny</u> Israel as an indicator of membership in the nation seems to be convincing, they are considerably weaker than it first appears. This is especially true of the biblical evidence.

<u>Bnv-GN and literary style</u>. Judging by the distribution of <u>bny-GN</u> and other forms of the same type in the Old Testament, a fundamental difference in usage is hinted at. It was noted earlier that the occurrences of <u>bny</u> Israel are concentrated heavily in historical narrative texts. Fewer than 7% appear in poetic and prophetic writings.¹ The opposite is true of the examples cited by Haag.² The exceptions deserve comment.

1) Bethlehem and Jericho. These names are preceded by in Ezra 2:21 and 34, respectively.³ Ezra 2 is not a normal narrative text, but a copy of a register of returnees from the Babylonian exile. Jericho and Bethlehem are only two of eleven place names prefixed by illisted in verses 21-35; the remaining five have אנשי instead. Brockington suggests "sons of" has crept in during copying,⁴ influenced perhaps by the long series of bny-PN entries in the preceding verses. On the other hand,

¹Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 153ff.

²Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 170.

³A duplicate, with several changes occurs in Nehemiah 7.

⁴L. H. Brockington, <u>Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther</u>, NCB (London: 1969), p. 55.

2) Ammon is a special case and, for reasons which will be discussed below, should be removed from Haag's list.²

3) Heth. There is no <u>a priori</u> reason for rejecting Heth in Genesis 23 as the patronymic of one of the many small clans inhabiting Palestine during the era of the patriarchs. The distinction drawn between Heth on the one hand, and Lot, Seir, Anak, etc. on the other,³ is quite arbitrary.

4) Eden. This is the only example of Haag's <u>bny</u>-GN forms derived from the narrative texts for which the prefix may refer to "citizens". The form is difficult to explain in the context of 1 Kings 19:12 (= Isa. 37:12). Coming as it does from the mouth of an Assyrian, in the speaker's own language the expression would have been rendered <u>maru Adini</u>. However, in the Akkadian writings maru Adini is never used of the northern Aramaean

> ¹<u>Amelum</u> and <u>marum</u> are frequently interchanged in Akkadian. ²See <u>infra</u>, pp. 183ff. ³<u>TWAT</u>, I, p. 673 (= <u>TDOT</u>, II, p. 150).

state referred to here; it is reserved for the Chaldaean tribe bearing the same name.¹ It is doubtful that the Assyrian or the Hebrew editor would have confused the two. Since the following verses speak of the disappearance of a series of kings from the same region, <u>bny</u> Eden may refer to the members of the dynasty after whom the state was named. On the other hand, the speech of the emissary is reproduced in a rather exalted literary style, permitting the use of a form more common in poetic and prophetic literature.

5) Anath, Jabesh and Rehob. These names are not listed by Haag, but require comment nonetheless. The common feature in the usage of these is the singular form of the prefix 12. This in itself should caution against too hasty acceptance of the word as an indicator of membership or citizenship in the respective cities. This usage occurs nowhere else, neither with reference to an Israelite nor an Ammonite. While many scholars interpret Shamgar ben Anath as Shamgar of Beth-Anath,² several additional considerations argue against this interpretation. The personal name ben Anath is attested in Egyptian³ and Ugaritic⁴ texts

¹J. A. Brinkman, <u>A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia</u>, <u>1158-722 B.C.</u>, AnOr, 43 (Rome: 1968), pp. 267, n. 1716 and 273, n. <u>1762</u> (hereafter cited as PKB).

²Cf. above, p. 171. See J. Garstang, <u>Joshua Judges</u> (London: 1931), pp. 63f.; 284-88.

³A Rameses II inscription mentions a Syrian sea captain by this name. See J. Garstang, <u>Joshua Judges</u> (London: 1931), pp. 63f.; 284-88.

⁴<u>UT</u> 1043:12; 1061:6. Cf. <u>bn</u> <u>cntn</u>, <u>UT</u> 86:1. Cf. also Anati, in EA 170:43 and MDY, a personal name appearing in the Elephantine papyri. (A. Cowley, <u>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.</u> [Oxford: 1923], p. 70, No. 22:108) as well as those from Hermopolis (<u>AI</u>, p. 137, No. 27 iv:3). For a discussion of all of these texts see P. C. Craigie, "A Reconsideration of Shamgar ben Anath (Judg 3:31 and 5:6)," <u>JBL</u>, 91 (1972), pp. 239f. The name nJy] has surfaced on an engraved arrowhead roughly contemporary with the period of the Judges. See F. M. Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," BASOR, 238 (1980), pp. 6f. almost contemporary with this Shamgar.¹ Furthermore, in view of Anath's role as goddess of war, "son of Anath" has been explained as a laudatory title, ascribed to him in recognition of his military successes.² In view of the discovery of 'El-Khadr Arrowhead V the interpretation of <u>ben</u> Anath as a gentilic or a title is justifiably to be rejected.³

Shallum <u>ben</u> Jabesh is difficult to explain. Jabesh is known only as a town in Gilead,⁴ never as a personal name. However, the form Beth-Jabesh is purely hypothetical.

Ben Rehob is the only <u>bn-GN</u> example for which a <u>byt-GN</u> counterpart is attested in the Old Testament.⁵ In this instance we must inquire into the origins of the place name Beth Rehob. That Rehob was used as a personal name is demonstrated not only by the Hebrew example in Neh. 10:11, but also by the reference to Ruhubi, the father of Ba'sa, a ninth century Ammonite king.⁶ It should also be noted that the <u>byt-GN/br-GN</u> alternation was quite common among the Aramaeans.⁷ Where this occurred, however,

²So van Selms, pp. 303f.; Craigie, 239f.

³So also Cross, "Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," p. 7.

⁴Judg. 21:9-14; 1 Sam. 11:1ff.; 31:11ff.

⁵Judg. 18:28; 2 Sam. 10:6.

⁶<u>ANET</u>, p. 279. H. Tadmor, "Azriyahu of Yaudi," in <u>Scripta</u> <u>Hierosolymitana</u>, 8, ed. by C. Rabin (Jerusalem: 1961), p. 245, however, identifies Ba'sa mār Rububi KUR Amanai with Beth Rehob rather than Ammon.

E.g., ^Wλ R^v/^U (= <u>bit Agusi/mar Agusi</u>) in the Sefire incription; <u>bit Jakin/mar Jakin</u>, in Babylonia, cf. Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, p. 263. See further, W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation," <u>BASOR</u>, 163 (1961), p. 47. Further literature is listed.

¹The presence of the name in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5:6) would date him in the first half of the twelfth century. On the date of the song cf. W. F. Albright, <u>The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra</u>, 4th rev. ed. (New York: 1963), pp. 39f. and 102, nn. 82, 83.

the geographic name was derived either from the eponymous ancestor of the tribe,¹ or the founder of the dynasty ruling from the site.² Consequently, it is doubtful that by identifying Hadadezer as <u>ben</u> Rehob he is being identified merely as a resident or citizen of the city. He appears rather to have been a descendant of the founder of the dynasty in Beth Rehob.

These names excepted, all of the <u>bny</u>-GN forms listed above are found in poetic or prophetic texts, whose figurative styles, in contrast to the literalness of historical narrative, require a fundamental difference in hermeneutical approach.³ We suggest that the use of <u>bny</u>-GN in the Old Testament to designate the citizens of a geographic location or country is a poetic device; the same may not be said of <u>bny</u> Israel.⁴

<u>Alternatives to the bny-GN form</u>. In view of the Israelite historians' hesitation to employ the <u>bny-GN</u> form as a means of referring to the citizens of a city or state, it is instructive to observe the alternative methods adopted. Undoubtedly the preferred form was the gentilic.⁵ These were created by the addition of the suffix ' and making the appropriate vocalic adjustments.⁶ No distinctions were made between patronymic and geographic gentilic forms. A second method was to use <u>'nsy-GN</u>.

> ¹Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, n. 1701. ²So w) = Arnad For t

 2 So בית גש = Arpad. For fuller discussion see <u>infra</u>, pp. 222ff.

³Interestingly, all of the names suggested by Haag as patronymics derive from narrative texts.

⁴But the possibility remains that where <u>bny</u>-GN is used, the expression may signify "a son from GN," i.e., a man from the place, as in the Ezra-Nehemiah registers.

⁵See Mandelkern for forms and references. ⁶Cf. GK 86h; 125e; 127d.

אנשי המקום occurs occasionally,¹ but much more frequent is אנשי המקום.² Equally important was the bound structure involving ישבי. Common general expressions are ישבי הארץ and ישבי העיר ⁴ Both forms were made specific by inserting a place name in the genitive position.⁵

<u>Conclusion</u>. Given such well-attested forms for referring to the members/citizens of other states, the almost exclusive use of <u>bny</u>-GN to cover the same range of meanings for Israel is somewhat unexpected. Perhaps the reason lies in a different interpretation of **'...** The most plausible explanation for the fixation of <u>bny</u> Israel as the gentilic for the nation lies in the literal interpretation of the phrase. The Israelites perceived themselves as the literal descendants of an ancestor remembered as Israel. Evidence for this perception may be gathered from many sides.

In the first place, the nature of the distribution of the form bny Israel is best accounted for with this explanation. It was observed earlier that the farther back the traditions go, the more dominant is bny Israel as the form by which the nation is identified. Thus the

Gen. 26:7; 29:22; 38:22; Judg. 19:16. Cf. אנשי מקומו, Ezra 1:4; אנשי הארץ, Gen. 38:21. Note also אנשי מקומה, Lev. 18:27.

Gen. 24:13; Josh. 8:14; Judg. 6:27,28,30; 8:17; 14:18; 19:22; 1 Sam. 5:9; 2 Sam. 11:17; 2 Kings 2:19; 23:17. Cf. אנשי עירו, Deut. 21: 21; 1 Kings 21:11; אנשי עירה, Deut. 22:21; גני, Gen. 34:20. אנשי עירה העיר never occurs; the nearest form is בניה Isa. 66:8, again a poetic text.

³Gen. 36:20; Exod. 23:31 + 30x.

⁴Deut. 13:16; Jer. 21:6; Ezek. 39:9; Zech. 8:20. Cf. ישבי קערים, Gen. 19:25.

⁵E.g., אנשי סדם, Gen. 13:13; 19:4; שמש אנשי בית 1 Sam. 5;9; 6:15,19; plus approximately forty additional references. ישבי כנען, Exod. 15:15; ישבי כנען, Judg. 1:31; Ezek. 27:8; ישבי צידון, Jer. 50: 34,35; ישבי הר שעיר, ישבי טעיר, Ezek. 29:6; ישבי מצרים, 2 Chron. 20:23; Judg. 1:33; plus many more. Exodus traditions account for more than 50% of the total number of occurrences.¹ Many of the appearances outside the Pentateuch recall those early days when the memory of the eponymous ancestor was still vivid.² The establishment of the monarchy, however, produced a fundamental change in the constitution. The ties which, according to the traditions, were rooted in a consciousness of common descent were no longer the primary unifying forces within the nation. Now Israel had become a nation like all the others, with a king in authority. It was his task to keep the nation together by providing leadership against the disruptive forces from within³ and without.⁴ Although David does not appear to have taken any deliberate action to minimize the roles of the tribal units, the domestic policies of Solomon constituted a direct challenge to the tribal structure. His division of the realm into twelve administrative districts, each in the charge of an "overseer", ⁵ appears to have taken little cognizance of tribal boundaries;⁶ indeed the action

¹Cf. supra, pp. 153ff.

²Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 155, n. 1. Note in addition to the texts cited, 1 Kings 6:13; 8:9; 19:10,14; Neh. 1:6; 2 Chron. 6:11.

³If the experience of the pre-monarchical period proved anything, it demonstrated the inadequacy of numerous local judges whose jurisdiction was limited to only a part of the nation and whose actions frequently provoked the antagonism of the other tribes. Note the complaint of the Ephraimites for not having been invited to participate in Jephthah's wars with the Ammonites, Judg. 12:1ff. Consequently, the first justification for a king presented by <u>all the elders of Israel</u> (1 Sam. 8:4) to Samuel, was their need for a national judge. 1 Sam. 8:6,20.

⁴The second basis of the demand for a king recognized the need for a national leader in the face of the menace of the rising states around Israel, i.e., the Philistines, Ammon, Moab, Edom and Aram-Damascus, in particular. 1 Sam. 8:20b.

⁵נצכ, 1 Kings 4:7.

⁶1 Kings 4:7-19. Cf. Bright, <u>History</u>, p. 200. Further studies are listed.

seems to have been a deliberate ploy to secure from the people loyalty to the crown. To accomplish this, old tribal loyalties, which had often proved so divisive, had to be minimized. It is not surprising, therefore, that with these developments the form <u>bny</u> Israel should have fallen into greater and greater disuse.¹

But memories of Israel's ancestral roots are kept alive in other ways as well. They are preserved in the genealogies. Both Gen. 46:8ff. and 1 Chron. 2:1ff. are prefaced with a comment linking the names to the eponymous ancestor Israel.² Equally important are the traditions of the patriarchal fathers themselves. The stories of Genesis have become the common deposit of the nation. Here they all find their roots. They are truly the <u>bny</u> Israel, for they are the children of a man called Israel, a name received by their ancestor, Jacob, from Yahweh, the national deity.³

ואלה שמות בני ישראל. These genealogies have also been interpreted as statements of socio-political realities. See R. R. Wilson, <u>Genealogy</u> and <u>History in the Biblical World</u>, Yale Near Eastern Researches, 7 (New Haven: 1977), pp. 188ff.; A. Malamat, "Tribal Societies: Biblical Genealogies and African Lineage Systems," <u>Archiv européenes de sociologi</u>e, 14 (1973), pp. 126-35; <u>idem</u>, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," JAOS, 82 (1962), pp. 143-50.

³Gen. 32:22-32. Cf. also Hos. 12:3-6.

Note the perceptive parenthetical comment following the genealogies of Edom and Seir in Gen. 36:31 (cf. also 1 Chron. 1:43): ואלה המלכים ואלה המלכים. Cf. Danell's comment, <u>loc</u>. cit., p. 72, ". . the more strongly the nation is formed, the more the form 'Israel' becomes the commonest." But he concludes "the variation between the two forms seems to be arbitrary." These observations are completely overlooked by A. Besters, who argues that the use of <u>bny</u> Israel is characteristic of P, and attempts to use the two forms of the name as a criterion for distinguishing Pentateuchal sources. See "'Israel' et 'Fils d'Israel' dans les livres historiques (Genèse - II Rois)," <u>RB</u>, 74 (1967), pp. 5-25; <u>idem</u>, "L'expression 'Fils d'Israel' en Ex. I-XIV: un nouveau criterie pour la distinction des sources," <u>RB</u>, 74 (1967), pp. 321-55. See further below, p. 249, n. 1.

We conclude with a brief note on Exod. 1:1-7, a text of great significance for the history of the nation. The passage serves as a link between the stories of the patriarchal family of Genesis and the nation about to emerge from Egypt. In verse 1 <u>bny</u> Israel is used in its literal sense for the last time in the book. By verse 7, due to the extraordinary growth in the population, they have become the שראל threatening the very throne of Egypt.¹

Bny Ammon

It was suggested earlier that <u>bny</u> Ammon should be removed from Haag's list of place names whose inhabitants are referred to as <u>bny</u>-GN.² Support for this position may be produced from several directions, both biblical and extra-biblical.

Ammon in the Old Testament

Frequency and distribution

As table 14 indicates, the name Ammon occurs in 106 texts. Of

²Cf. above, p. 176.

For a full discussion of the transitional function of this text see G. W. Coates, "A Structural Transition in Exodus," VT, 22 (1972), pp. 129-42. The significance of the Egyptian experience is also recalled in Deut. 26:5. At the festival of firstfruits the Israelites were to remind themselves annually of the origins of the nation in their father, the perishing Aramaean. In Egypt he became a great, mighty and populous nation (וירד מצרימה ויגר שם במתי מעט ויהי שם לגוי גדול עצום ורב). Since G. von Rad's spochal essay, Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch, BWANT, 4/26 (Stuttgart: 1938), this text has been commonly viewed as Israel's earliest credal statement. Recently, however, this view has come under increasing criticism. See e.g., J. P. Hyatt, "Were there an Ancient Historical Credo and an Independent Sinai Tradition?" in Translating and Understanding the Old Testament, H. G. May Festschrift, ed. by H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed (New York: 1970), pp. 152-70 (hereafter this volume will be cited as TUOT); C. Carmichael, "A New View of the Origin of the Deuteronomic Credo," VT, 19 (1969), pp. 273-89.

these 104 use the full form <u>bny</u> Ammon,¹ representing almost 100% consistency.² Since gentilic forms appear an additional 20 times (circa 16% of all references to the Ammonites by name), it may not be argued that <u>bny</u> Ammon was the normal gentilic form.³ The distribution of <u>bny</u> Ammon also presents some interesting comparisons with <u>bny</u> Israel.⁴ Whereas 59% of the latter occur in the Pentateuch, the figure is only 8% for <u>bny</u> Ammon. On the other hand, the proportion of <u>bny</u> Ammon in the Joshua-Kings corpus is almost doubled. Even more pronounced is the shift appearing in the Latter Prophets. Whereas only 6% of all references to <u>bny</u> Israel were accounted for in these writings, with respect to <u>bny</u> Ammon the proportion is 21%. The proportion in later historical texts has almost doubled as well.

This dramatic difference may not be explained simply by noting that the history of Israel touches that of the Ammonites more frequently in the post-Pentateuchal texts. It was argued above that the prominence of the form <u>bny</u> Israel was directly related to the consciousness of tribal interrelationship and their common descent from a single ancestor. With the institution of the monarchy the minimizing of the significance of

²By comparison, <u>bny</u> Israel is used in only 26% of the occurrences in which Israel is named. Cf. table 10, supra, p. 154.

³Compare this with the fewer than 1% (4x) of all forms of the name Israel accounted for by gentilics. In contrast to <u>bny</u> Ammon, <u>bny</u> Israel clearly serves also as the gentilic.

⁴Cf. table 10, <u>supra</u>, p. 154.

The only exceptions are 1 Sam. 11:11 and Ps. 83:8. L. Koehler suggests that the abbreviated form was determined in the latter text by metrical considerations. "Der Name Ammoniter," <u>TZ</u>, 1 (1945), p. 155. <u>BHS</u> indicates that 3mss, LXX, Targum and Peshitta assume 'II' in the former. Cf. S. R. Driver, <u>Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of</u> Samuel (Oxford: 1890), p. 66.

TABLE 14

Book	בני עמון	עמון	עמוני(ת,ם)
Genesis Numbers Deuteronomy	1 2 5		· · · · · · · 2
Subtotals	8		2
Joshua Judges 1 Samuel 2 Samuel 1 Kings 2 Kings	3 27 2 17 2 2 2	· · · · · · · 1 · · · · ·	· · · · 2 1 3 · · · ·
Subtotals	53	1	6
Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel Amos Zephaniah	1 10 7 1 2	· · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Subtotals	21		
Psalms Daniel Ezra Nehemiah 1 Chronicles 2 Chronicles	1 14 7		· · · · · · · · 1 6 1 4
Subtotals	22	1	12
Grand Totals	104	2	20

FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENCES TO THE AMMONITES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

these associations resulted in a drastic reduction in the use of the expression. On the other hand, the transition from a tribal organization to monarchic political structure appears to have had no effect on the form of the name. Although it is not clear when the Ammonite monarchy was first established, by the time of Jephthah a king $(\neg n)$ appears to have been in firm control of the state.¹ Even so, apart from Ps. 83:8 and possibly 1 Sam. 11:11 the long form remains the only acceptable form of the name. It was also observed earlier that the distribution of <u>bny</u> Israel was affected by the literary genre of the documents. In the prophetic and poetic texts only 7% of the occurrences of the name Israel use the long form. The fact that Ps. 83:8 represents the only exception to the long form of <u>bny</u> Ammon demonstrates that literary style had no effect on the form of the name preferred.

Usage

Our discussion also drew attention to the fundamental differences in the nature of the bound constructions involving Israel and <u>bny</u> Israel.² The situation is reversed for <u>bny</u> Ammon. The expressions adf and adf and adf occur more frequently than any other. Add to these

³Judg. 11:12,13,14,28; 1 Sam. 12:12; 2 Sam. 10:1; Jer. 27:3; 40:15; 1 Chron. 19:1; 2 Chron. 27:23.

⁴Deut. 2:19,37; Josh. 13:25; Judg. 11:15; 2 Sam. 10:2; 1 Chron. 19:2; 20:1.

¹Judg. 11:12,13,14,28. References to the kings of Ammon occur also in 1 Sam. 12:12; 2 Sam. 10:1; Jer. 27:3; 40:14; 1 Chron. 19:1; 2 Chron. 27:5. Cf. also the Tell Siran bottle inscription, lines 1,2,3. For references see infra, p. 191, n. 2.

²Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 162f.

and the euphemistic שלהי בני עמון,² along with another geographic phrase, גבול בני עמון,³ and more than two-thirds of all bound structures involving <u>bny</u> Ammon are accounted for. Whatever reasons there might have been for the hesitation to make similar grammatical associations with <u>bny</u> Israel, here they do not exist.

The consistent use of <u>bny</u> Ammon in lists of surrounding nations is also of interest.⁴ On the other hand, where the lists consist of gentilic forms, <u>bny</u> Ammon is replaced by the true gentilic ⁵

¹Judg. 10:6; 1 Kings 11:33.

²1 Kings 11:7.

³Num. 21:24; Deut. 3:16; Josh. 12:2; 13:10.

⁴Note the following forms and sequences: Judg. 10:6, אלהי ארם צידון מואב בני עמון פלשתים.

Judg. 10:11, מצרים האמרי בני עמון פלשאתם.

1 Sam. 14:47, ובפלשתים ובמלכי צובה ובפלשתים .

2 Sam. 8:11b-12 (= 1 Chron. 18:11), כל הגוים ארם מואב בני עמון פלשתים עמלק.

1 Kings 11:33, עשתרת אלהי צדנין כמוש אלהי מואב ומלכם אלהי בני עמון.

2 Kings 23:13, עשתרת שקץ צידנים וכמוש שקץ מואב ומלכם תועבת בני עמון.

2 Kings 24:2, גדודי כשדים ארם מואב בני עמון.

Jer. 9:25, מצרים יהודה אדום כני עמון מואכ וכל קצוצי פאה הישבים במדבר.

25:19, מלכי מצרים ארץ העוץ ארץ פלשתים אדום מואב בני עמון צר צידון האי אשר בעבר הים דדן תימא בוז וכל קצוצי פאה.

40:11, אשר בכל הארצות 10:11, כל היהודים אשר בכל הארצות. Amos 1–2, דמשק עזה צר אדום בני עמון מואב יהודה ישראל.

2 Chron. 20:10,22,23, בני עמון מואב הר שעיר.

Ps. 83:7-8 is the only example of the short form: אהלי אדום וישמעאלים. מואב והגרים גבל ועמון ועמלק פלשת עם ישבי צור אשור.

⁵Note the following:

Ezra 9:1, מעמי בארצות כתועבתיהם לכנעני החתי הפרזי היבוסי העמני המאבי המצרי והאמרי.

Neh. 4:1, הערבים והעמנים והאשדודים.

2 Chron. 26:7-8, פלשתים הערביים הישבים בגור בעל והמעונים... העמונים

This suggests that in the former "<u>bny</u> Ammon" bears the same significance as "Edom" or "Moab".

Finally, attention should be drawn to two texts in which the long form of the name appears to carry a geographic sense. The inconsistency in the gender of the name in Ezek. 25:1-7 is striking. To begin with, in verses 2-3a <u>bny</u> Ammon is treated as masculine.¹ However, with the commencement of the direct divine address the gender changes.² In verse 5b a reversion to the masculine occurs,³ a gender which is maintained until the end of verse 7. Although the anomalies in verses 3b-4 may easily be removed by slight alterations in the Masoretic pointing, this solution cannot be applied in verse 10, where, along with Moab, <u>bny</u> Ammon is clearly presented as feminine, even by the consonantal text.⁴ <u>Bny</u> Ammon, probably intended here as a geographic designation, will become a "possession" for the <u>bny</u> Qedem.⁵

A geographic use of <u>bny</u> Ammon seems to be intended in Zeph. 2:9 as well. First, here Moab and <u>bny</u> Ammon are compared with Sodom and Gomorrah, respectively, both of which are well-known place names. Second,

Note the suffix in עליהם (v. 2), and the form of the imperative, (v. 3).

²Note the Masoretic pointing of the infinitive , אַמְרָהָ (v. 3b). This is consistent with the following חַלְרָה , הְרָהָ, הְרָיָה, חַלְרָה.

³Note ידעתם.

⁴ לבני קדם על בני עמון ונתתיה למורשה למען לא תזכר בני עמון בגוים.

^DContra BDB, p. 440, מורשה is used elsewhere only with reference to land.

the verb which follows Moab (and in view of the parallelism also applies to <u>bny</u> Ammon) is feminine (π,π,π) .¹ Third, the following lines speak of desolate places.²

All of these observations on the frequency, distribution and usage of <u>bny</u> Ammon demonstrate that the Hebrew employment of the long form Ammon was governed by fundamentally different considerations than applied to the use of bny Israel.

Ammon in extra-biblical sources

Akkadian

References to the Ammonites are more frequent in the annals of the Assyrian kings than in any other extra-biblical sources. Here three basic forms appear: 1) a short form, c/1Am-ma-na; 2) a lengthened form m/c/1<u>bīt Am-ma-na</u>; 3) a second lengthened form, $\frac{1}{ba-an}$ Am-ma-na.³ Of these the first occurs only twice, the last but once.⁴ It is apparent

¹On the use of the feminine for names of countries and cities cf. GK 122h-i and more fully, K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," <u>ZAW</u>, 16 (1896), pp. 56-60.

The preformative m in ממשק and probably also in מכרה should be interpreted as <u>locals</u>. Cf. GK 85e. Therefore, the verse may be translated as follows:

"Surely Moab will be like Sodom,

And bny Ammon like Gomorrah;

A place of nettles and salt pits,

A perpetual wasteland."

This geographic sense may also be required where verbs of motion are combined with the preposition אל. E.g., Jer. 41:10,15, and perhaps also Dan. 11:41.

³For references to all of these forms see S. Parpola, <u>Neo-</u> <u>Assyrian Toponyms</u>, ACAT, 6 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1970), pp. 16,76. Our representation of Akkadian determinatives is as follows: m = personal; c = city; 1 = land.

⁴In contrast, the only reference to the name Israel discovered

that, as in Hebrew, the scribes expressed an overwhelming preference for a compound form of the name. But why <u>bit</u> should have been prefixed to <u>Am-ma-na</u> is not clear. If it was intended as a translation of the Canaaanite 12 (cf. <u>bny</u> Ammon), the bound form of <u>marum</u> would have been anticipated. This word, however, is never employed as part of a place name. Hommel suggested that Bit Amman was actually a shortened form of Bit Rabbath Amman.¹ It seems more likely, however, that <u>bit</u>, "house, household",² functioned as an approximate equivalent of the Hebrew '12, perhaps as a rough translation, the form of which was influenced by the common Akkadian practice of identifying states on the <u>bit</u>-GN model.³

The most remarkable form, however, is the single occurrence of $^{1}\underline{ba}-\underline{an} \ \underline{Am}-\underline{ma}-\underline{na}$. The prefix $\underline{ba}-\underline{an}$ is totally unexpected since it is found in no other toponym.⁴ Furthermore, if \underline{banu} is intended as an Akkadian translation of Canaanite 12, this too is unprecedented, since this form never occurs with this sense.⁵ It would appear, therefore,

to date uses the short form <u>Sir-'a-la-aja</u>. The same applies to the Akkadian equivalents of Aram, Moab Edom, all of which also appear consistently in shortened forms in the Old Testament. For references see Parpola, <u>s.v</u>.

¹F. Hommel, <u>Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients</u> (Munich: 1926), p. 164, n. 1.

²<u>CAD</u>, 2, pp. 282ff. Cf. <u>RLA</u>, II, pp. 33f.
³For hundreds of citations cf. Parpola, <u>s.v.</u>, <u>bit</u>.
⁴Cf. Parpola, <u>s.v</u>.

⁵The form <u>binu</u>, however, does occur occasionally: 1) in personal names, e.g., <u>Bi-in-ka-li-sar-ri</u> (Sargonic period), <u>CAD</u>, 2, p. 243; <u>Bi-in-Na-rum</u> (Hammurapi era), Ranke <u>EBPN</u>, p. 75; <u>Bi-na-am-mi</u> (W. Sem. Kassite period), Clay, <u>PNCP</u>, p. 65; <u>Nabu-bi-na-uka'in</u> (Neo-Assyrian), Stamm, <u>ANG</u>, p. 38. 2) in a votive inscription: Marduk is called <u>bi-in-Du-ku</u>, C. J. Gadd, "On Two Babylonian Kings," <u>StOr</u>, 1 (1925), pp. 29-31. 3) In a Sargonic cylinder inscription: <u>ina arhi şîtan arah bin Dara-gala</u> [Ea], "in the new moon of the month of the son of Ea." 4) In a hymn: <u>bukir biin Anim luzmur dunnaka</u>, "O child, son of Anu, let me sing your strength," KAR 158 i 120, as translated by CAD, ibid. 5) <u>Binu</u> appears parallel to that here in ¹ba-an <u>Am-ma-na</u> we are to recognize simply a cuneiform transliteration of West Semitic בן עמן.¹ The singular form of the prefix remains a problem.

Ammonite

The only certain documentation of the name Ammon is contained in a recently discovered 7th century B.C. bottle inscription from Tell Siran.² The three occurrences of the form כן עמן (lines 1,2,3) are especially important since they represent the only native witness to the

maru in Atra-hasis I:93-96. Cf. the comments by W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, <u>Atra-Hasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood</u> (Oxford: 1969), pp. 150-51. 6) In synonym lists, as one of many synonyms for <u>maru</u>. See Malku I, 147ff., Explicit Malku I, 180, <u>JAOS</u>, 83 (1963), pp. 436-37. Cf. also the equation of <u>binu</u> with <u>ze-ru(?)</u>, "Explicit Malku," 322-31. Stamm, <u>loc. cit.</u>, views <u>binu</u> as belonging to the hymnic-epic dialect. Cf. von Soden, <u>AHw</u>, p. 127, who interprets the word as late Babylonian "dichterisch" (poetic) usage. For Mari names beginning with <u>bin</u>, see Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 176.

So also H. Donner, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Staates Moab in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrh. v. Chr.," <u>MIO</u>, 5 (1957), p. 161, "Das Element, <u>ba-an</u> versucht den stat. cstr. plur. Leilschriftlich wiederzugeben."

The first three lines of the text read as follows: מעבד עמנדב מלך בן עמן "The works of Amminadab, king of the Ammonites,

בן חצלאל מלך בן עמן the son of Hissl-'El, king of the Ammonites,

the son of Amminadab, king of the Ammonites." As transliterated by H. O. Thompson and F. Zayadine in "The Tell Siran Inscription," <u>BASOR</u>, 212 (1973), p. 9, and translated by <u>idem</u> in "The Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," <u>Berytus</u>, 22 (1973), p. 132. Cf. also <u>idem</u>, "The Works of Amminadab," <u>BA</u>, 37 (1974), p. 9. For additional discussions of the text see F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," <u>BASOR</u>, 212 (1973), pp. 12-15; P. E. Dion, "Notes d'epigraphie Ammonite," <u>RB</u>, 82 (1975), pp. 24-33; C. Krahmalkov, "An Ammonite Lyric Poem," <u>BASOR</u>, 223 (1976), pp. 55-57; O. Loretz, "Die Ammonitische Inschrift von Tell Siran," <u>UF</u>, 9 (1977), pp. 169-71; W. H. Shea, "The Siran Inscription: Amminadab's Drinking Song," <u>PEQ</u>, 110 (1978), pp. 107-112. name unearthed to date.¹ The pronunciation of the name is not certain.) is usually interpreted as a plural with the final <u>mater lectionis</u> missing.² In accounting for this feature, appeal has been made to Phoenician practice which regularly omitted this orthographic element.³ This interpretation is doubtful, however, on several counts. First, it would be surprising if the Aramaeans to the north,⁴ the Hebrews to the west,⁵ and the Moabites to the south⁶ should have adopted this practice, but the Ammonites, located in the centre of these three should have resisted the development. Second, a final <u>mater lectionis</u> has been identified in a 6th century B.C. ostracon from Heshbon,⁷ rendering Zayadine and Thompson's suggestion that "the absence

¹The reading, [י] The amman Theatre inscription (R. W. Dajani, "The Amman Theatre Fragment," <u>ADAJ</u>, 12-13[1967-68], pp. 65-67), has been recently revised to בן עש[by W. J. Fulco, "The Amman Theatre Inscription," JNES, 38 (1979), pp. 37-38.

²Thompson and Zayadine, <u>Berytus</u>, 22 (1973), p. 129; <u>idem</u>, <u>BASOR</u>, 212 (1973), p. 9. Cf. the contradictory statement of Cross, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 15, that "The Ammonite inscriptions regularly follow Aramaic practice in this era, as does Hebrew. That is, 1, 7, and n were used as markers for final vowels, for \bar{u} , for $-\bar{1}$, and for $-\bar{a}$, \bar{e} , and \bar{o} ." But this is followed by a statement that 127 "probably points to a masculine construct plural suffix in $-\bar{1}$..."

³Zayadine and Thompson, <u>Berytus</u>, 22 (1973), p. 136. On the Phoenician orthography see J. Friedrich, <u>Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik</u>, AnOr, 46 (Rome: 1970), pp. 40f.

⁴For a discussion see F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, <u>Early</u> <u>Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence</u>, AOS, 36 (New Haven: 1952), pp. 31ff, (hereafter cited as <u>EHO</u>).

⁵Ibi<u>d.</u>, pp. 56f.

⁶Ibid., pp. 43f.

⁷See כני גכל in "Heshbon Ostracon II," by F. M. Cross, <u>AUSS</u>, 11 (1973), p. 126. of the <u>matres lectionis</u> could be a characteristic of the Ammonite language,"¹ unlikely. Appeal to "Verify" in line 1 as another illustration of an omitted final ' is speculative.² Loretz and Krahmalkov have interpreted the word as a singular.³ Two alternative solutions are possible. Dion has argued that Yer is be treated as a single word, in which case, the missing element would be an internal vowel letter, whose absence would be in keeping with early Aramaic, Moabite and Hebrew orthography.⁴ On the other hand, the possibility exists, though perhaps remotely, that 12 is intended as a singular. This could explain the form of the Akkadian transliteration, ba-an.

The final vowel of $\forall \alpha \forall \gamma$ is equally uncertain. Again the absence of the internal <u>mater</u> <u>lectionis</u> makes it impossible to determine if a <u>u</u>-<u>class</u> (as preferred in Canaanite dialects) or an <u>a-class</u> (as in the transliterated Akkadian, <u>Am-ma-na</u>)⁵ is intended.⁶

Ugaritic evidence

Although the Ugaritic texts naturally contain no references to the

¹Berytus, 22 (1973), p. 136.

²So Thompson and Zayadine.

³Loretz, p. 170, translates, "Gegenstand"; Krahmalkov, p. 56, "poem". Cf. also Shea, p. 108, "From the cultivation of . . . "

⁴Cf. Cross and Freedman, <u>EHO</u>, pp. 31f., 43f., 56f.

 5 Cf. the occasional retention of the <u>u-class</u> vowel in <u>Mu-'a-a-ba</u> (Moab) and the consistent spelling of <u>U-du-mu</u> (Edom). For forms and references see Parpola, <u>s.v.</u>

^oThere has been some debate concerning the significance of the on ending in Hebrew. L. Koehler, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 156, has argued that it serves as merely a stylistic variation of the original name, devoid of any real meaning. J. J. Stamm, "Zum Ursprung des Namens Ammoniter, <u>ArOr</u>, 17 (1949), 382 maintains that the -on ending gives the name a diminutive sense, Ammonites, they are of great importance because they attest to a personal and guild name, closely resembling the appellation of the nation, in several different texts. The forms identified to date range from the independent $\frac{c}{my}$ to the full form, $\frac{bn}{myn} \frac{c}{myn}$.¹ Whatever else the significance of these names may be, their existence should serve as a caution against explaining away the personal name of Lot's son in Gen. 19:38 as merely a popular etymology for the name of the nation, devoid of any historical memory of an actual person or even clan name.²

Conclusions

On the basis of the biblical evidence it is clear that <u>bny</u> Ammon cannot be interpreted along the same lines as <u>bny</u> Israel. The Ammonite and Akkadian references agree with the consistent Hebrew evidence that the prefixed element was an integral part of the national name. The two parts may even have represented one word, <u>live</u>. The Ugaritic sources demonstrate that personal and clan names of this nature were not uncommon.

and should be understood as "kleiner Onkel." So also Noth, IPN, p. 38. Huffmon suggests that *anu(m) (from which is derived Canaanite -on) goes back to "a Proto-Semitic feature as a diminutive suffix." <u>APNM</u>, p. 136. On the significance of the Akkadian ending see W. von Soden, <u>Grundriss</u> <u>der akkadischen Grammatik</u>, AnOr, 33/47 (Rome: 1969), pp. 70f, paragraph 56r (hereafter cited as <u>GAG</u>).

lc my, UT 15:4; bn my, UT 158:6; 308:14; myn, 316:4; 322 V:10; 323 IV:8; 1046:36; bn myn, 325:11; 400 III:5; 1083:11; 1143:12; 1089:5. For a detailed discussion of bny-PN names see A. Alt, "Menschen ohne Namen," ArOr, 18 (1950), pp. 9-24. Cf. also D. J. A. Clines, "X, X ben Y, ben Y: Personal Names," VT, 22 (1972), pp. 266-87. G. M. Landes, "A History of the Ammonites: A Study of the Political Life and Material Culture of the Biblical Land of Ammon as an Autonomous State," (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1956), pp. 4-12. Note also from the Kassite period, Bi-na-am-mi. Cf. supra, p. 190, n. 5.

²So also Landes, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 10; <u>idem</u>, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," <u>BA</u>, 24 (1961), pp. 66ff. (reprinted in <u>The Biblical</u> <u>Archaeologist Reader</u>, 2, ed. by D. N. Freedman and E. F. Campbell, Jr. [Missoula: n.d.], p. 70; <u>idem</u>, "Ammon," <u>IDB</u>, I, p. 109. We conclude, therefore, that the prefixed 'Let' is not primarily an indicator of the common genealogical roots of the members of the Ammonite nation, in a way comparable with <u>bny</u> Israel, <u>bny</u> Esau, <u>bny</u> Lot, <u>bny</u> Seir and <u>bny</u> Heth.¹ If the name provides any hints concerning the ethnic cohesion, these are to be found in the perception of the individual Ben-^CAmmi as the eponymous ancestor of the nation. In this respect the name is no different than that of Moab, Israel and Heth.² In the aetiological account of Gen. 19: 30ff., the personal name is described as summarizing the story of this ancestor's origins, and in so doing provides a# close semantic parallel to that of his brother/cousin Moab.³

Additional Examples of Bny-GN

It was noted earlier that apart from <u>bny</u> Israel, the designation of a people or nation in this way was relatively rare in the Old Testament. The instances that do occur may be divided into four categories. 1) <u>bny</u> + an obvious place name, such as Bethlehem, Jericho, Jerusalem, Zion, Samaria and Memphis.⁴ Ezekiel's references to the <u>bny</u> Mizraim,⁵ <u>bny</u> Asshur,⁶ and bny Babel⁷are deliberate. In each case the prophet is

¹On these names see infra, pp. 197ff.

²On the personal names being used as national names cf. <u>infra</u>, pp. 243ff.

³On the significance of this name cf. infra, p. 387, n. 2.

⁴For references see <u>supra</u>, p. 170.

516:26.

⁶16:28; 23:7,9,12,23.

23:15,17,23. It might be noted that although the two may be interchanged for literary reasons in the Old Testament, a clear distinction is made between the toponym Babel and the ethnicon Kasdim. Cf. Isa. 13:19; Ezek. 12:13; 23:15,23. dealing with the harlotries of Jerusalem/Judah, which is portrayed as a prostitute going out after foreign lovers. Consequently, the stress on the sons of these respective states is quite appropriate. The reference to <u>bny</u> Arvad in 27:11 is of a different order. Here the **D**'J' are clearly the army of the city, rather than its citizenry.¹ In any case, Ezekiel is writing from Babylon where expressions of this nature were commonly used without any connotations of genealogical descent.

Ps. 137:7 contains the only reference to <u>bny</u> Edom. The form may be explained in several ways. On the one hand it may have been influenced by the Israelite perception of the Edomites as the <u>bny</u> Esau.² On the other, the reference here may be restricted to the warriors of Edom united in their hatred toward Jerusalem. Finally, it may also have been determined by stylistic considerations, either for symmetrical or rhythmical reasons, or as a counterpart to <u>bt</u> Babel in v. 8. The poetic nature of the text encourages the use of such forms.

The <u>bny-GN</u> form occurs also in Amos 9:7 where the Ethiopians are identified as CLC: ³ But this may have been a deliberate satirical ploy. To nullify Israel's claim to special favour from Yahweh, the prophet juxtaposes the Exodus from Egypt with the migrations of Aram from Kir and the Philistines from Caphtor. It seems to us that by applying the bny-GN form (the form of the designation for Israel most frequently

¹Cf. the occasional use of <u>bny</u> Israel as a military expression, <u>supra</u>, p. 160.

The form is unexpected. One would have expected either בני כוש or the simple plural כשיים. Cf. E. Hammershaimb, <u>The Book of Amos</u>: A Commentary, trans. by J. Sturdy (Oxford: 1970), pp. 134f.

²Cf. Gen. 36:1,8,19,45.

associated with the Exodus) to Cush, the irrelevance of Israel's reliance upon the covenant has been heightened.

Eny Javan, in Zech. 9:13, ¹ represents the final example of names in this category. It is not clear if overtones of literal descent are intended. Since $11^{,2}$ is associated here with the sons of a place name, Zion, and since in this context both may refer to military forces, this is doubtful. Equally unclear is the slightly different form ² D²J¹⁷⁷ in Joel 4:6.² The juxtaposing of this form with <u>bny</u> Judah renders the literal interpretation possible.³ The presence of Javan as a son of Japheth in the Table of Nations may suggest that, as far as the Israelites were concerned, Javan was the eponymous ancestor of the Greeks. Consequently, even if the Joel and Zechariah texts do not require an ethnic interpretation of $11^{,1}$, $12^{,1}$, the Ionians may still have been viewed this way by the Israelites.

2) <u>Bny</u> + tribal or clan name from pre-Israelite times. In addition to the <u>bny</u> Heth, which have already been referred to,⁴ the <u>bny</u> Seir and the <u>bny</u> ^CAnak require comment. The former presents special problems because Seir is normally used as a geographic name.⁵ However,

¹Strictly speaking, the <u>bny-</u>GN form is not used here. The text reads על בניך יון.

Compare the form with בני כשיים above.

Although בני היונים appears to be a general collective, in v. 8 the בנים and בנות of Javan are noted separately.

⁴Gen. 23:3 et passim. See supra, p. 176.

^bNote the following: הר שעיר, Gen. 14:6; 36:8; Deut. 1:2; 2:1,5; Josh. 15:10; 24:4; Ezek. 35:2,3,7,15; 1 Chron. 4:42; 2 Chron. 20:10, 22,23 (here the Edomites are identified as the שעיר); שעיר); שעיר with a directive, Gen. 33:14,16; Josh. 12:7 (cf. 11:17); ארצה שעיר, Gen. 32:4; Deut. 1:44; 2:4,8,12,22,29; Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4; Isa. 21:11.

this interpretation is unacceptable for Gen. 36:20.¹ Here Seir is presented as a person with descendants,² as well as ethnic identity.³ Although extra-biblical texts also usually treat Seir as a geographic locality,⁴ echoes of the ethnic memory may be hinted at in an Egyptian text, Papyrus Harris I. In this text Ramses III (1198-68 B.C.) boasts:

I destroyed the people of Seir $(\underline{s}, -\underline{c}, -\underline{r}, -\underline{r}, \underline{s})$ among the Bedouin tribes. I razed their tents: their people, their property, and their cattle as well, without number, pinioned and carried away in captivity, as a tribute of Egypt.⁵

Interestingly, Seir is preceded by the foreign people, rather than land determinative, suggesting that here we have to do with an ethnic, not geographic entity.⁶ Furthermore, the people of Seir are considered to

¹Cf. 1 Chron. 1:38.

The phrase אלה בני שעיר should be interpreted consistently with the other identical occurrences in the context: אלה בני עשו, vs. 5,19 (cf. v. 10); אלה בני רעואל, vs. 13,17; אלה בני רעואל, vs. 13,17; אלה vs. 14,18. Cf. also 22ff.

³Note the expression 'Les Hurrites de l'histoire et les Horites de la Bible," RB, 74 (1967), pp. 481f. and 501f; <u>idem, EHI</u>, pp. 136-37.

⁴Cf. <u>infra</u>, pp. 380ff.

⁵As translated by J. A. Wilson, <u>ANET</u>, p. 262. For the transcribed text see W. Erichsen, <u>Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyptische Transkription</u> Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 5 (Brussels: 1933), esp. p. 33.

^DM. Weippert, "Edom: Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Edomiter auf Grund schriftlicher und archäologischer Quellen," (Ph.D. dissertation, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, 1971), p. 528, n. 196 (hereafter cited as "Edom"), has noted that the determinative may also be an indication of a simple gentilic. So also K. A. Kitchen, in private communication. belong to Shosu tribes,¹ a group that had not yet become sedentary.² The combination of this Egyptian and biblical evidence demonstrates that Haag has rightly classified Seir among the tribal patronymics.³

With respect to the Cite Cite Cite Conquest of Palestine,⁴ in view of the alternation of <math>i with i with i,⁵ it is difficult to understand i in any other sense than as an indicator of common descent.⁶

¹On the Shosu, see R. Giveon, <u>Les bedouin Shosou des documents</u> <u>égyptiens</u> (Leiden: 1971); K. A. Kitchen, in a review of Giveon's work, <u>JEA</u>, 58 (1972), p. 323; W. Helck, <u>Die Beziehungen Agyptens zu Verderasien</u> (Wiesbaden: 1962), pp. 278-79; <u>idem</u>, "Die Bedrohung Palästinas durch einwandernde Gruppen am Ende der 18. und am Anfang der 19. Dynasty," <u>VT</u>, 18 (1968), pp. 472-80. On p. 478 these Shosu groups are seen as tribes which founded the kingdoms of Moab and Edom.

²They are still living in tents. Cf. Papyrus Anastasi VI:54-55, where Edom ('-d-w-m) has the foreign land determinative, which Albright takes to indicate that the process of sedentarization had begun. "The Oracles of Balaam," JBL, 63 (1944), p. 229. A translation of the text appears in <u>ANET</u>, p. 259. The Transliterated text has been published by A. H. Gardiner, <u>Late Egyptian Miscellanies</u> Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 7 (Brussels: 1937), pp. 76f.

> ³<u>TDOT</u>, II, p. 150. ⁴Num. 13:33; Deut. 9:2; Josh. 15:14; Judg. 1:20.

⁵Num. 13:22,28; Josh. 15:14. Cf. also the references to Arba as the father of Anak. Josh. 15:13; 21:11.

⁶E. C. B. Maclaurin has argued that the Hebrew authors misunderstood the term Anak, which should not have been viewed as a proper name at all, but as a Philistine title of rank. "Anak/'Anax," VT, 15 (1965), pp. 468-74. He has not, however, explained the ease with which 'J_ and 't'r' were interchanged. To our knowledge, 't'r' followed by a genitive was never used to designate a guild or social class. Furthermore, the fact that Anak's name should be preferred to that of his father Arba as the eponym is not without precedent. The eponymous ancestor of the Israelites was two generations removed from the true ancestor of the people, Abraham.

3) Bny + patronymic from the patriarchal families. According to the Israelite traditions, theirs was not the only nation whose origins were attributed to Abraham and his kin. In Deut. 2:4,12,22,29, the population encountered by the Israelites at Mount Seir were the bny Esau. That the phrase, bny Esau is to be interpreted in the same way as bny Israel is suggested by several characteristics of the biblical treatment of the Edomites. First, the form, bny Esau occurs in narrative, rather than poetic texts, thus reducing the possibility of a figurative significance. Second, a "national" genealogy outlining the early progress of the clan is provided in Gen. 36.1 Third, the narratives include an aetiological explanation for the identification of Esau with the nation of Edom.² Fourth, reminiscences of the person Esau appear in the later historical³ and prophetic texts.⁴ Fifth, traditions have been preserved which concern the personal life of the individual.⁵ There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Israelites considered the Edomites as the descendants of Esau, a conviction clearly reflected in Deut. 2.

Although Lot's name was not left with a nation consisting of his descendants, Deut. 2:9 and 19 recognize that the Moabites and Ammonites shared a common ancestry in him. The form <u>bny</u> Lot recalls the aetiological

²Gen. 25:21ff. Cf. 32:2ff. ³Josh. 24:4. ⁴Mal. 1:2-3. ⁵Gen. 25:20-34; 26:34; 27:1ff.; 28:1-9; 32-33; 35:1-29.

Note the emphasis placed upon the identity of Edom and Esau in the genealogies of Genesis 36: vs. 1,8, עשו הנא אדום נהר שע; v. 9, עשו אבי הוא עשו אבי אדום בהר שעיר; v. 19, הוא אדום נהר שעיר, cf. also the reference to בית עשו וס. 18.

account of the origins of these two peoples in Gen. 19:30ff. Whereas <u>bny</u> Ammon occurs regularly, 2 Chron. 20:1 contains the only reference to the <u>bny</u> Moab. The narrative literary genre here suggests that '11 should be understood as an indicator of genealogical descent. On the other hand, the form <u>bny</u> Moab may have been influenced by the following bny Ammon, or by the requirement of a military expression.

Bvt-GN

Like <u>bny-GN</u>, evidence for the use of <u>byt-GN</u> as a designation for a nation is derived mainly from the Old Testament. <u>Byt</u> Israel, being the most common form, shall serve as the point of departure.

Byt Israel

The data

Frequency and distribution

The expression <u>byt</u> Israel occurs 146 times in the Old Testament, accounting for almost 6% of the references to Israel. As table 15 shows, the distribution of the form is extremely uneven.¹ The eighty-three appearances in Ezekiel represent 55% of the total. Other significant concentrations are found in Jeremiah (20x) and Amos (8x, or one-fourth of all the references to Israel in this book). When compared with <u>bny</u> Israel, it is apparent that the usage of <u>byt</u> Israel was governed by totally different considerations. Neither chronological proximity to the earlier tribal days nor literary style encouraged its usage. If Jeremiah and Ezekiel, for whom the form appears to have been a distinctive literary device, are excepted, the distribution of <u>byt</u> Israel is quite evenly divided between the historical narrative and prophetic writings.

Usage

At first sight, the historians appear to have employed byt Israel simply as a stylistic variant of bny Israel. In each Pentateuchal context

¹Note the absence of <u>byt</u> Israel from late historiography (Ezra-Chronicles).

TABLE 15

Book	Totals	Genre	
		Narrative	Poetry
Exodus	2	2	
Leviticus	5	5	
Numbers	1	1	
Subtotals	8	8	
Joshua	1	1	
1 Samuel	2	2	
2 Samuel	5	5	• • •
1 Kings	2	2	
Subtotals	10	10	
Isaiah	4	1	3
Jeremiah	20	15	5
Ezekiel	83	82	1
Hosea	5	2	3
Amos	8	2	6
Micah	3		3
Zechariah	1	1	
Subtotals	124	103	21
Psalms	3		3
Ruth	1	1	
Subtotals	4	1	3
Grand Totals	146	122	24

FREQUENCY, DISTRIBUTION AND GENRE OF BYT ISRAEL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

in which it occurs, the latter form predominates.¹ In 1 Sam. 7, where the expression appears twice (vs. 2,3) it is alternated with Israel (vs. 9,10), <u>kl</u> Israel (v. 5), <u>'nšy</u> Israel (v. 11), and <u>bny</u> Israel (vs. 4,6,7,8). On the other hand, it may be argued that <u>bny</u> Israel stresses the plurality of individuals of whom the whole consists, whereas <u>byt</u> Israel places the emphasis on the nation as a unified body.² This would explain the ease with which the latter is paralleled with $n\gamma$ 5 in Num. 20:29.³ Similarly, the adoption of this expression in Josh. 21:45 may serve to highlight that Yahweh's promise of the land of Canaan was to the nation, rather than the individuals of whom it consisted. In each occurrence in Samuel-Kings a strong corporate stress is observable. According to 1 Sam. 7:2 the absence of the ark from the central sanctuary caused corporate lamentation after Yahweh; this was transformed into corporate celebration when the ark was finally brought home to Jerusalem.⁴

After the institution of the monarchy, <u>byt</u> Israel tended to become increasingly political, even dynastic in overtone. The tragedy at Mount Gilboa caused David to weep for עם יהוה ובית ישראל (2 Sam. 1:12). The association of <u>byt</u> Israel with עס Yahweh might suggest a collective religious sense here, but this connotation is absent from Mephibosheth's strictly secular comment in 2 Sam. 16:3, "Today <u>byt</u>

¹Exod. 16:31; 40:38; Lev. 10:6; 17:3,8,10; Num. 20:29.

²Cf. A. R. Hulst's conclusion that in Deuteronomy <u>bny</u> Israel stresses "die empirische Pluralität" whereas Israel by itself emphasizes the "Einheit" of the nation. "Der Name 'Israel' im Deuteronomium," <u>OTS</u> 9 (1951), p. 82.

³On the use of Vin "P" cf. J. Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," <u>JQR</u>, 69 (1978), p. 76.

⁴2 Sam. 6:5,15. V. 19 indicates that the <u>byt</u> Israel consisted of כל העם כל המון ישראל למאיש ועד אשה.

Israel will restore the ממלכות of my father to me." After the division of the kingdom, the expression is applied exclusively to the Northern Kingdom, in juxtaposition to Judah. In 1 Kings 12:21 Rehoboam assembles all <u>byt</u> Judah and the tribe of Benjamin against <u>byt</u> Israel. In 20:31, Ben-Hadad of Aram is reminded by his servants of the merciful reputation of the *dot context*. A final text, 2 Sam. 12:8, is noteworthy because of the effective play on the word אכת וווא סיר מולי ארניך שיי ארניך as well as ישראל ויהודה ("your master's wives"). On the other, he had also received active of the servents and the tribe of servents of the merciful servented by his servents of the had also

The outstanding feature of the use of <u>byt</u> Israel in the prophets is its vocative function.² The critical circumstances immediately preceding the fall of the northern Kingdom³ in the eighth century and Judah twoards the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth,⁴ contributed to the adoption of this hortatory device. The scope of the term fluctuates in the prophets between the entire nation, on the one hand,⁵ and the

¹On the refusal of the narrators to identify the kingdom of Israel as byt Saul cf. infra, p. 212, n. 1.

²Isa. 46:3; Jer. 3:20; 5:15; 10:1; 18:6 (<u>bis</u>); Ezek. 11:5; 18:25, 29,30,31; 20:31,39,44; 33:11,20; 36:22,32; 44:6; Hos. 5:1; Amos 5:1,25, 6:14. Note also Ps. 135:19.

³See the references in Hosea and Amos in the previous note.

⁴Cf. the references in Jeremiah and Ezekiel in n. 2. Interestingly, after the fall of Jerusalem, Ezekiel uses the phrase in a vocative sense only twice. The absence of <u>byt</u> Israel from Deuteronomy, which is set up as a sermonic address may suggest a chronological distance between this work and the two prophets.

⁵This is frequently indicated by pairing שילאל with בית יעקב with נית (Isa. 14:1-2; 46:3; Jer. 2:4; Mic. 3:9) or יעקב alone (Ezek. 39:25; Mic. 1:5; 3:1). Elsewhere this is indicated by the context. So Isa. 5:7; 63:7; Jer. 2:26; 9:25; 31:33; 33:17; Amos 9:9; Cf. Ps. 98:3; 115:12.

Northern Kingdom alone, on the other.1

Ezekiel's use of byt Israel deserves special comment. In a general sense, the prophet is charged to minister to byt Israel,² to renounce her evil,³ and to declare her future prospects.⁴ Elsewhere the name is applied specifically to the Northern Kingdom even though it has long since disappeared,⁵ the exiles of Judah in Babylon,⁶ and the remnant in Jerusalem.⁷ In several contexts byt Israel is paired with 'my and contrasted with the D'12.⁸ According to this prophet byt Israel has elders,⁹ is located in Jerusalem,¹⁰ has a wall around it,¹¹ and possesses a register of its members.¹² Why Ezekiel should have preferred

Note the references to the two houses of Israel in Isa. 8:14. A specifically Northern interpretation is often indicated by the juxtaposing of כית ישראל and כית ישראל. So Jer. 3:18; 5:11; 11:17; 31:27,31 (cf. v. 33 where byt Israel includes both houses); 33:14; Zech. 8:13. Cf. also Isa. 5:7 (// איש יהודל). Hos. 6:10 and 12:1 parallel byt Israel with Ephraim. Elsewhere the contexts of Jer. 48:13; Hos. 1:4,6; Amos 5:1,3,4; 6:1,14; 7:10 suggest the more restricted scope.

²3:1,4,5,17; 12:6,27; 14:6; 17:2; 20:27,30; 24:21; 33:7,10; 36:22; 40:4; 44:6.

³3:7; 6:11; 8:6,10; 9:9; 12:9,24; 14:4,5; 18:6,15,29; 20:13; 22:18; 39:23; 44:6,12.

⁴14:11; 20:40; 28:24,25; 29:21; 36:10; 37:11; 39:12,22,25,29; 43:10; 45:17.

⁵4:3,4,5; 9:9; 37:16.

611:15.

712:10.

⁸13:9; 14:11; 28:25; 34:30. Cf. 39:22.

⁹8:11,12.

¹⁰12:10, הנשיא המשא הזה בירושלם וכל בית ישראל אשר המה בתוכה. ¹¹13:5.

כתב בית ישראל , 13:9.

this form to the simple name Israel,¹ or <u>bny</u> Israel² is not clear. It may be speculated that on the verge of the disintegration of the nation as an independent political entity he deliberately adopted an expression with strong cohesive overtones. On the other hand, since he wrote from Babylon, the form may suggest a Mesopotamian literary influence on his writings.³

Antithetical evidence

Byt Israel is juxtaposed with antithetical expressions in only four contexts. Lev. 17:8,10 distinguishes the members of byt Israel from the Lev. 17:8,10 distinguishes the members of byt Israel from the unique emphasis of byt Israel because of the free interchange of this expression with bny Israel. A similar alternation occurs in 22:18, in which Moses is charged to speak to Aaron, his sons (גר הנר ובני ישראל ct veen בני ישראל and to be made, however, distinguishes between and action of the succeeding verses both may offer sacrifices to Yehweh, a privilege denied the succeeding verses v. 25. Indeed the latter's products are not to be received even if

²The form appears only in 2:3; 4:13; 6:5; 35:5; 37:16,21; 43:7; 44:9,15; 47:22; 48:11.

³J. Hermann speaks of a "bewusste übername babylonischer Redeweise." Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt, KAT (Leipzig: 1924), p. 20.

¹The independent form appears in 13:4 (vocative); 14:7; 18:3; 20:5; 37:28; 39:7,11; 44:10,28,29; 45:8,15,16. Otherwise a variety of combinations is used depending upon the requirements of the context. E.g., אדמת אדמת, 16x; אלהי ישראל, 7x; לעראל, 7x. For additional expressions and discussion see Danell, pp. 238ff. <u>Byt</u> Israel may well have been rejected in these instances because of the reluctance to extend the construct chain beyond two members.

offered by an Israelite. Ezek. 14:7 is similar in nature to Lev. 22:18 in insisting that the same laws concerning idolatry apply to both π^2 and the λ in their midst.

Isa. 14:1-2 is more helpful. The prophet speaks in verse 1 of attaching themselves¹ to בית יעקב which in the context is paralleled with בית ישראל. According to verse 2 the עמים who will bring the Israelites back to their own land will themselves become the servants and captives of the <u>byt</u> Israel. The text clearly distinguishes between <u>byt</u> Israel and outsiders who would identify with them on the one hand, and those who will be subject to them on the other.

Interpretation of the data

Our discussion of the use of the expression byt Israel has provided

¹The two words for "attaching" used here are both relatively rare. **NSO** occurs only four times, each time, however, in a different stem. In 1 Sam. 2:36 (Qal) it is used of appointing one to a professional, in this case priestly, office. Hab. 2:15 (Piel) uses it in the context of mixing drink, adding ingredients. In Job 30:7 (Pual) the verb is descriptive of young fools gathering to taunt Job. The closest parallel to Isa. 14:1 is found in 1 Sam. 26:19 (Hithpael). Here David complains of Saul's men having drawn him out of the land, in order that he, David, should have no attachment with the inheritance of Yahweh: הסופר הכוחלה should have no attachment is effected by changing one's allegiance to another deity, presumably one of the gods of the nations around. On this issue see further infra, pp. 413, 482ff.

The second verb, לוה, appears more frequently, but Qoh. 8:15 represents the only example of its usage in the Qal stem. Here it bears the sense "to commit oneself to," e.g., the pursuit of pleasure. Only the Niphal stem occurs elsewhere. In each instance the connotation of "joining in some type of relationship is obvious: 1) marital union, Gen. 29: 34; 2) political alliance, Ps. 83:9; 3) joint religious service, Num. 18: 2,4; 4) a people attaching itself to a deity, Jer. 50:4-5 (bny Israel and bny Judah to Yahweh); Zech. 2:15 (many nations, D'12, becoming his people, D'12); but note especially Isa. 56:3-6, which speaks of the '12 joining themselves to Yahweh to minister to him (π '0), to love his name (Ψ '7), and to be his servants (Ψ Cr'0), contra Lev. 22:25, above; 5) proselytes who are said to attach themselves to another people rather than a deity, Isa. 14:1; Est. 9:27. Cf. also Dan. 11:34 on the possibility of a hypocritical allegiance. few hints of any kinship connotation. Even the contrast presented by the Dive among them is inconclusive. Is there any reason, then, for recognizing in the phrase an indication of belief in descent from a common ancestor as was concluded from the study of <u>bny</u> Israel? This question may be answered only by examining the broader use of the term, r^{2} , in the Old Testament and in the cognate languages.

The general usage of בית

With its more than 2000 appearances, n^2 seems to have been one of the most frequently used Hebrew substantives.¹ Although its sense varied greatly from one context to another, in its basic meaning n^2 represented a building which served as a dwelling, a residence. Frequently, however, n^2 was used in a derived sense to designate a "household, family", i.e., those who resided in the same dwelling. Not surprisingly, a n^2 could consist of more than the parents and the immediate children. Noah's included the wives of his sons;² Jacob's included his grandchildren.³ The members of Abraham's n^2 incorporated 318 trained men, and that long before he had children of his own.⁴ Servants, whether born in the house or purchased from outside, were included.⁵

¹For studies of the word see E. Jenni, "n?<u>a</u> <u>bajit</u> Haus," <u>THAT</u>, I, pp.308-13; H. A. Hoffner, "n?<u>a</u>, " <u>TWAT</u>, I, pp. 629-38 (= <u>TDOT</u>, II, 308-13; pp. 107-16).

³Gen. 46:27. The female members of a $n \ge were$ subject to special customs. An unmarried daughter belonged to the house of her father (Num. 30:3ff.). When she was married she would join the $n \ge 0$ of her husband (Num. 30:10). If a woman should lose her husband either through death or divorce, while in a state of childlessness, she would return to the $n \ge 0$ of her father (Lev. 22:13; cf. Num. 30:10ff.).

⁴Gen. 14:14. ⁵Gen. 17:23,27.

²Gen. 7:1,7.

Although the word \Box' is not employed in the context of Exod. 20:10, since they are subject to the head of the house, it is implied that even aliens ($\iota \Box \Box \Box \Box \Box$) and livestock were considered to belong.

In a patriarchal society such as Israel's the n^{5} was dominated by the father (N). The word N itself connotes not only kinship, but also authority.¹ The father was lord of the house,² even of his wife.³ Children and servants alike honoured him.⁴ In return, in him they also found their security.⁵ So important was the father in the household that the adoption of r as a designation for the family was a natural development.⁶

²בעל הבית. Exod. 22:7.

³The term is commonly used in the sense of "husband", Gen. 20:3; Exod. 21:3,22. See further, M. J. Mulder, "<u>ba^cal</u>," <u>TDOT</u>, II, p. 182.

⁴Exod. 20:12; Mal. 1:6.

⁵Ps. 27:10; Lam. 5:3.

⁶Gen. 12:1; Exod. 12:3. At the more advanced stage of tribal development the expression came to denote a sub-group of a clan (Num. 3: 24) and even a tribe (Num. 17:17). For a study of the use of the expression in post-exilic times see J. P. Weinberg, "Das <u>Beit</u> 'abot im 6.-4. JH. V. U. Z.," <u>VT</u>, 23 (1973), pp. 400-14. Cf. also N. K. Gottwald, <u>The</u> <u>Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-</u> <u>1050 B.C.E.</u> (Maryknoll, N.Y.: 1979), p. 248.

⁷Cf. Pedersen, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 51ff.

For discussions of the term, אב, and the role of the father in the Israelite household see H. Ringgren," אָר <u>TWAT</u>, I, pp. 1-19 (= <u>TDOT</u>, I, pp. 1-19); J. Pedersen, <u>Israel: Its Life and Culture</u>, (London: 1926), Vol. I, pp. 60ff.; De Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp. 7-8.

Marriage signified the departure of a male adult from his father and mother,¹ and the establishment of his own n^{2} .² The selection of an appropriate wife was a critical task, for her function was not only to attend to the physical well-being of the family,³ but especially to provide the $\lambda = 1$ with children. To have children was to build the n^{2} ;⁴ not to have them the cause of great shame.⁵ The importance of kinship by blood lies at the heart of the patriarchal narratives. Abraham was called to leave his kinsmen (n^{2}) and his $\lambda = 1$ in order that his own might grow in new creative directions.⁶ However, this growth was frustrated by Sarah's inability to conceive. Nevertheless, all alternative schemes were rejected; neither Eliezer, the designated heir (p^{2}), n^{2} nor Ishmael, the son of the Egyptian handmaid, could substitute for the actual son of Abraham and Sarah.⁸ This concern for the blood ties continued in the search for a wife for Isaac,⁹ as well as the latter's

> ¹Gen. 2:24. ²Num. 30:10. ³Prov. 31:10ff.

⁴Note the idiom, ..., 1 Sam. 2:35; 2 Sam. 7:27; 1 Kings 11:38. Cf. also עשה בית ל..., Exod. 1:21; 1 Sam. 25:28; 2 Sam. 7:11; 1 Kings 2:24.

⁵The grief of one who has failed in this vital respect is given classic expression by Rachel, Gen. 30:1.

⁶Gen. 12:1ff. ⁷Gen. 15:2. ⁸Gen. 17:15ff.

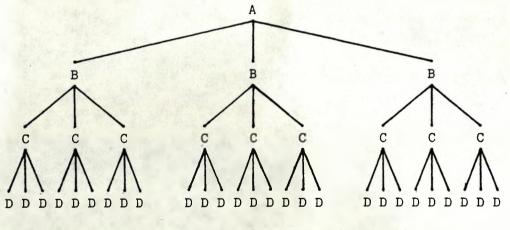
Abraham's servant is to get her from his אולדת (Gen. 24:4), his and his מעפחה (24:38).

According to the subsequent narratives, consciousness of membership in the household of Jacob was never forgotten, in spite of the increasing size and complexity of the group. The hierarchical organization of the nation which emerged from Egypt was based upon an awareness of lineal descent from the ancestor, the dimensions of which are reflected in the genealogies.³ These are by definition concerned with kinship ties; servants and slaves were not normally included. Consequently,

¹Gen. 28:1ff.

²Gen. 46:27. Note that in the context not a word is said about servants or other associates of the family; only blood relatives are counted.

³This hierarchical structure is reflected in Josh. 7:14-18, and may be represented diagramatically as follows:



A = עס = B שבט = C משפחה בית אב = D

For a fuller discussion of the interrelationships among these entities see de Vaux, <u>Ancient Israel</u>, pp. 8, 12, 22; F. I. Andersen, "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure," <u>Bible Translator</u>, 20/1 (1969), 29ff., Milgrom, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 79-81; Gottwald, <u>loc. cit</u>., pp. 245ff.

Additional Examples of Byt-GN

Proper names with a prefixed \mathfrak{n} are common in the Old Testament.² However, two types of names should be distinguished, namely toponyms and eponyms. The most striking feature of the former is the absence of any place name of the form <u>byt</u>-GN in which GN is also a personal name. Most reflect the veneration of a deity at the site,³ or some physical or

However, lest realm and dynasty be confused it should be emphasized that the Hebrew historians studiously avoided the identification of the nation, byt Israel, with the various dynasties. Neither the united nation of Israel nor Judah is ever called byt Saul or byt David. Similarly the Northern Kingdom is never referred to as byt Jeroboam, byt Ahab, or byt Jehu. Cf. 2 Sam. 3:10; 1 Kings 12:20,26; 14:8,14; 2 Kings 17:21; Jer. 33:17 (כסא בית ישראל); Ezek. 12:10; 43:7; Hos. 1:4; 5:1.

²See Mandelkern, <u>s.v</u>., or BDB, pp. 110-12.

³The <u>byt</u>-DN in such cases is viewed as the residence of the deity. E.g., byt El, Josh. 18:13; byt Dagan, Josh. 15:41; byt Anath, Josh.

¹It is these overtones of kinship which underlie the application of ΔK Λ΄Δ in a special sense to a royal dynasty. These are frequently identified by the name of the first occupant of the throne from a given line. E.g., byt Saul, 2 Sam. 3:1, et passim; 9:1,2,3,9; 16:5,8; 19:17; byt David, 2 Sam. 3:1,6; 1 Kings 12:19 (= 2 Chron. 10:19), 20,26; 13:2; 14:8; 2 Kings 17:21; Isa. 7:2,13; 22:22; Jer. 21:12; Zech. 12:7,8,10, 12; 1 Chron. 17:24; byt Jeroboam, 1 Kings 13:34; 14:10,13,14; 15:29; 16:3; 21:22; 2 Kings 9:9; 13:6; byt Baasha, 1 Kings 16:3,7; 21:22; byt Jehu, Hos. 1:4. Notice, however, byt Ahab instead of byt Omri, 2 Kings 8:18,27(3x); 9:7,8,9; 10:10,11; 21:13; Mic. 6:16.

biological feature associated with it.¹ Occasionally moral qualities will appear in the genitive position.² Each of these forms assumes a more literal meaning of n than is reflected in byt Israel.

In contrast to this common usage, $n \ge precedes$ other eponyms relatively rarely. In each occurrence, the genitive is a personal name which also appears with great frequency in the patriarchal narratives.³ Since these names are all closely associated with that of Israel/Jacob, little additional evidence may be gleaned.⁴

19:38; byt Shemesh, Josh. 19:38; perhaps also ביעשתרה for כמשתרה, "house of Astarte", Josh. 21:27. So W. Boree, <u>Die Alten Ortsnamen Paläs-</u> tinas, 2nd reprinted ed. (Hildesheim: 1968), p. 79. All of the Palestinian names containing the element cra are listed, pp. 75-81.

בית לחם "בית לחם", "house of the former, בית גדר", "house of the wall" (1 Chron. 2:51); בית לחם בית לחם, "house of the height" (Josh. 13:27); כית הרם, "house of bread" (Judg. 12:8); בית העמק ", "house of the valley" (Josh. 19:27); etc. For additional examples see Boree, pp. 75-81. Examples of the latter, For additional examples see Boree, pp. 75-81. Examples of the latter, "house of the garden" (2 Kings 9:27); "house of the vineyard" (Jer. 6:1); בית לבאות (Josh. 19:6); etc.

²בית און, "house of iniquity" (Josh. 7:2).

³byt Esau, Ob. 18 (bis); byt Isaac, Amos 7:16: byt Jacob, Gen. 46:27 + 18x; and before the eponyms of the tribes of Israel.

⁴Interestingly, when Obadiah uses the form <u>byt</u>-GN he uses the personal name of the eponym as the genitive and not that of the national name, Edom. This may suggest that the association Esau-Edom rests upon different foundations than Jacob-Israel. However, since <u>byt</u> Esau occurs only here the evidence is too limited to confirm or refute this hypothesis. In addition to the names cited, note also <u>byt</u> Eden, Amos 1:5. This name does not fit into either category, being paralleled exactly by the Akkadian form. For further discussion cf. A. Malamat, "Amos 1:5 in the Light of the Til Barsip Inscriptions," <u>BASOR</u>, 129 (1953), pp. 25-26. Cf. also <u>supra</u>, pp. 176f.

Byt-GN in the Cognate Languages

The root *<u>bait</u>, "house" appears to have been common to all Semitic languages. Fortunately, for the purposes of this discussion, the form <u>byt</u>-GN has been attested in a variety of contexts, permitting a firm basis for comparison with the Hebrew usage.

Bit-GN in Akkadian writings

The term <u>bitum</u> occurs frequently in the Akkadian writings. Its broad range of meanings parallels the Hebrew usage in many respects.¹ Especially interesting in this context are the numerous occurrences of the expression <u>bit</u>-GN in which the proper name designates a geographic entity or tribe.² It remains to be determined whether the phrase implies a recognition of ethnic unity as was observed to be operative in the Hebrew counterpart.

Limitations posed by the data

Several rather severe limitations frustrate the search for a satisfactory answer to this question. In the first place, most of these names appear only as just that, the names of regions or tribes listed along with many others; tribes that were conquered by the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. Consequently, their value for our purposes is little

²For listings see Parpola, <u>Toponyms</u>, pp. 75-92 where 110+ entries are cited. Cf. also <u>RLA</u>. II, pp. 33ff.

¹<u>CAD</u>, 2, pp. 282-95 divides the various meanings of $\underline{b\bar{1}tum}$ into the following categories: 1) house, dwelling, shelter (of animals), temple, palace; 2) manor, estate, encampment of nomads; 3) room (of a house, palace or temple); 4) container, repository, housing; 5) place, plot, area, region; 6) household, family, royal house; 7) estate, aggregate of property of all kinds. Numerous references are provided. Cf. also <u>AHw</u>, pp. 132-34.

more than statistical; at best they may reveal some hierarchical structures.¹ Many appear only once.² Second, the Akkadian scribes were disappointingly inconsistent in their application of determinatives, alternating among <u>mat</u> (land), <u>al</u> (city), <u>mar</u> (son), or omitting them entirely. Third, and perhaps most seriously, <u>bit</u> in the sense of ruling dynasty, and <u>bit</u> meaning tribal unit, are not carefully distinguished.³

¹See for example, the records of the campaigns of Sennacherib: OIP, II, pp. 52-54. In this particular campaign, the scribe records the following conquests: 1) 33 strong, walled cities and 250 hamlets within the borders (<u>li-mi-tu</u>) of ¹<u>Bit-^mDak-ku-ri</u> including among others, ^C<u>Bit-</u> ^m<u>Sa-an-na-bi</u>, ^C<u>Bit-^mRa-hi-e</u>, ^C<u>Bit-^mKu-dur-ri</u>; 2) 8 strong, walled cities and 120 hamlets of ¹<u>Bit-^mSa-j-al-li</u>; 3) 39 strong, walled cities and ^C<u>Bit-^mIlu-ba-ni</u>, 350 hamlets within the territory of ¹<u>Bit-^mA-muk-ka-a-ni</u> including ^C<u>Bit-^mTa-ú-ra-a</u>, ^C<u>Bit-^mBa-ni-ilu-ú-a</u>, ^C<u>Bit-^mIl-ta-ma-sa-ma-^s</u>, ^C<u>Bit-^mDi-ni-ilu</u>; 4) 8 strong, walled cities and 100 hamlets within the borders of ¹<u>Bit-^mIa-ki-ni</u>, including ^C<u>Bit-^mZa-bi-di-ia</u>. According to these lists <u>Bit-Dakkuri</u>, <u>Bit-Sa'ili</u>, <u>Bit-Amukkani</u>, and <u>Bit-Jakin</u>, each with the land determinative appear to be larger units, with sub-divisions identified on the basis of urban centres, of which some are likewise designated as "houses".

²Of the subgroups listed in the previous note, only Bit-Zabidija is named elsewhere, and that only on one other occasion.

³See for example, the references to the northern kingdom of Israel as Bit-^mHu-um-ri-a and variations in Iraq, 18, 125:4; Winckler, <u>Sargon</u>, 148:32; Rost, <u>Tiglath Pilezer III</u>, 78:6; 80:15; Lyon, <u>Sargon</u>, 3:19; 4:20; 14:21; ZDMG, 72, 178:15. Hu-um-ri is neither the eponymous ancestor nor the first monarch of Israel. His significance to the Neo-Assyrians may be attributed either to the latter's perception of his having founded the state capital in Samaria, or to his occupation of the throne when Neo-Assyrian political ambitions first began to touch Israelite interests. This occurred first under Ashur-nașir-apli, a contemporary of Omri. Cf. H. W. F. Saggs, "The Assyrians," POTT, p. 158. This designation of Israel as Bit-Humria contrasts sharply with the Old Testament usage. In the latter the nation is never identified as "the house" of its monarch or Cf. supra, p. 213, n. 1. Furthermore, this particular ruling dynasty. dynasty is never identified as בית עמרי, but always כית אחאב. T. Ishide, "The House of Ahab," IEJ, 25 (1975), pp. 135-51, attributes this alteration to the Deuteronomistic religious perspective of Israelite historiography. If D. J. Wiseman's reconstruction of a lacuna in one of

As a result it is often impossible to determine whether the text is dealing with the ruling house of a tribe, or the tribe itself.¹ On the other hand, it is possible that in some cases the name in the genitive position of \underline{bit} -GN may have been recognized as both the ancestor of the tribe and the founder of the dynasty. Finally, unlike the Hebrews, who demonstrated their keen interest in ancestral traditions by committing them to writing, not a trace of similar literature has survived in Mesopotamia. The records of the ancestral heritages of the monarchs are not to be confused with national traditions.²

In view of these limitations, it is clear that a great deal of caution must be observed in handling the data. It is impossible to definitively prove or refute the common ethnic roots of any of the Mesopotamian tribes that came under the name <u>bit-GN</u>. On the basis of the evidence, the most that one may do is speak in terms of probabilities. However, it is to be expected that, if the form <u>bit-GN</u> does reflect a common ethnic heritage, hints of this consanguinity should occasionally be dropped.

Tiglath Pileser's inscription is correct, the identification of Aram Damascus as Bit-^mha-za-ilu, may represent a similar case. "A Fragmentary Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III from Nimrud," <u>Iraq</u>, 18 (1956), pp. 120ff. Cf. H. Tadmor, "The Southern Border of Aram," <u>IEJ</u>, 12 (1962), pp. 114ff.

¹In fact, even where the texts are clear, the Assyrian interpretation appears to be erroneous. On the Black Obelisk Jehu is identified as ^myu-u-a mar hu-um-ri, although it is known from other sources that, far from being a member of this dynasty, he was responsible for its extermination, replacing it with his own. 2 Kings 10:1-17. Note also the designation of the northern dynasty as byt Jehu in Hos. 1:4. Expressions such as this Akkadian form may therefore signify no more than that Jehu was a successor of Omri, or that he was from "Humri-land". So A. Ungnad, "Jaua, mar Humri," OLZ, 4 (1906), pp. 224-26.

²E.g., the Sumerian King List, the Assyrian King List, and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty. Compare this with their interest in the creation of man and his early history. Cf. Lambert and Millard, AtrahasIs, pp. 15ff. The first hint derives from the common use of <u>bitum</u> for "household, family".¹ That the <u>bitum</u> as an economic unit may include servants and slaves as well as the members of the actual family is clear from the Babylonian laws. However, the core of the <u>bitum</u> consisted of the father (<u>abum</u>), his wife (<u>aššatum</u>), and the children of that marriage.² In the patriarchal Mesopotamian society the father was considered to be the lord of the house.³ The use of the expression <u>bit abi</u>, one of the central concerns of the Code of Hammurapi, is of special interest.⁴ Full membership in the <u>bit abi</u>, indicated by the rights of inheritance, was normally open to the children of the man (<u>awēlum</u>) and his wife.⁵ However, under special circumstances, if a slave woman bore children fathered by the <u>awēlum</u>, these could also share in the privilege.⁶ Adopted children too were able to share in the inheritance,⁷ but under certain conditions could also return to their own paternal homes (i.e., their own <u>bit abi</u>).⁸ On the other hand, even for seigniors, the threat

¹<u>CAD</u>, 2 <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>. For a discussion of family life in Mesopotamia see E. Ebeling, "Familie," <u>RLA</u>, III, pp. 9-15.

²E.g., <u>TCL</u> 13, 193:10, PN PN <u>assat-sú</u> PN₃ PN₄ PN₅ PN₆ <u>mari-sú</u> ¹PN₇ <u>u</u> ¹PN₈ <u>marati-sú</u> <u>naphar</u> 8 LÚ <u>a-me-lu-ut-tu</u>₄ LÚ.UN^{mes} <u>bit-sú</u>, "PN (himself), his wife PN, his sons PN₃, PN₄, PN₅, PN₆, his daughters PN₇ and PN₈, together 8 persons, his entire family."

> ³In CH Nos. 129 and 161 he is called <u>be-el</u> <u>as-sa-tim</u>. ⁴Note CH Nos. 165-84. ⁵CH Nos. 165,166,167. ⁶CH Nos. 170,171. ⁷CH No. 191. ⁸CH Nos. 186,189,190,193.

of being cut off from the <u>bit</u> <u>abi</u> hung over those guilty of moral offences against the family.¹ The obvious importance of blood relationships in these texts confirms overtones of kinship in Akkadian usage of <u>bitum</u> when followed by an appropriate genitive.²

Although in its essential meaning <u>bit</u> <u>abi</u> referred to the nuclear family, the expression could be applied to social units of ever increasing size. According to ABL 1074:8-9, one <u>bit</u> <u>abi</u> is presented as a larger entity containing a <u>qinnu</u> as a subunit, ". . . this family belongs to the clan Belšunu."³ The hierarchical tribal social structure is reflected even more explicitly in ABL 877:12-17, "Illatu, son of Marduk, son of Baueresh, family of the Bulețira clan, his ancestral house is outside the gate of the Gula (temple)."⁴ Noteworthy here is the substitution of the name of the person fulfilling the role of father, Bulețira, in place of <u>abi</u>. It is this usage which underlies also the lists of Sennacherib's Chaldaean conquests.⁵

¹CH No. 158, <u>ina bit abim innassah</u>, for having had relations with his stepmother. The punishment for the same offence with his mother was for both to be burned (No. 157). The verb <u>nasahum</u> is used in Nos. 168-169) of removing a son's title to a share in the father's estate.

For numerous additional references to similar usage from other documents see CAD, 1, pp. 73-74.

³<u>Qin-nu</u> an-nu-u ša bīt abi-su ša ^{md}Bel-šu-nu, as translated by CAD, 1, p. 73. On <u>qinnum</u> see <u>AHw</u>, p. 922.

4 md_{Illat-ú} mar ^mMar-duk mar ^{md}Ba-u-eres^{es} gin-ni sa bit ^mEel-eti-ra bit abisu ina pan bab e-rib ^dGu-la, as translated by <u>CAD</u>, 1, p. 75.

⁵Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 216, n. 1. Cf. also the use of <u>bel</u> <u>biti</u> to refer to the chief of a tribe. <u>CAD</u>, 2, p. 295. These kinship connotations are especially important in the use of <u>bit</u> <u>abi</u> to refer to a ruling dynasty. For references see <u>CAD</u>, 1, p. 74.

In an extended sense $\underline{b\bar{i}tum}$ was commonly used of the paternal estate; not only the movable property,¹ but also real estate. Thus a patrimony could consist of a garden, a field, or even a manor.² On the other hand, although one paternal estate could be divided into several "houses", the term $\underline{b\bar{i}t}$ abi continued to have reference to the ancestral castle, the family seat.³ This semantic process developed still farther, to the point where the term $\underline{b\bar{i}tum}$ could be applied to a plot of land or geographic region, independent of any inheritance connections.⁴ Only in such cases have the kinship overtones receded completely.

We would be greatly assisted in confirming the kinship connotations of the expression \underline{bit} -GN if it could be demonstrated that when it is employed in a tribal or geographic sense, the name appearing as the genitive represented a <u>bona fide</u> personal name. Unfortunately many of the names so used are unattested as names of individuals. It is possible that the personal name determinative prefixed to many of these reflects memories of the founders of these houses, i.e., the eponymous ancestors.⁵ On formal grounds there does not appear to be any reason for rejecting many of those accompanied by this determinative as personal names.⁶

> ¹CH No. 183. ²For references see <u>CAD</u>, 1, pp. 74f.

³<u>Ibid</u>., p. 75. Cf. supra, p. 215, n. 1.

⁴<u>CAD</u>, 2, pp. 292f. Cf. also Jer. 31:27, where, however, kinship overtones may still be present.

^DOf the 110+ toponyms with the prefixed <u>bit</u> listed by Parpola, s.v., one half occur with this determinative.

^bCompare the forms of the names with the personal name determinative listed by Parpola with those cited by Tallqvist, <u>APN</u>, and discussed by Stamm, <u>ANG</u>.

Several have appeared in contexts in which they have been interpreted as individuals, suggesting that the personal name determinatives were not entirely fictitious.¹

Of special interest in this regard are the major Chaldaean tribes, the Bit Amukani, Bit Dakkuri and Bit-Jakin peoples. Several features, apart from the prefixed <u>bit</u> and the personal name determinative, suggest that here we have to do with tribes whose basis of unity was descent from a common eponymous ancestor. First, these names are never used of cities or associated with specific geographic locations.² Second, the members of the tribes are regularly identified as <u>mar</u>-PN, the genitive being the name of the supposed ancestor.³ Since the names are not applied to cities, this usage should probably not be equated with

¹W.g., Adini, WO, 4/1 (1967), p. 34, vi:6-7. So interpreted by Ebeling, <u>RLA</u>, I, p. 36, and Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, p. 198, n. 1208. Cf. p. 244, n. 1567. KAI 233:15. Note also Jakin, whose name appears in the same text as Adini, WO, 4/1, p. 34, vi:6-7, and is called the "King of Sealand," <u>sar mat Tam-di</u>. <u>RLA</u>, II, p. 44. Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., n. 1213, suggests that in this case the Assyrians have mistaken the name of the tribe, here accepted as its eponymous ancestor, for the name of its ruler. Cf. also A. R. Millard, in a review of Brinkman's volume, <u>Orientalia</u>, 39 (1970), p. 449. On these tribes and their names see further J. A. Brinkman, "Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in Southern Babylonia in the Early Seventh Century B.C.," <u>Orientalia</u>, 46 (1977), pp. 305ff. in a review of M. Dietrich, <u>Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der</u> <u>Sargonidenzeit</u> (700-648), AOAT, 7 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1970). Dietrich, p. 5, interprets the <u>Bit</u>-PN designations as primarily geographic, rather than tribal entities.

²Cf. the Aramaeans who are also found in southern Mesopotamia, but whose "tribal" names appear elsewhere only as city names. Brinkman, <u>PKB</u> p. 271, suggests that their identification among the Aramaean tribes may have been an Assyrian fabrication.

³Cf. the use of gentilics for the Aramaeans, Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, p. 267, n. 1716, and p. 273, n. 1762. This Chaldaean usage applies even to the chieftains, e.g., <u>a-di-ni mār</u> <u>da-ku-ri</u>, WO, 4, p. 34, line 6. the common Assyrian designation of a citizen of a city as "the son of the city".¹ This suggests that these groups had not yet developed politically beyond a tribal status.²

It is obvious that the search for the origins of the peoples referred to by the Assyrians as <u>bit</u>-GN cannot be completed without a great deal more data. However, it does appear that in some instances, especially with respect to the Chaldaean tribes, the form reflects a perception of tribal identity based upon descent from a common ancestor. As in the case of the Hebrew usage, this interpretation does not demand absolute ethnic purity. It is known that intermarriage was practiced at least among the leading families of the tribes.³ It is also quite likely that outsiders were often incorporated into the tribe, either voluntarily or by coercion.

Byt-GN in Northwest Semitic texts

Outside Mesopotamia examples of tribal and national names using

¹Cf. the discussion <u>supra</u>, pp. 171ff. Significantly, although several northern Aramaean states were also identified by the <u>bit-GN</u> form; i.e., <u>Bit-Adini</u>, <u>Bit-Bahiani</u>, <u>Bit-Halupe</u> and <u>Bit-Zamani</u>, and although their citizens may be referred to as "sons of <u>Bit-GN</u>", the personal name determinative never appears before the genitive. Contrast this with the Chaldaean <u>Bit-Adini</u>, which seldom appears without the determinative.

²The occasional reference to the leaders of Bit-Jakin as "King of Sealand" (<u>Sar mat Tam-di</u>), <u>WO</u>, 4, p. 34, vi:7, and the collective designation of the chieftains as "Kings of Chaldaea" (<u>Sarrani</u> [<u>Sa</u>] <u>mat</u> <u>Kaldi</u>), <u>Iraq</u>, 25 (1963), p. 56, line 47, need not indicate otherwise. On the broad scope of <u>sarrum</u> cf. infra, pp. 498ff. See Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, p. 264, n. 1704, for additional references to the use of <u>sarrum</u> for the rulers of these tribes. The process of sedentarization is described by H. Klengel, <u>Zwischen Zelt und Palast: Die Beziehungen von Nomaden und</u> Sesshaften im alten Vorderasien (Vienna: 1972), pp. 135f.

³Nimrud Letter V 13'. Cf. Brinkman, p. 265, n. 1707.

the form <u>byt-GN</u> are rare. The nearest the cuneiform texts of Ugarit come is in the application of the expression <u>bit abi</u> to a family seat or ancestral castle.¹ Unfortunately, however, as in so many instances from Mesopotamia, this text concerns the fortunes of a dynasty, not a tribe. From the alphabetic texts, the Keret Epic speaks of a <u>bt <u>bbr</u>.² Habur, however, is not the name of a person or tribe, but a city, the home of Keret.³</u>

The data provided by Phoenician and Aramaic texts is no more satisfying. The expression בית/כת אכ occurs frequently with the sense "dynasty, royal house",⁴ but <u>byt/bt</u>-GN forms are rare. But two eighth century references deserve comment. Exactly who is meant by בת מפש in the Karatepe Inscription is not clear.⁵ It could be argued on the

¹MRS, 9, p. 138, text 18.06+:13-15, <u>u</u> <u>li-hal-li-qu-su</u> <u>i[s-tu</u> <u>lib] bi bit a-bi-su u is-tu libbi mat a-bi[-su u] is-tu kussi sa abbe-su</u>, "may they (the gods) drive him from the house of his fathers, the land of his fathers, and the throne of his fathers."

²1 Keret 82, 173.

³Cf. <u>bbr</u> <u>rbt</u> and <u>bbr</u> <u>trrt</u>, "Great Habur" and "Little Habur" in 128 IV:8-9, 19-20. This city is located by M. C. Astour on the Habur River. "A North Mesopotamian Locale of the Keret Epic," <u>UF</u>, 5 (1973), p. 32. For consenting views see also H. L. Ginsburg, <u>ANET</u>, p. 143 (contrary to his earlier interpretation in <u>The Legend of King Keret</u>: <u>A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age</u>, BASOR Supp. Studies Nos. 2-3 [1946], p. 15); J. Gray, <u>The Legacy of Canaan</u>, <u>VTS</u>, 5 (1957), p. 99, n. 5. The alternative is to interpret <u>hbr</u> as "storehouse, granary". So H. Sauren and G. Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Hubur," UF, 3 (1971), p. 196, "cellier"; G. R. Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 31. Cf. Gibson, <u>CML</u>, p. 84.

⁴KAI 24:5 (Kilamuwa); 214:9 (Panammuwa I); 215:2 <u>et passim</u> (Panammuwa II); 217:3 (Barrakab Fragment); 224:9,10,24,25 (Sefire). Cf. the frequent use of n'⊃ without א⊂ in this sense in 222 B:21 <u>et passim</u> (Sefire).

⁵KAI 26 A I:16; II:15; III:11; C III:12. <u>ANET</u>, pp. 653ff.

basis of KAI 26 A II:13-16 that won no is treated as the equivalent of "the Danunites" (rgilical).¹ Both are closely associated with the Plain of Adana and may be viewed as the inhabitants thereof. However, on the basis of A I:13-16² and A III:8ff.³this interpretation is unlikely. Furthermore, if the tradition of Stephanos is to be relied upon, Adana was founded, not by Mupsh, but by a person named Adanos.⁴ Consequently, won no should be viewed as the name of the dynasty, considered to have been founded by a man named Mupsh.⁵

"I have built it '(the city of Azitawadda), . . . with plenty to eat and well-being and in a good situation and in peace of mind to be a protection for the Plain of Adana (עמק אדן) and the House of Mupsh (בת מפש), for in my days, the country of the Plain of Adana (בת מפש) had plenty to eat and well-being, and the Danunites (דנונים) never had any night in my days." ANET, p. 654.

The text speaks of evil men who were not subservient to בת מפש Azitawadda, however, was able to subdue them, thus bringing peace to the Danunites.

³This passage speaks of the inhabitants of the city of Azitawadda (נעם ז אש ישב בן) prospering and serving Azitawadda and בת מפש in large numbers.

As reported by Stephanos of Byzantium. Cf. M. C. Astour, <u>Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact</u> (Leiden: 1965), pp, 38-39. The gentilic סלוד is probably to be understood as the plural ethnicon for "the inhabitants of Adana", the initial K of the having been dropped. The Akkadian references to <u>Da-nu-na</u> (EA 151: 49-58, in J. A. Knudtzon, ed., <u>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</u> [Leipzig: 1915], II, pp. 1251-52) appear to have adopted a shortened form of Phoenician <u>Adanawana</u>. So E. Laroche, "Études sur les hieroglyphes Hittites," <u>Syria</u>, 35 (1958), pp. 263-75. Here too the <u>aleph</u> is missing. For further discussion and bibliography see Donner & Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, III, p. 39. R. D. Barnett, <u>CAH</u>, II/2, p. 442, notes that in the Hittite texts Awarkus is identified as "King of the city of Adana". Cf. Phoen. "King of the Danuniyim". Astour, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 14, argues **True and Digital Comparent**.

⁵This name is probably to be connected with the Mopsus of Greek kegend. Two years prior to the conclusion of the Trojan War this prince, the son of Rhakius of Clarus and Manto, daughter of Teiresias, is supposed to have embarked on a series of adventures along with a band of followers, which led him as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia. In the former region he is From the Aramaic texts we learn of U_{λ} , Γ_{λ} , a northern Aramaean state with its capital Arpad.² According to Sefire II B:10 U_{λ} as well as Γ_{λ} are threatened with a curse should they break the treaty which Bir-Ga'yah, king of KTK has made with them. From the context the identity of U_{λ} , Γ_{λ} is not clear. If both entities are understood as toponyms, these represent important Aramaic parallels to <u>bit</u>-GN in Akkadian and <u>byt</u>-GN in Hebrew. However, it is possible to interpret the form in a much narrower sense, i.e., as a designation for the dynasty founded by U_{λ} . In the present context the expression seems to refer to those mentioned in Sf. II B:2-3, Arpad and its people, Mati^C, el, his sons, his nobles, his people (D_{λ}).⁵ If this interpretation is correct, U_{λ}

purported to have founded the cities Aspendus and Phaselis; in the latter, Mopsuestia ("Mopsus' hearth") and Mallis. His influence appears to have extended to the Plain of Adana. The Luwian form of the name, which exchanges D for D, may also be remembered in the name of the south Phrygian city of Moxoupolis, another of his foundations, as well as the tribal name Moxianoi, from western Phrygia. See further, Barnett, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 441-42. For a different interpretation see Astour, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 53-67, who sees in **WDD** primarily a divine name.

¹In several Akkadian texts גש appears with a prosthetic A, which E. Peuch compares with the prosthetic <u>aleph</u> of Adana, cf. רננים (KAI 24 and 26). "Un ivoire de Bit-Gusi (Arpad) a Nimrud," <u>Syria</u>, 55 (1978), p. 165, n. 8.

²On the historical relationship between Arpad and Aram see A. R. Millard, "Adad-Nirari, Aram, and Arpad," PEQ, 105 (1973), pp. 161-64.

⁵So A. Dupont-Sommer, in "Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré," <u>Mémoires présentées par divers savants à l'Academie des inscriptions et</u> <u>belles-lettres</u>, 15 (Paris: 1958), on Sf. I B:1-3, who identifies $\frac{1}{2}$ with ¹A-<u>sal-li</u> of the Akkadian texts, <u>ARAB</u>, I, No. 475. Cf. also Donner & Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 253, but who admit the impossibility of identifying the place involved.

⁴So M. Noth, "Der historische Hintergrund der Inschriften von Sefire," <u>ZDPV</u>, 77 (1961), p. 129, who regards בית גלל and בית צלל as parallel forms. Cf. Fitzmyer, pp. 40, 60.

^DIf the restoration of Dupont-Sommer is correct.

This interpretation is confirmed by the evidence of the neo-Assyrian royal annals. From the time of Ashurnasirpal (883-859 B.C.) comes the form ${}^{m}Gu-u-si {}^{1}Ia-ha-na-a-a}$, the name of a king bringing

¹See also the broken segments, I A:16 and I B:11, which are to be restored on the basis of II B:10.

²Puech, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 162-69. Puech also provides a helpful summary of all references, including those in Akkadian texts, to (A)gusi. Cf. also F. Vattioni, "A propos du nom propre syriaque Gusai," <u>Semitica</u>, 16 (1966), pp. 39-41.

> ³Cf. I B:3, עם בני גש. ⁴Donner & Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 247. ⁵Fitzmyer, p. 40. ⁶KAI 202:5; <u>ANET</u>, pp. 655f.

tribute.¹ The name distinguishes between the man Gusi and his country, Jahan.² The annals of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) frequently speak of Arame, a son of (A)gusi.³ More than one hundred years later Tiglath Pileser III (744-727 B.C.) encounters $\underline{Mati^{C}ilu\ mar}\ mA-gu-u-si$.⁴ In a list of villages the form \underline{Bit} - \underline{A} - $\underline{g}[\underline{u}$ - \underline{si} ...] appears,⁵ while another text uses $\underline{mat}\ \underline{Bit}$ - \underline{A} - \underline{gu} - \underline{si} .⁶ It appears that by this time the entire region ruled from Arpad was being identified by the name of the ruling dynasty in precisely the same way as Israel was being referred to as \underline{Bit} -<u>Humria</u> and Aram Damascus as \underline{Bit} -<u>Haza'ilu</u>.⁷ Consequently, we are left with no Aramaic or Phoenician support for the use of \underline{byt} -GN as an expression bearing overtones of national unity based on descent from a common ancestor.

¹ARAB, I, #477.

²Cf. J. D. Hawkins, "Jahan," <u>RLA</u>, V, pp. 238-39.

³<u>ARAB</u>, I, #582 (cf. WO, 2 1956, pp. 221f.), 600 (= <u>ANET</u>, p. 278), 601, 614 (cf. WO, 4 [1967-68], p. 36, line 16), 668 (cf. <u>Iraq</u>, 26 [1964], p. 118); WO, 1 (1952), pp. 456f. Arame appears in the Maras Museum stele as Adrame, father of Atarsumki. Cf. A. R. Millard and H. Tadmor, "Adad-Nirari III in Syria: Another Stele Fragment and the Dates of His Campaigns," <u>Iraq</u>, 35 (1973), p. 61.

⁴ARAB, I, #813.

⁵W. Schramm, <u>Einleitung in die Assyrischen Königsinschriften</u>, Part 2: <u>934-722 v. Chr.</u> (Leiden/Cologne: 1973), p. 133.

⁶Ibid., p. 136. Cf. D. J. Wiseman, <u>Iraq</u>, 18 (1956), pp. 117f.

⁷Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 216, n. 3. So also Puech, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 163-64; S. Schiffer, <u>Die Aramäer</u> (Leipzig: 1911), p. 90, n. 6.

Zr^C-GN

In contrast to <u>bny</u>-GN and <u>byt</u>-GN, the form \underline{zr}^{c} -GN appears only in biblical Hebrew. While this is unfortunate inasmuch as it precludes a comparison with usage elsewhere, it may reflect a special quality of Israel's understanding of national identity.

Zr^C Israel

The data

Frequency and distribution

It is apparent from table 16 that \underline{zr}^{c} Israel is employed much more sparingly than either <u>bny</u> Israel or <u>byt</u> Israel. The eight occurrences are distributed among the Former Prophets,¹ the Latter Prophets,² the Psalms,³ and late historiography.⁴ Only 2 Kings 17:20 and Neh. 9:2 are in the narrative genre.

Usage

In examining the usage of \underline{zr}^{c} Israel several compound forms of the expression should be noticed. The full form כל זרע ישראל seems to emphasize the totality of the individuals comprising the nation.⁵ The

²Isa. 45:25; Jer. 31:36,37. Also to be included are Jer. 23:8 and Ezek. 44:22, which use זרע בית ישראל.

> ³Ps. 22:24. ⁴Neh. 9:2.

⁵2 Kings 17:20 speaks of the completeness of the Northern Kingdom's destruction; Isa. 45:25, of Israel's devotion to Yahweh; Jer. 31:37 of her total rejection by Yahweh; Ps. 22:24 of her worship of him.

¹2 Kings 17:20.

TABLE 16

Book	ישראל *	בני ישראל	בית ** ישראל	זרע ישראל	יעקב
Genesis Exodus Leviticus Numbers Deuteronomy	43 170 70*** 238 72	7 124 54 171 21	· · · · 2 5 1 · · ·		179 11 1 9 11
Subtotals	593	377	8		211
Joshua Judges 1 Samuel 2 Samuel 1 Kings 2 Kings	160 184 151 116 [†] 203 164	69 61 12 5 21 11	1 •••• 5 2 ••••	· · · · · · · · · · · · · 1	3 1 1 1 2
Subtotals	978	179	10	1	8
Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel Hosea Joel Amos Obadiah Jonah Micah Nahum Habakkuk Zephaniah Haggai Zechariah Malachi	92 125 185 44 3 30 1 12 1 4 5 5	5 9 11 6 1 5 1 1 1 	4 20 83 5 8 3 1	1 3‡ 1# • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	43 16 4 3 6 3 11 1 1 4
Subtotals	507	39	124	5	91

THE NAMES FOR ISRAEL IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

. . continued

TABLE 16--Continued

Book	ישראל	בני ישראל	בית ישראל	זרע ישראל	יעקב
Psalms	62	2	3	1	34
Job					
Proverbs	1				
Canticles	1			• • • •	• • •
Ruth	5		1		
Lamentations	3				3
Qoheleth	1				• • •
Esther					
Daniel	4	1			
Ezra	40	4			
Nehemiah	22	, 9 4		1	
1 Chronicles	114	4			2
2 Chronicles	186	23		• • •	
Subtotals	439	43	4	2	39
Grand Totals	2517	638	146	8##	349

The figures in the first column include those found in columns 2-4.

Note also the identification of Israel as ישחק in Amos 7:9 and in 7:16.

*** This excludes the four gentilics in 24:10-11.

[†]This excludes a gentilic in 17:25.

This includes 23:8 which has זרע בית ישראל.

#The full expression in 44:22 is זרע בית ישראל.

לעקב ## To this total should be added the following expressions: ארע זרע בית יעקב יו נעקב, Isa. 45:19; Jer. 33:26a; Ps. 22:24; זרע בית יעקב, Ezek. 20:5. These texts are accounted for in the fifth column. Note also ארע אברהם ישחק ויעקב, Isa. 41:8; Ps. 105:6; 2 Chron. 20:7; and אברהם ישחק ויעקב, Jer. 33:26b. reason for the employment of זרע בית ישראל in Jer. 23:8 and Ezek. 44:22 is difficult to determine, unless it be associated with the favour both books show toward the use of $\frac{b_1 t_2}{2r}$ Israel instead of the simpler form of the name.¹

The scope of the expression varies considerably. In 2 Kings 17:20 only the Northern Kingdom is in view; Neh. 9:2 speaks of the returnees from the exile who reside in the vicinity of Jerusalem; elsewhere \underline{zr}^{c} Israel always refers to the entire nation, including northern and southern kingdoms. In several texts this form appears to function simply as a stylistic variation of other national designations. \underline{Zr}^{c} Israel is followed by Israel and <u>bny</u> Israel in 2 Kings 17:21f. Especially interesting is Jer. 23:8 in which the return of the \underline{zr}^{c} from Egypt. Even more significant is Jer. 31:36-37. Here the \underline{zr}^{c} Israel are specifically identified as a '1 λ .

Several texts hint at the consanguinity of those included in the \underline{zr}^{c} Israel. According to Ezek. 44:22 the wife of a priest must be from the \underline{rr}^{c} (in a context concerned for the ethical and religious purity of the priests, it is clear that the injunction is intended to keep the priesthood pure ethnically. The use of \underline{rr} appears to be deliberate to make explicit the more general reference to "his people" in the parallel text in Lev. 21:13-14.² Ps. 22:24 juxtaposes \underline{zr}^{c}

¹Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 202ff.

²Compare the two texts: .כי אם בתולה מעמיו יקח אשה Ezek. 44:22 .כי אם כתולה מזרע בית ישראל 21:14 Israel with \underline{zr}^{c} Jacob. In the previous verse the poet has spoken of his kinsmen (אחי) and the congregation (קהל). Interestingly, אחי) is paralleled with דור in verse 31. The ethnic overtones are explicit in Neh. 9:2. As a part of the religious reform instituted by Ezra and Nehemiah the \underline{zr}^{c} Israel were to separate themselves from the foreigners.¹

Interpretation of the data

To determine the significance of the expression \underline{zr}^{c} Israel it is necessary that the general usage of the term **yi** be investigated, as well as the specific application of the word to Israel.

The general usage of Jr

In its most literal sense, yrr was a horticultural term, representing "seed", that which was sown in order to grow a crop.² It could, however, also be used of the produce harvested from a field that had been cultivated and sown.³ In a derived sense it was even applied to the time of sowing, in contrast to harvest-time.⁴

זרע was also used of animals. Jer. 31:27b speaks of the houses of Israel and Judah being sown with the זרע of man and beast (בהמה).⁵ Here,

ויבדלו זרע ישראל מכל בני נכר¹.

²Gen. 47:19,23; Lev. 11:37,38; 26:16; 27.16(<u>bis</u>); Num. 24:7; Deut. 11:10; 14:22; 22:9; 28:38; Isa. 5:10; 17:11; 30:23; Jer. 35:7,9; Ezek. 17:5(<u>bis</u>); Amos 9:13; Ps. 126:6; Qoh. 11:6.

³Gen. 1:11(<u>bis</u>), 12(<u>bis</u>), 29(<u>bis</u>); 47:24; Exod. 16:31; Lev. 27:30; Num. 11:7; 20:5; 1 Sam. 8:15; 1 Kings 18:32(?); Isa. 23:3; 55:10; Hag. 2:19; Zech. 8:12.

⁴Gen. 8:22; Lev. 26:5.

5 should probably be interpreted here as a subjective genitive, "the seed which is the beast."

in a highly figurative sense the yr is that which is sown. This is not the case in Gen. 3:15, where the term refers to the offspring of the serpent, and in 7:3 to the offspring of birds.

In view of this zoological usage, the anthropological application of the yrt is not surprising. The term may designate semen, that which is sown to produce offspring.¹ Of special interest is Num. 5:28 where the denominative verb is used to describe the conception of a child.² On the other hand, yrt could also refer to the progeny itself. It could be applied equally to the "seed" of women,³ or the "seed" of men.⁴ In a specialized sense the expression was used of particular classes of people.⁵ The prophets especially liked to attach an ethical or spiritual modifier, thereby portraying more vividly the deep-seated nature of the quality.⁶ Of special interest are the references to royal lineages using this term.⁷

Note the use of שכבת זרע as a term for seminal emission (Lev. 15:16,17,18) as well as לזרע signifying "to make pregnant with seed", i.e., to have intercourse (Lev. 18:20). Also ישכבת זרע, "to have intercourse" (Lev. 19:20; Num. 5:13).

נזרעה זרע, "She shall be sown with seed." The reference to the seed of man (זרע אדם) in Jer. 31:27 is not to semen. אדם should be treated as a subjective genitive, "the seed which is man." Cf. p. 231, n. 5 above.

Gen. 3:15; 4:25; 16:10; 24:60; Lev. 22:13. Cf. 1 Sam. 1:11, Hannah longs for a seed of men (זרע אנשים).

⁴Men in general, Lev. 18:21; 20:2-4; 21:15; Deut. 28:46,59; 30: 6,19; 31:21. Specifically, Gen. 9:9 (Noah), and many more.

זרע צדיקים⁵, Isa. 57:3; ז'אָע מנאף, Prov. 11:21; ז'אָע מנאף, Isa. 57:3; דרע רשעים, Ps. 37:28.

זרע המלך, 1 Kings 11:14; זרע הממלכה, 2 Kings 11:1 = 2 Chron. 22:10;

We conclude this examination of the use of אָרָז in the Old Testament with a brief glance at the terms with which this expression is paired in poetry. At the literal level, אָרָז is juxtaposed with אָרָאָאָל "produce, offspring", used of human descendants in Job 5:25 and 21:8.¹ This applies also to Isa. 48:19, 44:3, 61:9, and 65:23, although in each of these texts the reference is to the descendants of Jacob. The paralleling of אָרָז with און in Ps. 22:31 and 112:2 produces a slightly different connotation. Elsewhere the word appears opposite אָרָז מָרָז ³, לְרָז מָלָ

In view of this prose and poetic usage, it may be concluded that y_7 always bears the connotation of descent, whether the reference is to plants, animals or men.⁶

Israel: the JT of the Fathers

Outside of the patriarchal narratives, Israel is used primarily

ארע המלוכה 25:25 = Jer. 41:1; Ezek. 17:13; Dan. 1:3. Cf. the Akkadian expressions: <u>zi-ir sarrutim</u>, "royal descendant"; <u>zi-ir sarruti</u> <u>kisitti şati</u>, "of royal lineage, of ancient extraction"; also <u>zi-ir i-li</u> <u>da-ri-um</u>, "of lasting divine lineage"; For references see <u>CAD</u>, 21, pp. 89-97. For a full discussion see W. G. Lambert, "The Seed of Kingship," in <u>Le palais et la royaute</u>, ed. by P. Garelli, <u>RAI</u>, 19 (Paris: 1974), pp. 427-35.

> ¹Cf. Job 27:14 where צאצאיו // בניו ²Isa. 57:3, זרעם // בני עננה, 57: Ps. 102:29, זרע מנאף // בני עננה ³Isa. 57:4, שקר // ילדי פשע ⁴Isa. 65:9, יורש הרי// זרע (100 - 100 -

⁶This is confirmed by cognate usage of the root as well. For Northwestern Semitic see <u>DISO</u>, p. 80; for Akkadian, <u>CAD</u>, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

as a national rather than personal name.¹ It may be argued, therefore, that the expression \underline{zr}^{c} Israel need not imply descent from a common ancestor. It is possible, through intermarriage, for diverse groups to be synthesized into one homogenous body of descendants.² Whether the Israelites understood this to have occurred in their own case may be determined by examining the ways in which they associated themselves with their purported ancestors.

 $\underline{zr^{c}}$ Israel is not the only form of the expression $\underline{zr^{c}}$ -GN by which the Israelites were identified. The names Abraham³ and Jacob⁴ also appear in the genitive position. If any of these occurrences are considered to be technical applications of the form, this is not true of Jer. 33:26, in which Yahweh reassures Israel that he will reject neither the $\underline{zr^{c}}$ Jacob, nor the $\underline{zr^{c}}$ David, one of whose members is given authority over the $\underline{zr^{c}}$ Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In this verse are summarized all the traditions of the fathers, to which we now turn.

The importance of the seed of Abraham in the patriarchal narratives is emphasized in several ways, apart from the frequency with which

¹Cf. <u>infra</u>, pp. 215ff.

Note the recognition of this in Hamor's counter proposal to the sons of Jacob: ". . . we will give our daughters to you, and we will take your daughters to ourselves, and we will dwell with you and become one people (היינו לעם אחד), " Gen. 34:16.

³Isa. 41:8, יעקב אפר בחרתי משראל עבדי // זרע אברהם. to the call of the patriarch in the context suggests that <u>zr</u> Abraham is not to be treated as a technical term. Ps. 105:6, בני יעקב // זרע אברהם. 2 Chron. 20:7, זרע אברהם serves as an alternative to .

⁴Isa. 45:19, זרע יעקב. Ps. 22:24, זרע יעקב.//זרע ישראל //זרע יעקב. Ezek. 20:5, ישראל //זרע בית ישראל.

the term occurs.¹ In the first place, great stress is placed on the multiplication of the seed.² Various analogies are used: his descendants shall be like the dust of the earth,³ the sand of the sea,⁴ and the stars in the heavens.⁵ Indeed it shall be innumerable.⁶ It is clear that the descendants of Abraham are portrayed potentially as a nation in their own right. Not only will they possess all of the ingredients for nationhood, i.e., a vast population, a territorial homeland,⁷ a national deity,⁸ power and influence among the surrounding nations,⁹ and monarchical leadership,¹⁰ but frequent mention is made of the descendants of the patriarchs becoming a '12. In 12:2 Yahweh promises Abraham he will make of him a ⁵174 '12.¹¹ According to 17:4-5 he will become the father of a

אחרי appears more than thirty times, being found in each of the hypothetical sources. If a distinction in usage is observable among the three, "P" tends to add אחרי So Gen. 17:7,8,9,10,19: 35:12; 48:4. For a recent discussion of this aspect of the patriarchal promises see C. Westermann, <u>The Promises to the Fathers:</u> <u>Studies on the Patriarchal</u> <u>Narratives</u>, trans. by D. E. Green (Philadelphia: 1980), pp. 149-55.

> ²Note the use of את זרע. ³13:16; 28:14. ⁴22:17; 32:13. ⁵15:5; 22:17; 26:4. ⁶32:13.

For Abraham this aspect remained a tartalizing promise; for the seed it shall become reality (15:13f.). Cf. 13:15; 17;8.

⁸Gen. 17:7.

⁹Gen. 22:17, they will possess the gates of their enemies. They will also become an agent of blessing, 22:18; 26:14.

¹⁰17:6,16; 35:11.

¹¹Cf. the reference to yot in v. 7.

multitude of nations (לאב המון גוים); indeed גוים and מלכים will come forth from him.¹ At the time of Rebekah's conception, she is informed she will give birth to not one, but two גוי גוים.² Upon his return to Bethel Jacob is reminded that a גוי גדול and מלכים will come forth from him.³ It appears, therefore, that the prospect of a <u>bona fide</u> nation consisting of the descendants of Abraham represented one of the fundamental elements of the covenant.⁴

Echoes of this perception recur throughout the Old Testament. Moses' appeal for divine mercy toward the Israelites at Sinai is based on Yahweh's commitment to the \underline{zr}^{c} Abraham, Isaac and Israel.⁵ On this basis Yahweh responds.⁶ In Deuteronomy references are made to Yahweh's choice of the fathers and their y_{77} ,⁷ to whom he has also sworn to give the land.⁸ In a later text, Neh. 9:5ff., the gracious fulfillment of the covenantal promise to Abraham and his y_{77} is acknowledged.

The evidence that the Israelites considered themselves to be the

¹V. 6. Cf. the reference to y₁ in v. 7.

²Gen. 25:23.

³Gen. 35:11-12. Cf. 1 Kings 8:19, 2 Chron. 6:9 for **μ** as the seat of virility. Cf. also Gen. 48:19 where the seed of Ephraim is described as μ, "the fullness of the nations".

⁴Note the reference to Jacob's clan, which descended to Egypt as his **yr** in Gen. 46:6-7. The list of the "seeds" follows. This is the only instance in the patriarchal narratives in which **yr** refers to the immediate descendants of Abraham, Isaac or Jacob.

> ⁵Exod. 32:11ff. ⁶Exod. 33:1. ⁷Deut. 4:37; 10:15.

Deut. 1:8; 11:9; 34:4. Note the summary statement of how the developed from the small clan in 26:5.

literal seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is incontrovertible. However, although specific steps had been taken to maintain the ethnic purity of the priestly line within the nation,¹ there is little indication that such purity had become an issue for the rest of the population prior to the Exile.² To be sure, the earliest patriarchs were careful to ensure that the wives of their sons were of their own stock, but as early as the third generation outsiders were joining the clan through marriage.³ But sensitivity about the ethnic purity of the nation did not emerge until much later.

For the returnees from Babylon, however, the purity of the race became a major issue.⁴ Not only did the priests need to "give evidence of their fathers' households and their yrt whether they were of Israel,"⁵ in order to serve as priests, but the horror at the discovery of mixed marriages among the general population was so great that all such unions were summarily legally dissolved. According to Neh. 9:23, the concern was triggered by the appalling loss of the Jewish language (הוריהי) among the inhabitants of Judah. This was but a symptom, however, of the spiritual

¹Lev. 21:14; Ezek. 44:22.

²Not only are outsiders welcomed into the covenant community, as participants in worship, but examples of internarriage may be cited from earliest days. The prohibitions in Deut. 7:1-5 are concerned with the Canaanite tribes, and arise out of religious rather than ethnic concerns. Intermarriage with foreigners is forbidden because they are idolators, rather than because they are foreigners. Cf. Exod. 34:15f.; 1 Kings 11:1-2.

³Judah's wife was a Canaanite (Gen. 38:2), Joseph's an Egyptian (41:50); Moses' a Midianite (Exod. 2:16-22). The Shechem-Dinah affair (Gen. 34) leaves no hint that marriages with these Canaanites were to be prohibited in principle.

⁴Ezra 10:1ff.; Neh. 13:23ff.

כלו להגיד בית אבותם וזרעם אם מישראל הם ^כ Ezra 2:59.

crisis which precipitated the action. A slightly different perspective is presented in Ezra 9:2. Intermarriage with foreigners signified the intermingling of the "holy seed" with the people of the lands.¹ Although no allusion is made to the patriarchs as the ancestors of the Israelites, the expression has meaning only if **yrt** here designates Israel as a race set apart.

זרע is used in the sense of "race" on several occasions in Esther. In 6:13 Haman's wife and advisors raise the question whether or not Mordecai was of Jewish origin (מזרע היהורים).² The successful defence of the Jews (מזרע היהורים) and their זרע results in the institution of the Feast of Purim.³ The juxtaposing of זרע with יהורים, יהורים אחיו, יהופי the ethnic connotation of of in 10:3 undeniable.⁴

כי נשאו מכנתיהם להם ולכניהם והתערכו זרע הקדש בעמי הארצות.

The use of the gentilic הורים מקרים מקרים מקרים בערים שלים בערים בערים

³Esth. 9:27ff.

⁴Traces of this usage are also found in Akkadian. See B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'dunkles Zeitalter'," JCS, 8 (1954), p. 32, II:9-10, ^{md}Samši-^dAdad a-bu a-bi-su sa za-ra a-bi-tim la si-ir al ^dA-sur, "Samsi-Adad, his grandfather, of strange seed, not of Assyrian blood." Cf. also I:12-13. R. Borger, <u>Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs</u> <u>von Assyrien</u>, AfO, 9 (Graz: 1956), p. 5, vii:13-15, <u>SepeII</u> A.RI.A.TA.BAR <u>zēru a-hu-ú ina qer-bi-su ap-ru-us-ma</u>, "I kept 'strange seed' away from it." J. J. Finkelstein, "The So-called 'Old Babylonian Kutha Legend'," JCS,11 (1957), p. 85, iii:16, <u>a-na hu-ul-lu-uq şe-ri Ak-ka-di-i ^[1] "KUR da-an-</u> <u>na id-ki-a-am-ma</u>, "To destroy the race of Akkad he has summoned against me a mighty foe," as translated by <u>CAD</u>, 21, p. 96. Finkelstein renders <u>se-ri as "plain" of Akkad. So also CAD</u>, 16, pp. 141ff.; <u>AHw</u>, p. 1094. Additional Examples of Zr^C-GN

Evidence for the application of the expression $\underline{zr^{c}}$ -GN by Israel to other nations is limited. The closest parallel occurs in Dan. 9:1 where Ahasuerus is identified as 'Tr yrn, suggesting perhaps that the Medians were considered an ethnic unit. Elsewhere the expression is use only of those nations depicted as being related by blood to the Israelites. In Gen. 16:10 Yahweh promises Hagar that he will also multiply her yrr so that they will become an innumerable host. The promise is elaborated upon in 17:20 as Yahweh announces to Abraham that Ishmael will be fruitful, the father of twelve princes, indeed the father of a great nation.¹ The basis for this blessing, according to 21:13, is that he too is a son of the patriarch.

Rebekah learns that her son Esau will become a nation even before he is born.² Although the designation \underline{zr}^{c} -GN is never applied to his descendants, the patriarchal narratives indicate that Esau's clan was developing along lines parallel to that of Jacob's. Specific data is provided by the genealogy of Gen. 36. The Edomites, therefore, appear to have been viewed as the seed of Esau just as the Israelites considered themselves the descendants of Jacob.

Information concerning the Moabites and Ammonites is even less direct. The term yri is never associated with these peoples except in the aetiological account of their origins. The scheme devised by Lot's daughters, whereby they conceive and bear their respective children was motivated by a concern to "preserve yri from our father."³ The

> ¹שנים עשר נשיאם יוליד ונתתיו גוי גדול. Cf. also 21:18. ²She is told two גוים are in her womb. Gen. 25:23. ³Gen. 19:32, ונחיה מאבינו זרע. Josephus (<u>Ant</u>. 1. 11. 5) transforms

incestuous nature of their conception is reflected in the names of the offspring.¹ Although it cannot be determined if the Moabites and Ammonites were ever referred to by the \underline{zr}^{c} -GN model, that the Israelites perceived them as the descendants of <u>Moab</u> and <u>Ben</u> $\underline{^{C}}$ Ammi respectively, is confirmed by the editorial comment following each birth announcement, "He is the father of the Moabites/<u>bny</u> Ammon to this day."² Whether the Ammonites and Moabites looked upon themselves in the same way is impossible to establish in the present state of knowledge.³

the negative tone of the description into a noble deed of heroism. The daughters of Lot were motivated by a concern to preserve the human race which, they feared, had perished with Sodom and Gomorrah.

For the significance of the name בן עמי, see supra, pp. 183ff. Although some today admit their agnosticism on the origins of "Moab" (e.g., A. H. Van Zyl, The Moabites [Leiden: 1960], p. 180; S. Segert, "Die Sprache der Moabitischen Königsinschrift," ArOr, 29 [1961], p. 246), explanations have been ventured from earliest times. The translators of LXX indicated their view by inserting λέγουσα Έχ του πατρός μου into Gen. 19:37. Josephus(Ant. 1. 11. 5) appears to have accepted this interpretation, as have most scholars until the nineteenth century. See e.g., D. E. Nestle, "Miscellen," ZAW, 16 (1896), p. 322. Although F. Delitzsch's conclusions conform to the traditional position, he suggested that the name may have been derived from מי אב aqua patris, for semen patris (גוה from מוה <u>diffluere</u>, fluidum esse, like גוי from גוי). Cf. also Num. 24:7; Prov. 5:16; Isa. 48:1. Kethib במי (cf. Qere במו) in Isa. 25:10 may allude to the same notion. F. Delitzsch, A New Commentary on Genesis (Edinburgh: 1888), p. 64. Cf. M. Krenkel, "Das Verwandschaftswort Dy," ZAW, 8 (1888), p. 283, "Same des Vaters." Wellhausen struck a new path by associating the name with Arabic wa'aba, "to be ashamed " (as cited by Van Zyl, p. 179). F. Hommel ingeniously suggested that the name may have been a contraction for אמואב, "his mother is (the) father." Ethnologie, p. 164. Cf. J. Skinner, Genesis, p. 313, for a cautious recognition of the plausibility of this explanation. Cf. also the response of Van Zyl, loc. cit. For explanations of the name relating it to geographical features of the land of Moab see infra, pp. 387f., n. 2.

²Gen. 19:37,38, הוא אבי מואב/בני עמון עד היום.

³G. von Rad, <u>Genesis: A Commentary</u>, rev. ed., (Philadelphia: 1972), pp. 223f., following Gunkel, argues that the tradition of the origins of the two peoples originated in Moab as a proud defence of the nation's racial purity. In its present context, however, most recognize

a scathing attack on the fundamental perversion of the Trans-jordanian nations. According to J. Fichtner, "Die etymologische Ätiologie in den Namengebungen der geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments," <u>VT</u>, 6 (1956), p. 392, the account displays, "Empörung über die Verderbtheit der Ahnen fremder Stämme."

Independent Eponyms as National Names

So far our discussion has been concerned with compound designations for national entities. In each of these forms the overtones of ethnic kinship appear to have been expressed by the prefixed element. Frequently, however, these same nations were referred to simply by the proper names which appeared in the genitive position. The present study will examine the usage of several of these names to determine whether the ethnic connotations may be present even if the prefixed element is absent. In order for these to be confirmed as true eponyms in the minds of the ancients, two minimal conditions seem to be required: 1) the names should be primarily personal, rather than geographic or tribal names; 2) the peoples so identified should possess traditions linking themselves with the reputed eponymous ancestor. As test cases, the usage of three names, Israel, Jacob and Aram, will be investigated.¹

Israel

As table 16 indicates, the independent form of the national name, Israel, appears more than twice as often as the compound designations discussed above. It was observed earlier that this form becomes increasingly prominent with the growth of Israel as an independent political power in the ancient Near Eastern context.²

²Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 153ff.

¹Ammon, Moab and Edom could also be examined. However, the usage of the former two has already been touched upon; that of Edom will be considered below in connection with the nation-territory association. See <u>infra</u>, pp. 371ff. This practice of deriving tribal names from eponymous ancestors is common among the bedouin tribes of Arabia in modern times. For a study see E. Bräunlich, "Beiträge sur Gesellschaftsordnung der arabischen Beduinenstämme," Islamica, 6 (1938), pp. 92ff.

Israel: a personal name

The form of the name

The frequent attempts at explaining the name Israel which have appeared in the last century have lacked neither variety nor ingenuity.¹ The persistence of the problem, however, attests to the continued uncertainty of the results. The form of the name presents two major difficulties: its vocalization, and its etymology.

Most interpreters have viewed ישראל, as a combination of an imperfect verb form and a theophoric element based on the model ליקטל - אל? The problem with this view, however, is that the vocalization in MT is unparalleled in any other name. According to the etymology suggested by Gen. 32:29, it is derived from ארה "to strive".³ But if this had been the correct derivation a vocalization such as אָיָרָאל instead of the correct derivation a vocalization such as אָיָרָאל instead of the correct derivation a vocalization such as אָיָרָאל instead of in the same as in אָרָאל, because of the presence of y, this name is not a true parallel. Consequently, most recent attempts to explain the form have disregarded the etymology suggested by the biblical text.⁵ Albright has argued for a

For a survey of many of these efforts see G. Danell, <u>Studies in</u> the Name Israel, pp. 15-28.

²Noth, <u>IPN</u>, p. 207f., Driver, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 295; Skinner, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 409.

³כי אם ישראל כי שרית עם אלהים ועם אנשים ותוכל.

⁴Cf. יְרָבָאָל (Josh. 18:27); יְרָבָאָל (Josh. 19:33); יְרָבָאָל (Gen. 46:14); (Gen. 46:24). The former form with the retained original III ' appears only in Chronicles: יְחָזִיאָל (1 Chron. 12:5); יְחָזִיאָל (7:13); (26:2).

⁵Except for the personal name, (ז), the root appears elsewhere only in Hos. 12:4,5, where the same event is in view. However, since this text is dependent upon Gen. 32:29, its value as an independent witness is minimized.

derivation from *ישי, "to heal (the sick)" which, although absent from Hebrew, occurs in Arabic as <u>wášara</u> and in Ethiopic as <u>saraya</u>. The name would therefore mean, "God heals."¹ E. Sachsse derives the name from "ש", "to be straight, upright". The name is, therefore, closely related to ישר, viewed as an apocopated diminutive form.² Others connect it with ישר, "to be happy, successful", and ישר יסי, "to judge".⁴ Whatever the advantages of these various solutions, they all share the deficiency of not taking the biblical etymology seriously. Since our concern is with ancient perceptions, we must be content with the explanation provided, while at the same time recognizing the great flexibility displayed by biblical aetiologies in their association of names and events. It seems best, therefore, to accept that the narrator of Genesis understood the name Israel to signify, "El persevered," or perhaps, "may El persevere."⁵ in spite of his explanation according to which El is the object of the verb.⁶ Furthermore, caution is advised in the rejection

"The names 'Israel' and 'Judah' with an Excursus on the Etymology of Todah and Torah," JBL, 46 (1927), pp. 151-68. Albright suggests also that the Akkadian form of the name, <u>Sir-'i-la-a-a</u> (cf. <u>ANET</u>, p. 279), was based on the imperative of the stem <u>wsr</u>, on the model of <u>ctvo</u> for . etc. Pp. 166-67.

²"Die Etymologie und älteste Aussprache des Namens ישראל, " ZAW, 34 (1914), pp. 1-15; <u>idem</u>, "Der Ursprung des Namens Israel," <u>ZSVG</u>, 4 (1926), pp. 53-69. A similar view has been reflected recently by L. Wächter, "Israel und Jeschurun," in <u>Schalom: Studien zu Glaube und</u> <u>Geschichte Israels</u>, A. Jepsen Festschrift, ed. by K. H. Bernhardt (Stuttgart: 1971), pp. 58-64.

³A. Haldar, "Israel, Names and Associations of," <u>IDB</u>, II, p. 765. ⁴R. Coote, "The Meaning of the Name <u>Israel</u>," <u>HTR</u>, 65 (1972), pp. 140f., "The meaning of the name Israel is probably 'El judges,' from the verb 'שר' meaning 'to govern by rendering judgment or decree.'"

> ⁵So Speiser, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 255; Coote, p. 138; Danell, pp. 15f. ⁶Cf. Albright, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 159.

of the biblical explanation of the root, simply because שרה* appears nowhere else in this sense. The present text, along with Hos. 12:4,5, does attest to this usage. The evidence of a single witness may not be automatically ruled out.

More important than the etymology, however, was the original application of the name. It is conceivable that Israel originally served as a geographic or tribal designation, rather than a personal name. The first alternative is unlikely, in spite of the prefixing of <u>Sir-'i-la-a-a</u> with the land determinative by Shalmaneser III's scribe.¹ First, as Caspari has noted, geographic names tend to be constant, irrespective of population shifts.² The territory occupied by the Israelites was never identified as Israel prior to the arrival of the people bearing the name. Furthermore, even in later times a great reluctance on the part of both narrators and poets to speak of "the land of Israel" is apparent.³ Even the Mesha Inscription distinguishes between Israel and its territory.⁴ The non-geographic sense is reflected also by the Merneptah Stele, which uses the foreign people, rather than the land determinative before

¹<u>ANET, p. 279. A-ha-ab-bu ^{mat}Sir-'i-la-a-a</u>. The Akkadian use of determinatives is quite inconsistent.

²W. Caspari, "Sprachliche und religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Namens Israel," <u>ZSVG</u>, 3 (1924), p. 199.

³The expression ארץ ישראל occurs only eleven times. In 1 Sam. 13: 19; Ezek. 40:2; 47:18; 1 Chron. 22:2; 2 Chron. 2:16; 34:7 it refers to the territory of the entire realm; in 2 Kings 5:2,4; 6:23; Ezek. 27:17 2 Chron. 30:25,the Northern Kingdom is in view. Cf. M. Ottoson, "ארץ כוען 'erets," TDOT, I, p. 401. Cf. the frequent use of ארמה and ארמ ישראל occurs sixteen times, but only in Ezekiel.

⁴KAI 181:14, לך אחז את נבה על ישראל, "Go take Nebo from Israel." On the use of של "from" cf. Dan. 2:1; Job. 30:2.

<u>y-si-r-i'-r</u>. In view of the consistently geographic nature of the rest of the names listed, this unexpected change in determinative may indicate an awareness of the fundamental difference in the significance of this name.¹

In view of the unlikelihood of Israel having been originally a geographic name, the decision rests between an original tribal or personal usage. The former sense has been accepted by Sachsse. Responding to Caspari's criticism that a tribal name must reflect some distinctive feature of the tribe,² Sachsse argued that "Israel" represents a covenant name ("Bundesname"). Just as the deity who revealed himself to the congregation had to have a name, so it was necessary for the latter, his devotees, to have one as well.³ He traced the development of the use of the name as follows; In the earliest texts Israel is known only as a collective "Volksname." The territorial application of the name is

¹Cf. ANET, p. 378, n. 18. R. J. Williams, <u>DOTT</u>, p. 140, interprets this as an indication that Israel was not yet permanently settled at the time of the erection of the stele. On the other hand, it may simply reflect a recognition that the land and the people are distinct. Cf. B. Mazar, "The Exodus and the Conquest," <u>The World History of the Jewish People</u>, Vol. III: <u>Judges</u> (London: 1971, p. 81, who agrees that Israel is mentioned as an ethnic group, but that "a group of Israelite tribes had already settled in Canaan at the time of Mer-ne-ptah." While A. Lemaire's thesis that the name of the confederated clar the <u>bny</u> 'Asriel, is interesting, its value here is limited because it fails to show sufficient respect for the perception of the origin of the name reflected by Gen. 32. See "<u>Asriel, sr'1, Israel</u> el'origine de la confederation Israelite," VT, 23 (1973), pp. 239-43.

²Caspari, loc. cit., p. 200f.

³"Ursprung," p. 67. The fact that Israel is an El-name rather than a Yahweh-name, as one would expect, is attributed to the avoidance of Yahweh as a theophoric element in personal names prior to the time of Samuel. younger, but nonetheless quite ancient. In these cases the people is called <u>bny</u> Israel, a form which, however, rejects bound associations with other terms. The texts speak of זקני ישראל, מלך ישראל, but not of סוד , but not of סוד, but not of קוני ישראל, בני ישראל , except in later texts where the expression <u>bny</u> Israel had come to represent a single concept. It was only at this time that Israel began to be used as an individual personal name. Sachsse concludes:

Der Name ist also nicht von Individual-namen über "Kinder Israel" zum Volksnamen geworden, sondern umgekehrt, der ursprüngliche Volksname wurde zum Landesname und dann infolge der Bezeichnung "Kinder Israel" zum Individualnamen, äusserlich angeglichen worden ist.¹

This interpretation is open to serious criticism. First, the problem of the El-name representing a nation whose deity was identified as Yahweh, has not been satisfactorily answered.² It is difficult to comprehend why at the occasion of the revelation of the new name of the deity Yahweh, that event should have been commemorated by the naming of the covenant people on the basis of the old El-name. The fact that theophoric names bearing the element Yahweh appear in significant numbers only in later times³ is hardly adequate explanation for its absence from the name of the people whose origin coincided with the revelation of that name. The argument that <u>bny</u> Israel as a designation for the nation appears only in later texts is also open to question. Sachsse's dating

¹<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 66. See also J. Heller, "Ursprung des Namens Israel," <u>Communio Viatorum</u> (1964), pp. 263-64. He sees in "Israel" a liturgical appellative which arose as a result of the covenant ratification at Shechem. It was this name (i.e., "Gott streitet!") which was upon their lips as they marched into battle.

²Cf. the criticism by Caspari, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 200f., and Wächter, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 64, n. 42.

³A. R. Millard, "The Meaning of the Name Judah," <u>ZAW</u>, 86 (1974), pp. 216-18, has argued that Judah may represent a shortened form of להודאל just as well as להודאל as proposed earlier by Albright, <u>JBL</u>, 46 (1927), pp. 168-78. Several additional early Yahweh-names are cited. For a

of all of these texts as "late" has certainly not found acceptance in all circles.¹ Nor is a late date to be assumed for all occurrences of multiple bound forms involving <u>bny</u> Israel.² It appears that Sacchse has inappropriately distinguished between early and late texts, when instead he should have compared the usage of the <u>bny</u>-GN form in the narrative and poetic/prophetic texts.³ If the narratives are approached without his historico-literary presuppositions, the reverse of his conclusion is apparent. Those narratives which recall the early periods of the nation's history display a marked preference for the <u>bny</u>-GN form of the name. On the other hand, the advent of the monarchy, which brought with it diminishing importance for the tribes, resulted in a sharp reduction in its frequency.

Furthermore, although the uniqueness of Israel's faith and the unifying influence of this faith on the nation are recognized, one would wish that parallel tribal or national names which reflect a people's relationship to its patron deity could be produced. Such self-designations

recent rejection of Millard's interpretation see G. Wenham, "The Religion of the Patriarchs," in <u>Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives</u>, ed. by A. R. Millard and D. J. Wiseman (Leicester: 1930), p. 188, n. 67.

According to BDB, p. 120, <u>bny</u> Israel cocurs 49x in E, 25x in J, and 25x in D. These may all be designated as "late" only if one concludes that anything written during or after the ninth century B.C. is late. Sacchse's position does find support, however, in Bester's treatment of Exod. 1-14, <u>RB</u>, 74 (1967), pp. 321-55, in which <u>bny</u> Israel is proposed as a criterion for isolating P. Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 182, n. 1.

²"Early" examples of such forms are עם כני ישראל, Exod. 1:9(J); גערי בני ישראל, 4:29(J); אצילי בני ישראל, 24:11(J); גערי בני ישראל, 24:5(E). The sources as identified by B. W. Anderson in "Translator's Supplement," in M. Noth, <u>A History of Pentateuchal Traditions</u> (Englewood Cliffs: 1972), pp. 262ff. Other texts to note are Josh. 4:5,8, שנטי שנטי, Also Josh. 11:22, ארץ בני ישראל, 19:51.

³Cf. the discussion, <u>supra</u>, pp. 153ff.

should reflect an occasion on which a tribe, as a result of a conscious community decision, either adopted a new deity,¹ or celebrated the renewal of devotion to its god. Since such evidence is lacking, Sachsse's theory of Israel as a "Bundesname" remains purely hypothetical.

On the other hand, there is no <u>a priori</u> reason, formal or otherwise, why Israel should not have been used as a personal name. Examples of the "imperfect + theophoric element" type are common in the Old Testament.² In spite of the hesitations expressed earlier,³ by is quite similar. Furthermore, even if the etymology of Israel has been interpreted quite differently, it is widely acknowledged that here we have to do with an original personal name.⁴

This interpretation of the name is supported by extra-biblical

¹But cf. Jer. 2:11.

²Cf. Noth, <u>IPN</u>, pp. 27ff.

³Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 244f. For Caspari's defence of Ishmael as a personal name cf. <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 205ff.

⁴Cf. Wächter, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 60f., who, after arguing for a derivation from ישר, suggests that Israel, like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob may have been the ancestor of a clan or small community which worshipped one of the "gods of the fathers." Cf. also H. Seebass. <u>Der Erzvater</u> <u>Israel und die Einführung der Jahweverehrung in Kanaan</u>, BZAW, 98 (Berlin: 1966), p. 25. Albright, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 168, writes,

"If the original meaning of the name 'Israel' was 'God heals,' it follows that it was not primarily a tribal name, as has been often thought, but a personal name, the name of the founder of a tribe, whose later members recorded themselves as his offspring, the <u>B^ene</u> <u>Yisra'el</u>. It therefore becomes impossible to regard the name as one assumed by the followers of Moses in Transjordan. The name is pre-Mosaic, and, to judge from the traditions in Genesis, the tribal chief <u>Yisra'el</u> replaced the tribal chief <u>Ya^Cqob</u> during the Patriarchal Age." Cf. also de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 172, "Israel, however, has the form of a personal name of the ancestor of a special group with which the group of Jacob became united." evidence. Although the names may not be derived from the same roots, several Akkadian forms are certainly reminiscent of "Israel". Note especially from Mari, <u>I-šar-li-im</u>;¹ from Chagar Bazar, <u>I-šar-be-lí</u>;² from Old Akkadian, <u>Iš-re-il</u>;³ from Early Babylonian, <u>I-šar-Šamaš</u>;⁴ and from Akkadian, <u>Ašri-^dEnlil</u> and <u>Ašri-ilišu</u>.⁵ More closely related, however, appear to be the West Semitic names, <u>Ia-aš-šar-hu⁶</u> and <u>Ia-aš-ri-e-da</u>,⁷ from Alalakh, and the hypocoristic <u>Ya-ša-rum</u> from Mari.⁸ From Ugarit comes the closest parallel of all, the virtually identical personal name Yšril.⁹ There appears, therefore, to be no compelling reason for rejecting

¹Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 216.

²C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak, 1937-38," <u>Iraq</u>, 7 (1940), p. 38, Nos. 920,989. Also <u>I-sar-li-im</u>, Nos. 926, 950, 971, 978, 990, 996. Also <u>I-sa-rum</u>, p. 39, No. 992.

³V. Scheil, "Cylindres et légendes inédits," <u>RA</u>, 13 (1916), pp. 5f.

⁴H. Ranke, <u>Early Babylonian Personal Names</u> (Philadelphia: 1905), p. 110, "Shamash is righteous" (hereafter cited as <u>EBPN</u>).

⁵Stamm, ANG, p. 258. Cf. Isar-sarri, Isar-beli, Isar-kin, p. 122.

⁶D. J. Wiseman, <u>The Alalakh Tablets</u>, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, No. 2 (London: 1953), p. 136, No. 169:5 (hereafter cited as AT).

⁷<u>Ibid.</u>, Nos. 253:26; 256:22; 267:7.
⁸Huffmon, APNM, p. 212.

⁹MRS 11 (1965), p. 97, No. 69.3 = <u>UT</u>, 2069. F. Gröndahl, <u>Die</u> <u>Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit</u> (Rome: 1967), p. 43, defines <u>ysr</u> as "gerecht, rechtmässig sein." Cf. also p. 146. Cf. C. Virolleaud, "Les nouvelles tablettes alphabetiques de Ras Shamra (XIX Campagne, 1955)," <u>CRAIBL</u> (1956), p. 65, ". . . il s'écrit <u>Ysril</u>, ce qui correspond exactement à N.W. qui est Israël." See further, E. Vogt, "Nomen Israel in Tabulis Ugariticus," <u>Biblica</u>, 38 (1957), p. 375. G. Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," <u>BA</u>, 39 (1976), p. 48, claims to have identified an <u>Is-ra-il/Is-ra-ya</u> at Ebla. Cf. more recently, <u>idem</u>, "Polytheismus und Henotheismus in der Religion von Ebla," in <u>Monotheismus</u> <u>im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt</u>, ed. by O. Keel, Biblische Beiträge, 14 (Fribourg: 1980), p. 43. Israel as a personal name.

The usage of the name

It is clear from several different sources that Israel was not a personal name given by parents to their son at his birth. It was secondarily bestowed by Yahweh at a critical event in the individual's life. Although the name is not uttered, echoes of both the birth of Jacob¹ and the changing of his name² may be heard in Hos. 12:4-5. The event is recalled in 1 Kings 18:31³ and 2 Kings 17:34.⁴ However, the clearest memory is preserved in Gen. 32:27ff. That this event was not viewed merely as a fabricated aetiology is indicated by the frequent use of this name where Jacob would have been expected in the succeeding narratives.⁵ The link perceived by the Israelites to have existed between themselves and their eponymous ancestor is obvious.

In view of these observations, therefore, Israel may be accepted as a true eponym, having met the two conditions identified at the outset.

¹, עקב את אחיו, v. 4a. ²ר ובאונו שרה את אלהים, v. 4b. ³כמספר שבטי בני יעקב אשר היה דבר יהוה אליו לאמר ישראל יהיה שמך. ⁴בני יעקב אשר שם שמו ישראל.

⁵So Gen. 35:21-22(J); 37:3,13(J); 42:5(J); 43:6,8,11(J); 45:21, 28(J); 46:1,2,5(E); 46:8(P); 46:29,30(J); 47:27(P); 47:29,31(J); 48:2,8, 10,11,13(<u>bis</u>),14,20,21(E); 49:2(special source); 50:2(J). Israel is used in a more national sense in 33:20(E); 36:31(addition to P); 49:16, 24,28(special source). In many instances Israel appears to serve as a simple stylistic variation of Jacob. So 35:20-21 (though Noth attributes v. 20 to E, <u>HPT</u>, p. 35); 42:1-5. Even if Noth's division of the sources, (i.e., vs. 1a,2-3[E] and 1b,4-5[J]) is adopted, the alternation occurred within the various documents as well. So 45:25-28(all J); 46:1-5a (all E). Note especially 46:5b, "And the sons of Israel carried their father Jacob . .." Cf. also 47:27-28(P). ניתר מצרים in v. 27 is paralleled in v. 28 with מצרים מצרים 3. Noth separates v. 33(P) from 50:1-3(J).

Not only was the name genuinely personal, but the people who identified themselves by it possessed clear traditions of the connection between ancestor and nation. A reconstruction of the evolution of the usage of the name may now be proposed. The immediate offspring of Jacob/Israel identified themselves as the <u>bny</u> Israel.¹ While the memory of the patriarch remained alive, the impulse to shorten the name was resisted. Indeed the longer form persisted so long as tribal distinctions retained their significance in national life. With the institution of the monarchy, specifically Solomon's administrative reforms, tribal influence decreased rapidly, being reflected in the decline in the use of <u>bny</u> Israel. As the tribal memories faded from view the shortened form, Israel, became simply a collective designation like any other national name.²

¹The form is used also by outsiders: Exod. 1:9; 12:31; Josh. 2:2.

²This reconstruction is the reverse of that suggested by Besters, cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 182; Sachsse, <u>ZSVG</u>, p. 66, who argue that <u>bny</u> Israel represents the later development.

Jacob

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Jacob in the Old Testament

The name Jacob appears 349 times in the Old Testament.¹ It is apparent from table 16 that its distribution is extremely uneven. The last twenty-five chapters of Genesis account for more than one-half the total. A sharp distinction between the usage of the name in the narrative texts and the poetic/prophetic texts is apparent. In the former, Jacob is used almost exclusively as the personal name of the second of the three patriarchs of Israel. As expected, most of these are in Genesis where the personal life of the man is sketched.² The narratives of Jacob's life

Noth, IPN, p. 26, has identified עקב as one of many examples of Semitic names constructed on the imperfect + subject model. Cf. also idem, "Mari und Israel: Eine Personennamestudien," in Geschichte und Altes Testament, Alt Festschrift (Tübingen: 1953), p. 142. As frequently happened, however, the nominative element has fallen away resulting in the hypocoristic . On the basis of cognate usage the original form is commonly reconstructed as יעקבאל. So D. N. Freedman, "The Original Name of Jacob," IEJ, 13 (1963), pp. 125-26; de Vaux, EHI, p. 199; T. L. Thompson, The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, BZAW, 133 (Berlin: 1974), p. 43. Etymologically, the name appears to be derived from עקב, "heel, footprint, hinderpart", BDB, p. 784. The significance, "May he (God) protect you," has been interpreted as a figurative rendering of the more literal, "May he be at your heels," i.e., "be your rearguard." D. Kidner, <u>Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary</u>, TOTC (London: 1967), p. 151. In the aetiological account, Gen. 25:21ff., we may have to do with an intentional pun, the clutching of Esau's heel reminding the narrator of the root upon which the name is based. Speiser, Genesis, p. 197, comments, The original meaning of the name Jacob, shortened from Y^Cqb-'1 'may God protect,' or the like, was forgotten once the pertinent verb had gone out of general use; all that remained was its

apparent connection with 'heel', which symbolists could not be expected to leave alone.

²Appropriately, more than one-half of the patriarchal material concerns the life of Jacob. From him the nation derives its name (ch. 32); and from him the tribal constitution of the nation is determined (chs. 30, 35:22ff.; 46:8ff. Also Exod. 1:1ff.).

revolve around three critical centres, each of which has an important bearing on the progress of the patriarchal covenant: 1) the transmission of the right to the patriarchal blessing, and with it the promise, from Isaac's eldest son to Jacob the younger;¹ 2) the emancipation of Jacob and his family from the control of Laban the Aramaean, in order that they may develop independently within the promised territory;² 3) the apparent suspension of the promise occasioned by a severe famine which compels the entire family to descend into Egypt.³

After Genesis, references to the patriarch, Jacob, are rare. In two-thirds of these the name is impersonally associated with Abraham and Isaac.⁴ Beyond this Exod. 1:1 speaks of "the <u>bny</u> Israel who came to Egypt with Jacob," and 1:5 of "all who came from the loins of Jacob."⁵ The reference to <u>byt</u> Jacob in the divine speech in 19:3 is almost poetic.⁶

¹25:21-28:22. The effects of the conflicts created by this issue are felt long after this has ceased to be of central concern in the narrative. See chs. 32-33.

²29:1-35:27.

³37:1-50:26. Although this event is vaguely anticipated in 15:13-16, its significance becomes apparent only centuries later.

⁴See the references to: 1) the <u>God</u> of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Exod. 3:6,15,16; 4:5; Deut. 29:12; 1 Kings 18:36 (cf. 1 Chron. 29:18 and 2 Chron. 30:6 where Israel replaces Jacob); 2) the <u>covenant</u> with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Exod. 2:24; (cf. 6:4,5); Lev. 26:42 (in reverse order); 2 Kings 13:23. Note also poetic texts, Ps. 105:8-10 = 1 Chron. 16:15-17; 3) the <u>land</u> sworn to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Gen. 50:24; Exod. 6:8; 33:1; Num. 32:11; Deut. 1:8; 6:10; 9:5; 30:20; 34:4 (cf. Exod. 32:13 where Israel replaces Jacob); 4) Yahweh's <u>servants</u> are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Deut. 9:27; 5) Yahweh <u>appeared to</u> Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Exod. 6:3; 6) the <u>seed</u> of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Jer. 33:26.

⁵ כל נפש יצאי ירך יעקב.

⁶ כה האמר לבית יעקב ותגיד לבני ישראל.

Joshua provides a summary of the man's life in the introduction to his farewell address, in 24:4. In verse 32 the narrator alludes to his purchase of a plot of land from Hamor the father of Shechem.¹ Jacob is also remembered in Samuel's survey of Israel's history in 1 Sam. 12:8. According to 1 Kings 18:31, Elijah constructs his altar of twelve stones on the basis of "the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob."² As noted earlier, the event at which his name was changed to Israel is mentioned in 2 Kings 17:34.³ These are the only occurrences of Jacob in the historical writings.

The use of the name Jacob in the poetic and prophetic texts presents a sharp contrast to the historians' usage. Clear references to the individual are rare. Isa. 58:14 distinguishes between Israel and Jacob by identifying the latter as the father of the nation. The reference to the offspring from Jacob ($\alpha, \forall \forall \neg \in I$) in 65:9 seems to have the individual in mind. Hos. 12:13 recalls Jaccb's flight to Aram and his struggles with Laban.⁴ Although 'Jacob' is paralleled with 'Israel' in Ps. 105:23, the context requires a personal interpretation of both.

Apart from these isolated texts, Jacob is employed rather consistently as a collective name for the nation Israel.⁵ Several interesting features characterize this usage. In two-thirds of these

¹Cf. Gen. 33:19.

כמספר שבטי בני יעקב².

³בני יעקב אשר שם שמו ישראל.

⁴Note the allusion without mentioning his name in v. 5 to his struggle with the angel/God. Cf. Gen. 32:22ff.

^DThis usage cannot be passed off as a later poetic device. It

passages, Jacob is paralleled with another designation for the nation, usually Israel itself.¹ Surprisingly, Jacob is overwhelmingly favoured as the A-word in the pair.² Furthermore, a pronounced tendency to combine

appears in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:7,24), dated by F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman (Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry, SBL Dissertation Series, 21 [Missoula: 1975], p. 70) as pre-monarchic; the Oracles of Balaam (Num. 23:7,10,21,23; 24:5,17,19), dated by W. F. Hbright ("The Oracles of Balaam," JBL, 63 [1944], p. 233) in the twelfth century, B.C. (cf. idem, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan [London: 1968], pp. 15f.); the Song of Moses (Deut. 32:9), dated by Albright, ibid, p. 17, ca. 1025 B.C. (So also O. Eissfeldt, Das Lied Moses, Deuteronomium 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78, samt einer Analyse der Umgezung des Mose Liedes [Berlin: 1958], p. 21. Cf. U. Cassuto, "The Song of Moses," in Biblical and Oriental Studies, vol. I: Bible [Jerusalem: 1973], pp. 41-46, who concludes the song follows immediately upon the conclust of the land. Not all accept so early a date. See A. D. H. Mayes, Deuteronomy, NCB [London: 1979], pp. 380-82, who prefers an exilic or post-exilic date on form critical grounds. So also G. Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, initiated by E. Sellin, trans. by D. E. Green [Nashville: 1968, p. 190); the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:4,10,28, dated by Albright, loc. cit., mid-eleventh century B.C. (So also Iross and Freedman, loc. cit., p. 97); the Last Words of David (2 Sam. 23:1), discussed by Albright, loc. cit., pp. 24f. in the context of other tenth century poems.

¹These texts may be tabulated as follows: ישראל //: Gen. 49:7,24; Num. 23:7,10,21,23a,23b; 24:5,17; Deut. 33:10.28; Isa. 9:7; 10:20; 14:1; 27:6; 29:23; 40:27; 41:8,14; 42:24; 43:1,22,28; 44:1; 44:5,21,23; 45:4; 46:3; 48:1,12; 49:5,6; Jer. 2:4; 10:16; 30:10; 46:27; Ezek. 20:5; 39:25; Hos. 12:13; Mic. 1:5; 2:12; 3:1,8,9; Nah. 2:3; Ps. 14:7; 22:24; 78:5,21,71; 81:5; 105:10,23; 114:1; 135:4; 147:19; Lam. 2:3; 1 Chron. 16:17. ישרון // : Isa. 44:2 :יהודה // Isa. 65:9; Jer. 5:20; Hos. 10:11; 12:3. אפרים //: Hos. 10:11. Ob. 18. // יוסף + עשו: ועמי //: Isa. 58:1. אברהם // Mic. 7:20; Ps. 105:6. In the latter reference the parallel pair actually consists of בני יעקנ//זרע אברהם.

²Exceptions are Deut. 33:28; Isa. 10:20; 41:8; 58:1; Ezek. 20:5; Hos. 12:3; Ps. 81:5; 85:2; 105:6,23; 114:1; Lam. 2:3. This evidence runs counter to the view of M. Held, that A-words are usually the more common words, whereas the B-words are rarely used in prose. "Studies in Ugaritic Lexicography and Poetic Style" (Unpublished Fh.D. dissertation in the Johns Hopkins Library, 1957), pp. 5-18, as noted by R. G. Boling, "Synonymous Parallelism in the Psalms," JSS, 5 (1960), pp. 223-24. the name with another noun in genitive constructions is observable.¹ Of interest also is the frequent appositional association of Israel and Jacob.² Finally, the latter designation appears to have been especially appropriate as a vocative term.³

It is apparent from the patriarchal narratives that the Israelites possessed clear traditions of an eponymous ancestor Jacob. Recollections of the same are reflected elsewhere as well by the special prominence given to the brotherhood of Jacob and Esau,⁴ his residence in Aram,⁵

¹Designations for the people of Israel or segments thereof: כני יעקב, Gen. 49:2; 1 Kings 18:31; 2 Kings 17:34; Mal. 3:6; Ps. 77: 16; 105:6; אדע יעקב 1, Isa. 45:19; Jer. 33:26; Ps. 22:24; cf. Isa. 65:9, 16; 105:6; בית יעקב . והוצאתי מיעקב זרע גית יעקב . והוצאתי מיעקב זרע 14:1; 29:22; 46:3; 48:1; Jer. 2:4; 5:20; Ezek. 20:5 (8:17; 10:20; 14:1; 29:22; 46:3; 48:1; Jer. 2:4; 5:20; Ezek. 20:5 (סרי גית יעקב וונידין אורי גיעקב . 10:20; 15a. 49:6. האטי יעקב . 10:20; 15a. 10:21; Mic. 5:6. ראשי יעקב , Mic. 3:1. פליטת בית יעקב . 10:20.

2) Designations for the places of residence in Israel: אהלי יעקר.
 Jer. 30:18; Mal. 2:12. נאוח יעקב, Lam. 2:2. משכנות יעקב, Ps. 87:2.
 Isa. 58:14.

3) Designations for the God of Israel: אל/אלהי יעקב, Isa. 2:3; Mic. 4:2; Ps. 46:8.12; 94:7; 114:7; 146:5 (all // רהוה); Ps. 20:2; 84:9 (both // אלהים); 81:2 (//סוג גבאת // also 2 San. 23:1; Ps. 75:10; 76:7; 81:5. אביר יעקב, Isa. 29:23. אביר יעקב, Isa. 49:26; 60:16; Ps. 132:2,5. גמלך יעקב, Isa. 41:21.

4) Other associations: חלק יעקב, Jer. 10:16; 51:19. שם יעקב, Isa. 44:5.
און יעקב, Isa. 17:4. גאון יעקב, Amos 6:8 (in negative sense); 8:7;
Ps. 47:5 (both positive). עון יעקב, Isa. 27:9. שבית(ות) יעקב, Ezek. 39:
25; Ps. 85:2.

²Isa. 41:8 (ישראל עבדי//יעקב אשר בחרתיך//אברהם זרע אהבי); 44:1 (עבדי יעקב//ישרון בחרתי בו); 44:2 (יעקב עבדי//ישראל בחרתי בו); 44:21 (עבדי יעקב//ישראל בחירי); 45:4 (זכר אלה יעקב וישראל כי עבדי אתה); 48:20 (עבדי יעקב//ישראל); Jer. 30:10 (עבדי יעקב); 46:27,28 (עבדי יעקב); Ezek. 28:25 (עבדי יעקב); 37:25 (עבדי יעקב).

³Num. 24:5; Isa. 2:5 (בית יעקב); 40:27; 41:14 (תולעת יעקב); 43:1,22; 44:1 (יעקב עבדי); 44:2; 44:21; 46:3 (בית יעקב); 48:1 (בית יעקב); 48:12; Jer. 2:4 (בית יעקב); 46:27,28 (כית יעקב); Mic. 2:7 (בית יעקב); 3:1; 3:9.

⁴Josh. 24:4; Mal. 1:2-3; Ob. 10-12. Cf. Ezek. 25:12; Joel 3: 19; Amos 1:11.

⁵Hos. 12:13. Cf. Deut. 26:4f.

the wrestling bout with the angel and the changing of his name,¹ and his descent into Egypt.² The frequent association of Jacob with Abraham and Isaac in formulaic type statements attests to a continuous awareness of the relationship among the three, in harmony with the patriarchal accounts.

The perception of a connection between the person Jacob and the nation Israel is demonstrated most clearly in 1 Kings 18:31. Not only does Elijah's reconstruction of the altar of twelve stones reflect a recognition of the unity of all Israel, but the comments by the narrator indicate that he viewed Israel's division into twelve tribes to have been rooted in the nature of the patriarchal family. The entire context displays an awareness of the organic connection between the Israel standing before the prophet and the Jacob who was the father of the twelve tribal eponymous ancestors.

In conclusion, the use of Jacob as a personal name, along with the existence of traditions which treat this person as the ancestor of the Israelites, demonstrate that they perceived themselves to be ethnically related by virtue of their common descent.

Jacob in extra-biblical sources

Personal names similar to $\sqrt[4]{vqc}$ have been attested in several widely separated sources. From Kish in Mesopotamia come the third millennium B.C. forms, <u>Ia-ah-qu-ub-il</u> and <u>Ia-qu-ub-il</u>.³ Both names appear in the

¹2 Kings 17:34. Cf. Hos. 12:5.

²Exod. 1:1,5; Josh. 24:4; 1 Sam. 12:8; Ps. 105:23.

³M. Rutten, "Un lot de tablettes de Manana," <u>RA</u>, 54 (1960), p. 149; cf. pp. 77f., Tablet 11:27, and pp. 84f., Tablet 15:1,6.

roughly contemporary Harmal records.¹ Ia-qu-ub-il is referred to in Old Babylonian texts of the First Dynasty as well.² The Chagar Bazar texts indicate the use of Ia-ab-qu-ub-il in upper Mesopotamia in the eighteenth century B.C.³ From approximately the same time comes also Ia-qu-ub-il, discovered at Qatuna on the Habur.⁴ To these should be added the perfect + nominative forms, <u>A-ab-qu-ub-il</u>⁵ and <u>A-qu-ub-il</u>.⁶ Ia-qub-ba^cal represents a Ugaritic counterpart of the imperfect forms, <u>ba^cal</u> replacing <u>II/E1</u> as the theophoric element.⁷ Yeivin has provided a short discussion of several names constructed on the same imperfect + theophoric nominative model found in Hyksos scarabs. <u>Ii^cqbhr</u>, <u>ii^cqphr</u> and ii^cpqhr have been identified as definite examples, hr in each

Ia-ah-qu-ub-i1: S. D. Simmons, "Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Harmal and Elsewhere," JCS, 14 (1960), p. 122, No. 100:21; Huffmon, APNM, p. 203. Ia-qu-ub-i1: Simmons, JCS, 13 (1959), p. 114, No. 26:7; JCS, 14 (1960), p. 27, No. 57:13; Huffmon, APNM, p. 204.

²T. Bauer, <u>Die Ostkanaanäer</u> (Leipzig: 1926), p. 27. The hypocoristic <u>Ia-qu-bi</u> has also been identified. Noth, "Mari und Israel," p. 142, n. 3, suggests the name be understood as <u>Jakub-ila</u>.

³C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tell Brak," <u>Iraq</u>, 7 (1940), p. 38; Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 203.

⁴J. Nougayrol, "Documents du Habur," <u>Svria</u>, 37 (1960), p. 207, No. 206:4; Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 204.

⁵R. Harris, "The Archive of the Sin Temple in Khafajah (Tutub)," JCS, 9 (1955), p. 93, No. 61:6; Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 203.

Harris, loc. cit., p. 63, No. 12:3; Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 204. Cf. the Palmyrene, divine name + perfect, בעלעקב <u>IPN</u>, p. 45; J. K. Stark, <u>Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions</u> (Oxford: 1971), pp. 10, 107. Also בלעקב M. Lidzbarski, <u>Handbuch der Nordsemitischen</u> <u>Epigraphic Nebst ausgewählten Inschriften</u>, vol. I (Hildesheim: 1962), p. 237; A. Cowley, <u>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.</u> (Oxford: 1923), No. 54:10; אַקובא, <u>KAI</u> 241:1, Hatra, first or second century A.D.; עקובשמש, KAI 253:2 (Hatra).

⁷Gröndahl, <u>PTU</u>, pp. 111,116.

instance representing the name of the divinity.¹ Elsewhere, in Egypt $y-\underline{c}-\underline{q}-\underline{b}-\underline{i}-\underline{r}$ ($y^{c}\underline{q}\underline{b'}\underline{l}$) appears only as a toponym, rather than a personal name.²

It is apparent from all these citations that the name of the eponymous ancestor of the Israelites was in common use in the third and second millennia B.C.³ There appears to be no objective reason, there-fore, for rejecting Jacob as an original personal name.

¹S. Yeivin, "Ya^cqobel," <u>JEA</u>, 45 (1959), pp. 16-18. Cf. also <u>iiqbhr</u>. Thompson, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 48 and n. 223, maintains that <u>hr</u> = Semitic <u>hd</u>, i.e., the god Hadad.

²J. Simons, <u>Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical</u> <u>Lists Relating to Western Asia</u> (Leiden: 1937), p. 118, No. 102 (from Thutmose III). Cf. also $y^{-}-q^{-}b^{-}r$, p. 158, No. 9 (from Ramses II), and $y^{-}-[q]-b^{-}r$, p. 169, No. 104 (from Ramses III), both without the For further discussion of all of these forms see Thompson, pp. 43-51.

³Although other names containing the root **y** are common throughout the first and second millennia, imperfect forms occur only in second and third millennia texts. Contra Thompson, pp. 50-51, this may provide a hint concerning the historical context of the patriarchal narratives. The search for Aramaean origins is confronted by several serious difficulties. First, the biblical texts, which represented the primary source for the historical background to Israel and the Transjordanian nations, contain little data on this group. Second, although the extrabiblical sources refer to the Aramaeans more often than to the south Syrian states, they provide notoriously little information on the ethnic composition of any people. Consequently, the conclusions reached by this inquiry will be less assured. Nevertheless, an examination of these texts may provide some clues about the ancient Near Eastern perception of this important group of people.

Forms and etymology

The name Aram is written identically in Hebrew and Aramaic consonantal script, הארם.¹ Deriving from an original *<u>aramu</u>, with two short vowels, and the accent on the first syllable,² the Assyrian pronunciations <u>Arumu/Arimi</u> reflect the harmonization of the second vowel with the case ending.³ The Hebrew shifting of the accent to the ultima appears to have caused a reduction of the initial vowel, hence ⁴

¹For Hebrew, see BDB, <u>s.v.</u>; for Aramaic examples, see KAI 201: 3 (=Gibson, <u>AI</u> 1:3, Melkart Stele); KAI 202:4 (= <u>AI</u> 5:4, Zakkur Inscription); KAI 222:5 (= <u>AI</u> 7:5,6, Sefire Inscription).

²W. F. Albright, "The Emergence of the Aramaeans," <u>CAH</u>, 3rd ed., II/2, p. 532.

³Ibid. Cf. von Soden, <u>GAG</u>, 10e,f; R. T. O"Callaghan, <u>Aram-</u> <u>Naharaim: A Contribution to the History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Sec-</u> ond Millennium B.C., AnOr, 26 (Rome: 1948), p. 95.

⁴On nouns with reduced initial vowel and long theme, cf. GK 84n. J. Lewy, "Tabor, Tibar, Atabyros," <u>HUCA</u>, 23/1 (1950-51), p. 369, suggests that <u>A-ra-am</u> was likely the <u>gatal</u> variant of an Old West

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In contrast to Edom, Moab, Ammon and Israel, the Old Testament provides no aetiology for Aram. Taking as his point of departure the occasional interchange of Aram and Edom in the Old Testament, Haupt posited identical origins for the two names. Both are to be related to the root DT, "man". In the case of Aram, however, the T has been replaced by Γ.¹ More commonly, however, Aram has been related to the root DT, "to be high",² in which case the name might originally have been associated with the highland regions of Armenia, the home of the Aramaeans. Although Delitzsch accepted the geographical aspect of this explanation, he argues for a root, DT, also meaning "to be high". Such a root would be more helpful in explaining "to be high". Such a root would be more helpful in explaining more by Mazar, who maintains that at least from the twelfth century B.C. the name

Semitic appellative name *Arim or *Harim, which in turn, may have been the basis for Arman or Harman. Therefore, the seemingly obscure A-ra-am is an old variant of Ar-man, defined in a neo-Assyrian list of geographic names as an obsolete equivalent to Hat-tin. This was the common name for the region south-east of Mount Amanos and watered by the ^CAfrin and Lower Orontes.

P. Haupt, "Die Etymologie von <u>Aram</u>," <u>ZDMG</u>, 61 (1907), pp. 194-95. Although examples of this interchange are provided from other languages, no Semitic parallels are given.

²BDB, p. 74; KB, p. 88.

³Friedrich Delitzsch, <u>Wo lag das Paradies? Eine biblisch-</u> <u>assyriologische Studie</u> (Leipzig: 1881), p. 258. Cf. Franz Delitzsch, <u>A New Commentary on Genesis</u>, 2 vols., trans. by A. Taylor (Edinburgh: 1888), II, p. 338. Aramaean meant "nomad".

In recent times scholars have been less confident in their interpretation of the name. To be sure, the Hurrian origin proposed by Kupper has been an innovation. However, no commitment regarding its significance is made.² Although his explanation of its origin has not found wide acceptance, similar agnosticism concerning the etymology of ארם has been expressed by many.³

Usage

Aram in the Old Testament

In the Hebrew writings, Aram is used in two different ways, as a personal name and as a collective designation. These will be examined separately.

Aram: a personal name. As a personal name Aram identifies three different individuals, the fifth son of Shem,⁴ a son of Bethuel and

¹B. Mazar, "The Aramaean Empire and its Relations with Israel," <u>BA</u>, 25 (1962), p. 101, n. 8 (= <u>BAR</u>, 2, p. 130, n. 8). Cf. Deut. 26:5 and Taylor Prism V:22f.

²Les nomades, pp. 112f.

³De Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 204, comments, "Its etymology is unknown." Cf. R. A. Bowman, "Aramaeans, Aramaic, and the Bible," <u>JNES</u>, 7 (1948), p. 66, "The name . . . has no satisfactory etymology." He proposes that Aram was probably a designation first applied by the Assyrians, "apparently because they were encountered in a district formerly known as the land of Aram." M. F. Unger, <u>Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus</u> (London: 1957), p. 134, n. 13, "The meaning of the name <u>Aram</u> is unknown." O'Callaghan, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 95f., "Semantically, why any people should be called Aramaeans we are not in a position to say." He does, however, suggest that it was probably first a place name, possibly a mountain city Arma, mentioned by Shalmaneser I. Later it developed as the name of a tribe and finally of a larger confederation.

⁴Gen. 10:22,23; cf. 1 Chron. 1:17.

kinsman of Abraham,¹ and a leading member of the tribe of Asher.² Although all three remain rather shadowy figures, the presence of the name in such widely separated contexts suggests that Aram may have been a relatively common name.³ The son of Asher presents no interpretive problems. By contrast, the identity and relationship of the other two represents a hermeneutical problem of major proportions. Our present task will be to determine which of these (if either) was perceived as the eponymous ancestor of the Aramaeans.

Aram in the "Table of Nations". Genesis 10 represents a unique document among ancient Near Eastern peoples, inasmuch as it seeks to organize the people of the known world into one genealogical structure. In so doing the author has demonstrated: 1) the unity of the human race; 2) the relationship of Israel to the rest of the nations.⁴ The limitations of the document should be acknowledged from the outset.⁵ Nevertheless, it provides a remarkable picture of Hebrew perceptions of the

> ¹Gen. 22:21. ²1 Chron. 7:34.

³In this respect Aram contrasts with Moab, Ammon, Edom and Israel, which never appear as personal names apart from the eponymous ancestors of the respective nations. The same applies to Jacob and Esau.

⁴For a bibliography of studies on the Table, see C. Westermann, Genesis, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1974), pp. 662-63.

^bThe artificial nature of the Table is indicated by 1) the formal introduction and post script; 2) its division into three segments, each of which contains its own formal introductions and colophonic conclusion; 3) the designation of the Table as a tol^edoth document, thereby being made to fit into the overall structure of Genesis; 4) the non-chronological order of the arrangement of the names; families, languages, lands and nations are more important than genealogical sequence; 5) the restriction of the entries to seventy (seventy-one?), creating large gaps and considerable imbalance (cf. Deut. 32:8); 6) the alternation of personal names, toponyms and gentilics. international scene. Within this framework, Aram appears as the fifth son of Shem, the son of Noah, alongside Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad and Lud. These represent the five main branches of the Semitic race.¹ Each name is intended to signify the eponymous ancestor of the respective people(s) descended from each. The Aramaeans are therefore, placed in a direct line of descent through Shem to Noah.

Aram the near kinsman of Abraham. The literary style of the text in which the second Aram appears, Gen. 22:20-24, differs from that of Gen. 10 in several important respects. First, although the connection is rather loose, a deliberate attempt has been made to weave the genealogy into the Abraham cycle of narratives. In so doing, the geneaology is represented as an event in the patriarch's life.² The first part is cast in the form of a report to Abraham concerning his relatives in Haran. To the report the editor seems to have appended a comment concerning the family of Bethuel, whose significance becomes apparent only in the succeeding narrative. Second, the genealogy is less formal than Gen. 10, lacking the introductory $tol^{e}doth$ formula, the terse birth notice formula, "these are the sons of PN," as well as the colophonic type of conclusion. Third, the function of the genealogy in Gen. 22 differs markedly from the Table. Here the author's concerns are personal rather than international; he is summarizing the genealogical progress

¹This is not the place to discuss the problems raised by the presence of Elam, considered by many to have been non-Semitic, the reference to Lud, or the absence of the Chaldaeans. The reader is referred to the commentaries and studies cited by Westermann.

Note the use of the temporal clause, ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה. . Cf. von Rad, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 240.

of a by-line of the chosen family, thereby, as the appended note implies, explaining the close affinity felt by Abraham toward the "Aramaeans" of Haran.

The differences are not limited to stylistic features; sharp divergences of detail may also be observed. These may be tabulated as follows:

Feature	Genesis 10	Genesis 22:20-24
Line of descent	Aram (= founder of the line)	Arphaxad (cf. Gen. 11:10ff.)
Father	Shem	Kemuel
Relationship to Uz	Father	Nephew
Historical context	2nd post-deluvian generation	2nd post-Abrahamic generation

These discrepancies are commonly accounted for by interpreting both genealogies socio-politically, recognizing here two different traditions about the origins of the Aramaeans. Malamat, for example, sees in the first family tree a reflection of Aramaean prominence in the beginning of the first millennium B.C.; Aram is assigned equal status with Elam and Asshur. Chapter 22, on the other hand, mirrors an earlier, more modest position of the Aramaeans. Aram is but the "grandson" of Nahor and "nephew" of Uz. In other words, the Nahorite and Uzite tribes are viewed as more significant than the Aramaeans.¹

¹A. Malamat, "The Aramaeans," <u>POTT</u>, pp. 139-40. Cf. his discussions of the use of genealogies to indicate political relationships in "Tribal Societies: Biblical Genealogies and African Lineage Systems," <u>Archiv européennes de sociologie</u>, 14 (1973), pp. 126-36; "Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel," RAI, 15 (1966), pp. 137f. This interpretation is adopted by Mazar, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 98-101 (= <u>BAR</u>, 2, pp. 128-29). Cf. also Thompson, <u>HPN</u>, pp. 300f., who treats the genealogy of Nahor as a list of tribes in the Syrian and North Arabian deserts. For a detailed study of the socio-political significance of

As attractive as this explanation may be, it is, nevertheless subject to several criticisms. First, the socio-political reconstruction is purely hypothetical; the relative positions of the various tribes represented by eponyms in both genealogies cannot be confirmed for lack of external confirmatory evidence. More serious is the difficulty of explaining how the final editor of Genesis was able to include both in his document without some clarifying comment;¹ unless, of course, in his mind no disagreement exists. Is it not possible that both are not intended to represent the eponymous ancestor of the Aramaeans? The support for this position is considerable, and may be summarized by asking several leading questions.

1) On the basis of literary style, which document is more likely intended to reflect the normative Hebrew view of Aramaean origins? The answer lies with the former. Gen. 10 has been formally structured as a genealogy of the families, lands, languages and nations. 22:20-24, on the other hand, is concerned with the personal relatives of Abraham and the matriarchal ancestors of the Israelites.

2) In which of the genealogies is the position of Aram more in agreement with his role as eponymous ancestor of a nation? Again the answer is found in the former. Not only is Aram identified as one of the sources from whom the D'12 derive, several branches of his descendants are named. The Aram of Gen. 22:20-24, on the other hand, is listed simply as a private person, the son of Kemuel, without descendants and without

ancient Near Eastern genealogies see R. R. Wilson, <u>Genealogy and History</u> in the Biblical World, Yale Near Eastern Researches, 7 (New Haven: 1977).

¹Cf. the repeated הוא אבי ארום in the Edomite genealogy, Gen. 36.

national significance.

3) What information is provided elsewhere that might have a bearing on the issue? Here an examination of the use of the expression "the Aramaean" (הארמי) in the patriarchal narratives may be helpful. appears five times in the texts, being applied twice to Bethuel, and thrice to Laban.² According to Gen. 22:21, neither of these is a descendant of Aram. Laban and Aram are cousins, and represent two different lines. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how Bethuel could be identified as "the Aramaean" if he was the uncle of the founder of the line! Furthermore, whenever the narrator wished to identify these northern relatives of Israel more closely, Nahor is always presented as the founder of the line.³ Even Jacob, upon his arrival in Haran, asks specifically for Laban "the son of Nahor."⁴ In an earlier context, when Abraham's servant had been sent to find a wife for Isaac, it was to Aram Naharaim, "the city of Nahor," that he proceeded. 5 Throughout that account the stress is on Nahor's kinship with Abraham, not his Aramaean identity.⁶ Even Laban is identified simply as "the brother of Rebekah." Zespecially remarkable is the description in 31:44ff. of the

¹25:20a,(P); 28:5(P). In the construction, לכן בן בתואל הארמי, it is possible that Laban should be understood as the Aramaean. This would not, however, affect the argument.

agreement between Jacob and Laban not to interfere in one another's affairs. When the gods are invoked to witness the covenant, they are identified as "the God of Abraham" and "the God of Nahor," not Aram.¹

If this Aram was intended by the author to be viewed as the eponymous ancestor of the Aramaeans, the narratives which follow are hopelessly confused in their treatment of the individuals involved. Nor may we appeal to the editorial use of discrepant sources. Most of these texts, like 22:20-24 itself are usually ascribed to J.² In view of the absence of any hints that the Aram of 22:20-24 was viewed as the ancestor of the Aramaeans, and the abundance of contrary evidence, it may be concluded that the author never intended him to be perceived as such.

How then did Laban and Bethuel come to be identified as Aramaeans? Perhaps the answer is to be found, not in the narrator's portrayal of their genealogical background, but in the geographic context in which they resided. According to Gen. 11:28-32(J), Terah moved with his son Abraham, and his grandson by Haran, Lot, from Ur of Chaldaea to Haran on the Upper Euphrates. Although Nahor is not mentioned here, the later designation of Haran as "the city of Nahor" as well as the presence there of his descendants suggests that this brother of Abraham had eventually also made the trip. That Haran was perceived as an Aramaean locality is clear from several sources, but especially those in which the region is identified as Aram-Naharaim³ or Paddan-

¹31:53a(J).

²Noth, <u>HPT</u>, pp. 25-29.

³24:10. Cf. also Deut. 23:5, Balaam comes from Pethor of Aram-Naharaim; Judg. 3:8, Israel falls into the hands of Cushan-Rishathaim,

Aram.¹ Indeed Bethuel and Laban are never identified as Aramaeans, except that in the same context their residence is also cited as Paddan-Aram.² It seems only reasonable, therefore, that these men were identified as Aramaeans because, in contrast to the patriarchs, who resided in Canaan,³ they were living in Aramaean territory. The name was chronologically anterior both to their arrival there and their being designated as such.

What then is to be made of Aram, the son of Kemuel, if he was not the eponymous ancestor of the Aramaeans? Why should his name have been inserted into the genealogy when it did not represent an essential part? Several explanations may be proposed. First, it is possible that the author was thereby acknowledging some relationship between these northern kinsfolk of the patriarchs and the Aramaeans. Perhaps for him Aram represented the head of one of the tribal sub-divisions, his name having been inserted here because of some association of Kemuel with a group of Aramaeans known to the Israelites.⁴ On the basis of the patriarchal

king of Aram Naharaim(on the possibility of such a concentration of Aramaean power at this time see A. Malamat, "Cushan Rishathaim and the Decline of the Near East Around 1200 B.C.," <u>JNES</u>, 13 [1954], pp. 231-42); Ps. 60:2, David struggles with Aram-Naharaim; 1 Chron. 19:6, horses are hired from Aram Naharaim as well as Aram Zobah. On the significance of the name see O'Callaghan, pp. 131-44; J. J. Finkelstein, "'Mesopotamia,'" JNES, 21 (1962), pp. 73-92.

Gen. 25:20; 28:2,5,6,7; 31:18; 33:18; 35:9,26; 46:15. Cf. the abbreviated form Paddan, Gen. 48:7. In Hos. 12:13 this name is substituted by שדה ארם On the significance of this name see <u>infra</u>, p. 277. O'Callaghan, p. 96, et n. 4; Simons, <u>GTTOT</u>, p. 7.

²Gen. 25:20; 28:5, cf. vs. 2,6,7; 31:20,24, cf. v. 18.

³Gen. 11:31; 12:5,6; 13:12; 16:3; 17:8; 35:6. By contrast, the designation of any of the patriarchal family as **hold to be accurated and accurated and accurated accurated and accurated accurated accurated and accurated accurated accurated accurated accurate accu**

⁴The phrase קמואל אבי ארם may be interpreted as "Kemuel, the ancestor of the Aramaeans." Cf. עשו אבי ארוס, Gen. 36:9,43.

narrative as a whole, however, it is difficult to equate this person with the eponymous ancestor of the Aramaeans in general.

A more plausible solution is to treat Aram simply as a personal name. The author may have recalled that Kemuel had a son by this name, and inserted it for the sake of completeness, without intending thereby to make any profound political statement. Aram was a common personal name throughout the Semitic world¹ and need not have been associated with the Aramaeans at all. Nor does any of the other names in the genealogy demand a tribal connection, save perhaps the head of the line, Nahor.² The fact that Aram has the same name as one member of the Table of Nations may be purely coincidental.³ Furthermore, the presence of Aram in this genealogy may be another indication of how Aramaean, culturally, these recent immigrants had become. The individual may have been named after the tribe/region where he resided.⁴ The rapid acculturation of this group is demonstrated by the need for a bilingual

¹Cf. infra, pp. 280ff.

²Nahor has been identified as a town called Nahuru in the Cappadocian and Mari documents and the twelfth century B.C. Assyrian records. In the seventh century it resurfaces as Til-Nahiri. For discussion and bibliography see de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 195. According to H. Lewy, it appears that the Hurrians customarily named a place after a prominent personality. "Assyria c. 2600-1816 B.C.," <u>CAH</u>, 3rd ed., I/2 (1966), p. 5. De Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, pp. 195f. discusses the similar usages of Serug/Sarugi and Terah/Til-Turahi.

³Some of the remaining names appear only here: Chesed, Hazo, Pildash, Jidlaph, Reumah, Tebah, Gahum, Tahash. Others are used only as personal names: Milkah (cf. Num. 26:33; 27:1; 36:11; Josh. 17:3), Kemuel (cf. 1 Chron. 27:17). Uz and Buz appear as tribal and place names (cf. BDB, $\underline{s}.\underline{v}$.) as well, but the similarity may also be coincidental.

⁴For a discussion of this type of name giving in Mesopotamia, see Stamm, <u>ANG</u>, pp. 268-69. Cf. also the reference to a certain <u>Su-tu-</u> um by Kupper, <u>Les nomades</u>, pp. 86-87. explanation of the cairn commemorating the treaty between Laban and Jacob.¹

A limited amount of corroboratory evidence for the treatment of the Aram of Genesis 10 as the ancestor of the Aramaeans may be found elsewhere in the Old Testament. According to Amos 9:7 the previous homeland of the Aramaeans was Kir.² Although this place has not been positively identified, the association of the name with Elam in Isa. 22:6 agrees with Gen. 10:22,23, and may suggest an eastern provenance.³ These texts are difficult to reconcile with Gen. 22:20-24 which, along with 11:28-30 point to roots in Ur of the Chaldaeans.

Later sources also support this interpretation. The pseudepigraphical Book of Jubilees comments concerning the Aram of Gen. 10:

And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains of Asshur and the land of 'Arara.⁴

Josephus notes that Aram "ruled the Aramaeans, whom the Greeks term

¹31:47-48. How quickly a person could identify with the people among whom he lived is reflected in Deut. 26:5, in which Jacob is called an Aramaean, even though he had spent only a few decades in Aram. However, as was noted earlier, the fact that the God of Nahor, rather than the God of Aram should be invoked in 31:35 indicates that the process of acculturation was still incomplete.

²Simons, <u>GTTOT</u>, p. 8, identifies this as their place of origin. But cf. A. R. Millard, "Kir," <u>IBD</u>, II, p. 860, who suggests that this may not have been their original home, but only a region temporarily occupied at an earlier stage of their history.

³Amos 1:5 predicts the destruction of Damascus and the exile of the Aramaeans back to Kir. According to 2 Kings 16:9, the Damascenes are specifically described as having suffered this fate at the hands of the Assyrians. However, J. Gray, <u>I & II Kings</u>, OTL, 2nd rev. ed. (Philadelphia: 1970), p. 633, understands the word in this context to mean "the city," i.e., the Assyrian capital. Syrians."¹ On the other hand, when he reproduces the genealogy of Nahor, he omits Aram entirely.²

<u>Aram: a collective term</u>. Aram as a collective designation occurs much more frequently than the personal use. This usage, however, displays some significant deviations from the ways in which Ammon, Edom and Moab were employed. These deviations will be highlighted here.

Aram: an ethnic designation. The ethnic use of Aram may be recognized by several grammatical and syntactical constructions.

1) Bound relationships. Aram frequently occurs as the genitive in bound relationships, the contexts of which favour an ethnic rather than geographic interpretation. References are made to the gods of Aram,³ the king(s) of Aram,⁴ the troops or bands of Aram,⁵ the army of Aram,⁶ the camp of Aram,⁷ the remnant of Aram,⁸ and most importantly, the people

¹He also adds that of the four sons of Aram, "Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus, . . . Urus founded Armenia, Getheres the Bactrians, and Mesas the Mesanaeans." Ant. 1. 6. 4.

Ant. 1. 6. 5. Cf. LXX which <u>transliterates</u> the name Άραμ in Gen. 10:22,23, but <u>interprets</u> אבי ארם πατέρα Σύρον, in 22:21, indicating early confusion on the matter.

³אלהי ארם, Judg. 10:16. Cf. 2 Chron. 28:23, אלהי ארם.

⁴Plural, מלכי ארם, 1 Kings 10:29 = 2 Chron. 1:17; 28:23. Singular, מלך ארם, 1 Kings 15:18 (in Damascus); 20:1,20b,22,23; 22:3,31; 2 Kings 5:1,5; 6:8,11,24; 8:7,9,28,29; 9:14,15; 12:18,19; 13:3,4,7,22,24; 15:37; 16:5,6,7; Isa. 7:1; 2 Chron. 16:2,7(<u>bis</u>); 18:30; 22:5,6; 28:5. Cf. Judg. 3:10, מלך ארם נהרים . Cf. also מלך ארם נהרים, 1 Kings 11:25; 19:15; 2 Kings 8:13.

⁵גדודי ארם, 2 Kings 6:23; 24:2. Cf. 2 Kings 5:2, "Aram had gone out in bands," ארם יצאו גדודים.

Jer. 35:11.

⁷מחנת ארם, 2 Kings 7:4,5(bis), 6,10,14,16.

שאר ארם, Isa. 17:3; 2 Chron. 24:23,24.

of Aram.¹

2) As the subject of verbs. The verbs predicated to Aram range widely in meaning, but the following all imply an ethnic sense. Used with a masculine² singular verb, Aram is said to flee,³ muster an army,⁴ camp,⁵ plan,⁶ come,⁷ become,⁸ be willing,⁹ take.¹⁰ As the subject of a masculine plural verb Aram fears,¹¹ flees,¹² fills,¹³ speaks,¹⁴ goes out,¹⁵ comes down,¹⁶ acts,¹⁷ casts away,¹⁸ consumes.¹⁹

¹עם ארם, Amos 1:5.

Davidson, <u>Syntax</u>, 116 R.5, notes that with the masculine singular, the name refers to "the personal ancestor." Cf. GK 122.

נוס³, 2 Sam. 10:14 = 1 Chron. 19:15; 2 Sam. 10:18 = 1 Chron. 19:18.

⁴ערך, 2 Sam. 10:17.

⁵נחה, Isa. 7:2.

⁶עצה, Isa. 7:5.

לוא, 1 Chron. 18:5. Cf. with feminine verb in the parallel text, 2 Sam. 8:5.

⁸היה ל, 1 Chron. 18:6. Cf. with feminine verb in the parallel text, 2 Sam. 8:6.

⁹העה, 1 Chron. 19:19.
¹⁰חקל, 1 Chron. 2:23.
¹¹רא', 2 Sam. 10:19.
¹²סוט, 1 Kings 20:20.
¹³אלא, 1 Kings 20:27.
¹⁴האא, 1 Kings 20:28.
¹⁵אמר, 2 Kings 5:2.
¹⁶החט, 2 Kings 6:9.
¹⁷השע, 2 Kings 7:12.
¹⁸שלך (Hiphil), 2 Kings 7:15.
¹⁹כעות, 15a. 9:12. The plural may be due to the compound subject.

By contrast, the collective use of the feminine is relatively rare (all are singularly construed):¹ Aram comes,² becomes,³ is strong.⁴

3) As the object of verbs. The action which Aram receives is as important as that which Aram executes. Thus Aram is slain/defeated,⁵ hired,⁶ brought out,⁷ mustered,⁸ gored,⁹ raised up against Israel,¹⁰ brought up,¹¹ and met in battle.¹²

4) As the object of prepositions. Aram appears as the object of a variety of prepositions: with \beth in the sense of "over, ¹³ against, ¹⁴

¹On the collective use of the feminine cf. Davidson, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.; GK 122h-i.

בוא², 2 Sam. 8:5. Cf. with masculine verb in the parallel text, 1 Chron. 18:5.

היה ל³, 2 Sam. 8:6. Cf. with masculine verb in the parallel text, 1 Chron. 18:6.

⁴ητη, 2 Sam. 10:11 = 1 Chron. 19:12.

⁵נכה (Hiphil), 2 Sam. 8:13 (So MT. Read Edom?); 1 Kings 20:29; 2 Kings 13:17,19(<u>bis</u>).

⁶שכר, 2 Sam. 10:6(bis).

7, (Hiphil), 2 Sam. 10:16 - 1 Chron. 19:16.

⁸פקד, 1 Kings 20:26.

⁹nλ1, 1 Kings 22:11 = 2 Chron. 18:10.

¹⁰שגב (Piel), Isa. 9:11.

¹¹עלה (Hiphil), Amos 9:7.

12גרא, 2 Sam. 20:9 = 1 Chron. 19:10; 19:17 (all with infinitive construct).

¹³₂ Kings 13:17, the arrow of victory over Aram.

¹⁴2 Sam. 10:13, "They drew near to battle against Aram."

among";¹ with כין, "between";² with ל in the sense of "to",³ and "for";⁴ with לפני, "before";⁵ with אמן, meaning "from,of,from among";⁶ with אין, "over";⁷ with ככח, "before".⁸

5) Miscellanies. Two additional texts should be mentioned. Isa. 7:4 speaks of the fierce anger of Rezin and Aram. In Ezek. 27:16, Aram is referred to as the customer (סמרת) of Tyre.⁹

Aram: a geographic designation. The occasions when a clearly geographic sense of Aram is required are few. Expressions like ארץ ארץ, הר ארם, הר ארם, are lacking. The nearest counterpart is the poetic use of שדה ארם in Hos. 12:13, which, however, appears to have been substituted for Paddan-Aram.¹⁰ In either case it is the association of the

¹₂ Sam. 8:5 = 1 Chron. 2:23, "David smote of Aram 22,000 men." ²₁ Kings 22:1, "there were three years without war between Israel and Aram."

³2 Kings 5:1, "Yahweh has given victory to Aram."
⁴2 Kings 16:6, "He recovered Elath for Aram."
⁵1 Chron. 19:14, "He drew near before Aram to fight."
⁶2 Sam. 10:18, "David killed of Aram, charioteers and horsemen."
⁷1 Kings 11:25; 19:15; 2 Kings 8:13, "to be king over Aram."
⁸1 Kings 22:35 = 2 Chron. 18:34, Ahab is propped up before Aram.

⁹It is difficult to determine if Aram is viewed primarily in ethnic or geographic terms in Ezek. 16:57. See below, pp. 376f. for a discussion of "sons and daughters" of a geographic name.

¹⁰So Simons, <u>GTTOT</u>, p. 7; cf. O'Callaghan, p. 96, n. 4, who suggests that Hosea took Paddan to mean "the field of Aram," rather than "the route of Aram." In accepting <u>padanu</u> = "route" as a synonym for <u>harranu</u>, which in the patriarchal narratives are both incorporated in names for the same place, O'Callaghan is following P. Dhorme, "Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire," <u>RB</u>, 37 (1928), p. 487. So also de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 195, "Paddan-aram would in this case be the name of a town, another name for Haran." What was originally an appellative had become a proper noun. name with another term that gives it is geographic flavour. Paddan-Aram may mean, "the route of the Aramaeans," as well as "the route of the land Aram." In several texts, where Aram occurs as the object of a preposition the geographic sense seems intended. In 2 Sam. 15:8 Absalom refers to a period when he lived at Geshur in Aram (בארם).¹ Similarly, according to Num. 23:7 Balaam has been brought from Aram (בארם); and in 2 Chron. 20:2, a great multitude comes from beyond the sea, from Aram (מארם). These are the only texts in which the geographic sense of Aram predominates. Elsewhere this significance is achieved only by coupling Aram with another name, a matter to which we now turn.

Aram: the sum of all its parts. The absence of Aram from any Old Testament list of D'1% is remarkable. Among the prophetic oracles addressed to the nations, not one is directed at Aram.² It appears that Aram was divided into a series of smaller units among which Aram-Naharaim,³ Aram-Zobah,⁴ Aram-Beth Rehob,⁵ Aram-Maacah,⁶ Aram-Damascus,⁷ and Arpad⁸ are mentioned. Each of these represented a separate political entity, with its own king. The eventual hegemony which Damascus appears to have

¹The sense, "among the Aramaeans," is possible but unlikely.

²Isa. 17:1ff.; Jer. 49:23ff.; Amos 1:3, are all directed at Damascus. But cf. the reference to עם ארם in Amos 1:5.

³Gen. 24:10; Deut. 23:5; Judg. 3:8; Ps. 60:2; 1 Chron. 19:6.
⁴2 Sam. 10:6; Ps. 60:2.
⁵2 Sam. 10:6.
⁶1 Chron. 19:6.
⁷2 Sam. 8:5; 1 Chron. 18:5.
⁸2 Kings 18:34; 19:13; Isa. 10:9; 36:19; 37:13; Jer. 49:23.

achieved over the Aramaean states was short-lived and accomplished only by the dramatic political restructuring of the entire region.¹ In any case, Damascus was not Aram, she was only its head.²

In spite of this political fragmentation, the Israelites appear never to have lost sight of the ethnic unity of these states. Their inhabitants are never identified by gentilics of their native regions, (e.g., Damascenes, Arpadites, Beth Rehobites, etc.) but consistently referred to either by the collective ארם, or as on three (four) occasions, bit consistent and the unifying influence of the Aramaic language (הארמים) at this stage is difficult to assess.⁴ Although, apart from Ashdodite, Aramaic is the only foreign language named in the Old Testament, none of those who speak it are Aramaeans. It has been adopted by Assyrians, ⁵ Babylonians, ⁶ and Persians.⁷

<u>Conclusions</u>. On the basis of our study of the usage of the name Aram in the Old Testament, our conclusions may now be summarized: 1) Aram represents a personal name primarily. 2) Aram, the son of Shem was viewed by the Israelites as the eponymous ancestor of the Aramaeans. 3) When used of the nation, Aram serves primarily as an ethnic designation. 4) The geographic significance of Aram is usually dependent upon an association with another geographic term. 5) Although the Israelites

¹See Mazar, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 133ff. For further discussion see <u>infra</u>, pp. 568ff.

²Isa. 7:8, ראש ארם דמשק.

³2 Kings 8:28,29; 9:15; 2 Chron. 22:5 (הרמים). The reference to in Judg. 10:6 may also hint at a common religious denominator. ⁴See further discussion, <u>infra</u>, pp. 599ff.

⁵2 Kings 18:26; Isa. 36:11. ⁶Dan. 2:4. ⁷Ezra 4:7. accepted the Aramaeans as an Dy, their identification as a '1' is studiously avoided. Perhaps under the Damascene hegemony this might have been contemplated, except that this empire was actually seen as an extension of the city state. Even the Table of Nations fails to recognize Aram as a '1'. Gen. 10:32 stresses that from these ancestors the D'1' were separated (LCCT). Aram represents the founder of a large ethnic family (Dy), the source from which many D'1' have sprung.

Aram in extra-biblical texts

The name Aram has been attested in a wide range of sources. As in the Hebrew texts, these also employ it as a personal name and in a collective and/or geographic sense.

<u>Aram: a personal name</u>. The earliest Mesopotamian reference to the personal name dates to the Ur III era, in which a certain <u>A-ra-mu</u> appears as an official in an economic text.¹ The form <u>A-ra!-am</u>! (?) has been identified in a document from the Isin Larsa period.² It was

²H. Ranke, <u>Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published</u> <u>Tablets of the So-called Hammurabi Dynasty</u> (Philadelphia: 1905), p. 67. Cf. I. J. Gelb, "A Tablet of Unusual Type from Tell Asmar," <u>JNES</u>, 1 (1942), p. 220, n. 3. The text actually reads <u>Za-ra-am-ba-ni</u>. Gelb suggests that since the name is unknown elsewhere, the <u>za</u> should be interpreted as <u>a</u>, as it frequently occurs in Ur III times. Thus the name would be <u>Aram-bani</u>, Aram perhaps expressing a divine name.

Published by C. E. Keiser in <u>Cuneiform Bullae of the Third</u> <u>Millennium B.C., part III of Babylonian Records in the Library of</u> <u>J. Pierpoint Morgan, ed. by A. T. Clay (New York: 1914), p. 45, No.</u> 159. See also A. Dupont-Sommer, "Sur les débuts de l'histoire arameenne, <u>VTS,1: Congress Volume</u> (1953), p. 43; M. McNamara, "De populi Aramaeorum primordiis," <u>Verbum Domini</u>, 35 (1957), p. 135; Kupper, <u>Les</u> nomades, p. 112.

the presence of <u>A-ra-am-pa-te</u>¹ and <u>A-ra-am-mu-su-ni/A-ra-mu-uz-ni</u>² in the Hurrian texts which led Kupper to posit a Hurrian origin for the root.³ This explanation has not, however, been widely accepted. Astour has discounted these as Aram names entirely.⁴ The name has also surfaced in Mari sources, where a person bearing it heads a ration list from the time of Zimrilim.⁵ In the later annals of Shalmaneser III, the name belongs to two contemporaries, the first known king of Urartu, and the son of Agusi.⁶ The latter at least may be positively identified as an Aramaean.

From the Alalakh tablets several Aram's have been identified,⁷ including the especially interesting <u>A-ra-am-mu</u> $l_{A-la-si-i}$, whom

¹I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purvis, A. A. Macrae, <u>Nuzi Personal Names</u> (Chicago: 1943), p. 203 (hereafter cited as <u>NPN</u>). Gelb suggests, p. 319, the name may be equivalent to Akkadian <u>Arrabatu</u>. Cf. <u>Ar-ra-ba-ti</u> in K. L. Tallqvist, <u>Assyrian Personal Names</u>, Acta Societatis Scientarum Fennicae, 43/1 (Helsingfors: 1914), p. 30 (hereafter cited as APN).

²NPN, p. 203. The second form is viewed as a Nippur variant of the first. Cf. A. T. Clay, <u>Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions</u> of the Cassite Period (New Haven: 1912), p. 56 (hereafter cited as <u>PNCP</u>).

³Les nomades, p. 113.

⁴M. C. Astour, "Second Millennium B.C. Cypriot and Cretan Onomastica Reconsidered," JAOS, 84 (1964), p. 242, n. 15. He maintains that these names are composed of the Hurrian element <u>ar</u>-, "to give", plus a second element (cf. <u>NPN</u>, p. 202). <u>A-ra-am-pa-te</u> is analyzed as <u>Ara-ampate</u> (cf. the element, <u>ampa</u>, <u>NPN</u>, p. 200.

⁵M. Birot, "Textes économiques de Mari (III)," <u>RA</u>, 49 (1955), p. 21. Cf. also Dupont-Sommer, p. 43; Huffmon, <u>APNM</u>, p. 143.

⁶For references see Tallqvist, <u>APN</u>, p. 28, and <u>RLA</u>, I, p. 130.

Wiseman, <u>AT</u>, pp. 128-29. Of the names listed here, Astour would discount <u>A-ra-am-mu-su-ni</u> and <u>A-ra-am-ma-ra</u>, seeing in the first the Hurrian elements <u>ar-</u>, "to give", and <u>musuni</u>, a divine title, and in the second the addition of <u>ammaru</u>, <u>amaru</u>, Akkad. "fullness, plenty". Loc. cit. Astour takes to be an immigrant from Cyprus.¹ The form <u>bn arm/y</u> has appeared in several fourteenth century B.C. alphabetic texts from Ugarit. In an inventory list of weapons, two bows and a sling are in the possession of a <u>bn army</u>.² Both <u>bn arm</u> and <u>bn army</u> occur in another list.³ The name has also been identified in several cuneiform texts. In the first, a bill of sale, <u>Ar-me-ya</u> appears as a witness alongside Tesamanu, Entasalu and Beyanu.⁴ In the second, the king of Ugarit gives one of his men <u>eqlati</u> meš <u>a-ra-mi-ma</u>⁵ as a royal gift. Although many have preferred to understand the phrase as "the field of the Aramaeans," where the Aramaeans had once lived or camped,⁶ Nougayrol, at least, translates Aramima as a personal name.⁷ Finally, we note the personal name 'A' is doubtful that this name is to be associated with the Aramaeans of Mesopotamia. Benz suggests that **P**'

²UT 321 III:22 = Herdner 119. See also F. Thureau-Dangin, "Une tablette bilingue de Ras Shamra," RA, 37 (1940-41), pp. 97-118.

³UT 1046:5, bn arm; 1046:7,9, bn army (= KTU 4.225). Are these to be understood as "son of the Aramaean?" So Dupont-Sommer, p. 46. This interpretation is questioned by M. Noth, "Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des II Jrts," ZDPV, 65 (1942), p. 38, n. 1.

> ⁴MRS 6, p. 35, text 15 37:13. ⁵MRS 6, p. 148, text 16 178:10.

^bSo Kupper, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 114; Dupont-Sommer, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 46; E. Edel, <u>Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III</u>, Bonner Biblische Beiträge, 25 (Bonn: 1966), p. 28. See further on a possible Egyptian counterpart, <u>infra</u>, pp. 283f.

> ⁷MRS 6, p. 35, text 16 178:10. ⁸CIS, I, 109:22 = KAI 49:22.

¹Loc. cit., p. 241.

may have been the name of an unknown deity.

It is apparent that Aram was widely used as a personal name, being attested in Ur III, Old Babylonian, Mari, Neo-Assyrian, Alalakh, Ugaritic and Hebrew texts. Which of these individuals had actual associations with the Aramaeans is debatable. The only one of whom we may be sure is Arame, son of Agusi. However, the biblical references to persons bearing the name appear to be historically based; there can no longer be any <u>a priori</u> reason for rejecting the possibility of an eponymous ancestor by that name; nor that the name was used of different men, as in Genesis 10 and 22.

<u>Aram: a collective name</u>. The earliest references to Aram as a collective designation come from Egypt. The occurrence of the form, $p_3^- r_m$, in the Anastasi Papyrus III 5,5 has long been known. However, because of doubts concerning the possibility of contact with Aramaeans by Egyptians in Merneptah's time (1236-1223 B.C.), this text has been frequently emended to $p_3^- r_m$ (Amurru).² Caminos rejected this emendation, but confessed agnosticism concerning the locality of r_m .³ A recently

F. L. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions (Rome: 1972), p. 215.

A. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, Bibliotheca Aegyptica, 7 (Brussels: 1937), p. 32a; W. Helck, Die Beziehungen Agyptens zu Vorderasien (Wiesbaden: 1962), p. 262. R. A. Bowman, "Aramaeans, Aramaic and the Bible," JNES, 7 (1948), p. 66, n. 5, confidently asserts, Nor is the Egyptian "scribal error"of "Aram" (presumably written for "Amor") found in Papyrus Anastasi . . from the time of Merneptah . . . to be understood as a reference to the Aramaean Semites . . . A land Aram certainly existed northeast of Syria, but we have no evidence of early Aramaean connections there. It is quite probable, however, that the Semitic nomads, who settled there were called "Aramaeans".
Cf. also A. Alt, "Das Stützpunktsystem der Pharaonen an der phönizischen K"ste und im syrischen Binnenland," Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde, ZDPV, 68 (1951), p. 114, n. 55.

³R. A. Caminos, <u>Late Egyptian Miscellanies</u> (London: 1954), p. 113, p**3** irm is an "unknown district."

discovered topographical list of Amenophis III (1417-1379 B.C.), has not only vindicated Caminos' respect for the transmitted text; it has also provided some clues about its location.¹ The following expression appears in List D, line 7: $\underline{p_2}-\underline{j-r'-m-w} (= \underline{p_2} \cdot \underline{rm})$.² Edel has observed that the consonantal form agrees with the Papyrus citation. Furthermore the article preceding the "Ländername" is also the same. Consequently, he translates the Amenophis text as nothing other than "das (Land) Aram," and the Papyrus as it stands, "im Gebiet des Aramäers."³

If Edel's interpretation is correct,⁴ the discovery of this text is bound to have far-reaching consequences for the reconstruction of the early history of the Aramaeans. It is now possible to construct a continuous historic chain, with links in every century from the fall of Damascus in the eighth century B.C., as far back as the fourteenth.

Neither of these texts, however, declares which part of Aram is in view. In view of the frequent activities of the Pharaohs in Canaan, it is most plausible that $\underline{p3-'rm}$ in the Papyrus, at least, should refer to the region around Damascus.⁵ Because of the persistent notion that the Aramaeans had not even established themselves in northern, let alone southern Syria before the twelfth century, this interpretation has been

> ¹Edel, p. 28. ²<u>Ibid</u>. ³<u>Ibid</u>., p. 29.

⁴This understanding has been accepted by M. Görg, "Aram und Israel," <u>VT</u>, 26 (1976), pp. 499-500; Helck, in his second edition of <u>Beziehungen</u> (1971), p. 262; <u>idem</u>, in a review of Edel, <u>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</u>, 221 (1969), p. 81. But note the skepticism of Malamat, POTT, p. 135.

^DSo Edel, p. 29; Helck, <u>Beziehungen</u>, 2nd ed., p. 262.

difficult to accept.¹ The "land of Aram" in the Amenophis text is equally difficult to locate. Since the context seems to refer to "a man from Nineveh" and/or "the man from Susa," a Mesopotamian location has been suggested.² This interpretation, however, is uncertain.

References to the place name Aram appear almost as early in Mesopotamia as the personal name. It has been identified twice in Ur III texts,³ and once in an Old Babylonian source.⁴ Each context suggests a location east of the Tigris. The exact relationship between this Aram and the Aramaeans who appear in northern Mesopotamia at the turn of the next millennium has been the cause of considerable discussion. De Vaux finds it difficult to accept that,

the Aramaeans were at this time sufficiently settled to give their name to a town or country or that they took their name from a town or country, both of them a long way from the region in which they were to be found leading nomadic lives a thousand years later.⁵

¹Cf. Malamat, <u>loc. cit</u>.

Gorg, p. 500. The presence of the land determinative in both texts contrasts with the studious avoidance of the Hebrew counterpart, ארץ ארם. Cf. supra, p. 277.

³A-ra-me^{KI} in I. J. Gelb, <u>Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region</u>, MAD, 1 (Chicago: 1952), p. 110, text 217:8; pp. 111-12, text 220:9. Cf. the comments by Kupper, <u>Les nomades</u>, p. 113. On the location of this Aram and Simurrum, with which it is associated, see J. J. Finkelstein, "Subartu and Subarians in Old Babylonian Sources," <u>JCS</u>, 9 (1955), p. 2; A Goetze, "Hulibar of Duddul," <u>JNES</u>, 12 (1953), p. 120; E. Weidner, "Simurrum und Zaban," <u>AfO</u>, 15 (1945-51), pp. 79f.; A. Pohl, "Kurze Bemerkungen zu den Ortsnamen der Tafel Wengler 22," <u>JKF</u>, 4 (1965), p. 363. The second reference appears in the Wengler Text, No. 22, originally published by P. A. Deimel, "The Wengler Text, No. 22," <u>Orientalia</u>, old series, 2 (1920), pp. 62-63. Cf. also N. Schneider, "Aram und Aramäer in der Ur III Zeit," <u>Biblica</u>, 30 (1949), pp. 109-11; McNamara, loc. cit., p. 134.

⁴Finkelstein, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 2.

⁵<u>EHI</u>, p. 203. Cf. Kupper, p. 114; Malamat, <u>POTT</u>, p. 135; Finkelstein, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 2, n. 13; I. J. Gelb, "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples," <u>JCS</u>, 15 (1961), p. 28, n. 5; A. Goetze, "Sakkanakus of the Ur III Empire," <u>JCS</u>, 17 (1963), p. 4, n. 41. On the other hand, it is possible that the Hebrew traditions of an eastern origin for the Aramaeans¹ may have been based on a recognition of a relationship between the two.²

The Syrian Aram first surfaces in the fourteenth century B.C. in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I (1116-1076 B.C.).³ Here the Aramaeans are associated with the <u>ablamu</u>, a term which at this time appears to have signified "nomad", or "barbarian".⁴ Inasmuch as the Assyrian king encountered them in the desert, the Aramaeans appear not to have made the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary life-style at this time. In a second reference Tiglath-Pileser is said to have encountered them

Amos 9:7. Cf. also the association of Aram and Elam in Gen. 10.

This position has gained acceptance among a limited number of scholars. See S. Moscati, <u>The Semites in Ancient History</u> (Cardiff: 1959), pp. 66-67; McNamara, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 141-42; Schneider, <u>loc. cit.</u>, Dupont-Sommer, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 40-49; K. A. Kitchen, "Aram, Aramaeans," <u>IBD</u>, I, pp. 88f. One additional text upon which this position has been based has recently been discredited. Although F. Thureau-Dangin, the original publisher of "Une inscription de Naram-Sin," <u>RA</u>, 8 (1911), pp. 199-200, rejected any connection between this text and the Aramaeans, this document was employed with great vigour to defend this association. Add to the above names, P. Dhorme, "Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire," <u>RB</u>, 37 (1928), pp. 487-88; B. Hrozny, "Naram-Sin et ses enemis d'après un texte Hittite," <u>ArOr</u>, 1 (1929), pp. 75-76. E. Sollberger, "Princes fantomes," <u>RA</u>, 64 (1970), p. 173, has recently re-edited the text reading the critical phrase <u>en-a-ra-am</u>, "to defeat", instead of <u>bel A-ra-am</u>.

³For the transliterated text see E. Weidner, "Die Feldzüge und Bauten Tiglath Pilesers I," <u>AfO</u>, 18 (1957-58), p. 344. Translations may be found in <u>ARAB</u>, I, #239; A. K. Grayson, <u>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions</u>, vol. II (Wiesbaden: 1976), p. 13 (hereafter cited as <u>ARI</u>).

⁴So Grayson, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 13, n. 70. The entire phrase reads, <u>a-na</u> <u>libbi</u> <u>ah-la-me</u> (var. <u>me</u>) -<u>i</u> KUR <u>ar-ma-(a)-ia</u>^{mes}. On the Ahlamu see S. Moscati, "The Aramaean Ahlamu," JSS, 4 (1959), pp. 303-307; Kupper, <u>Les nomades</u>, pp. 104-15, 132-38; de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, pp. 201ff.; Brinkman, PKB, p. 277, n. 1799.

from Babylonia as far west as "the foot of Mount Lebanon, the city of Tadmar of the land Amurru."¹ Indeed, they have penetrated the heart of Assyria itself, forcing the Assyrians to retreat to the mountains.²

The process of sedentarization seems to have transpired within the century for by the time of Ashur-bel-kala (1073-56 B.C.) the name is applied to a geographic area and appears without the Ahlamu association.³ Thus by the turn of the millennium the Aramaeans had entrenched themselves firmly in the upper Euphrates and southward to the mountains of Lebanon. The temporary demise of the Assyrian power permitted them to consolidate their hold on this territory and to continue their own distinctive patterns of political evolution.

Since the Assyrian sources provide few hints about the ethnic origins of the Aramaeans, it is impossible to determine if they were considered to have descended from an eponymous ancestor. The fact that the name never appears with the personal name determinative, if not denying such perceptions, at least implies ignorance on the matter. If they were ethnically homogeneous, this is not reflected in Aramaean political developments.⁴ In contrast to the nation states, with their

¹ARI, I, p. 23; <u>ANET</u>, p. 275; <u>ARAB</u>, I, # 287.

²E. Weidner first published the Assyrian Chronicle in which these events are related as an appendix to his review of A. Poebel, <u>The Second</u> <u>Dynasty of Isin According to the New King-List Tablet VIII</u>, in <u>AfO</u>, 17 (1956), p. 384. See also H. Tadmor, "The Historical Implications of the Correct Rendering of Akkadian <u>daku</u>," <u>JNES</u>, 17 (1958), pp. 133f.; Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, p. 278. A. K. Grayson, <u>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</u>, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, 5 (Locust Valley: 1975), p. 189, provides the full text and translation.

³ARI, II, p. 49; E. Weidner, "Die Annalen des Königs Assurbelkala von Assyrien," <u>AfO</u>, 6 (1930-31), pp. 84ff. Weidner suggests that <u>mat a-ri-mi</u> be located in the Syrian steppe, southwest of the middle Euphrates.

⁴The expression, "King of the Land of Aram," appears only in <u>ARAB</u>, I, #603, and even here seems to have reference to only a segment of this people.

essentially homogeneous populations, emerging at the same time in southern Syria the Aramaeans separated into a host of smaller independent kingdoms.¹ Their unique nature is apparent from any political map of the early first millennium B.C. With the notable exception of Damascus, where a powerful Aramaean state rose from a city whose origins antedated the arrival of the Aramaeans by many centuries,² most of these states are identified by the Bit-GN form.³

The Mesopotamian sources provide no hints about why these people should have been identified as Aramaeans. Although the name appears as both a personal name and a collective designation, not a trace of a tradition associating the two, not even a personal name determinative, has been preserved. Consequently, ethnic unity based upon descent from a common eponymous ancestor may be posited only insofar as other peoples with tribal roots derived their names from such a person. Even this position may be too optimistic. O'Callaghan has observed that the

²Cf. M. F. Unger, <u>Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus</u> (London: 1957), pp. 4ff. This kingdom became so important that it was known as Aram <u>par excellence</u>. After its fall to Assyria the name ceased to be used of the northern and western Aramaeans; hereafter it applied only to the Aramaeans of Babylonia. Cf. Forrer, <u>RLA</u>, I, p. 137.

 3 E.g., Bit-Adini, Bit-Halupe, Bit-Zamani, etc. Cf. the biblical references to Beth Rehob, Abel Beth Maacah. It is doubtful that the prefixed element reflects an awareness by the citizens of these states of ethnic community. In keeping with the use of the expression in Syrian documents, the form seems rather to be derived from the ruling dynasties of these kingdoms. Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 222ff.

¹One of the earliest of these appears to have been <u>Bit-Bahiani</u> in the region of Gozan and ruled over by Kapara, son of Khadianu. For a history of this state see W. F. Albright, "The Date of the Kapara Period at Gozan (Tell Halaf)," <u>AnSt</u>, 6 (1956), pp. 75-85. Cf. also O'Callaghan, <u>Aram-Naharaim</u>, p. 103. Cf. B. Landsberger, <u>Sam'al:</u> <u>Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstaette Karatepe</u> (Ankara: 1948), pp. 37f., who suggests the first Aramaean successes were by Adin of Til Barsip.

proportion of non-Aramaeans in each Aramaean state must have been rather high. He even attributes the Aramaeans' failure to develop a unified state to this factor.¹ After all, they were relative newcomers, and there is little evidence that in the process of sedentarization the elimination of the indigenous population was a major concern. Consequently, in many states, especially those bordering the Hittites to the north, the Aramaean crust seems to have remained quite thin. The Aramaean culture apparent in this region may well have been imposed by the ruling classes upon the natives, creating the illusion of ethnic homogeneity.

Judging by the inscriptions, the Aramaeans of Syria appear to have been no more concerned about their ethnic origins than were the Assyrians. The name Aram appears in three texts. Twice order and a concurs as a self designation: in the Melkart Stele of Bar-Hadad,² and as the title of Hazael in the Zakkur inscription.³ The title does not refer to a united Aramaean kingdom, but to the political hegemony exercised by these two kings over the other Aramaean states.⁴ The fact that this hegemony should be expressed in this way is significant, for it recognizes an essential unity that transcended the political fragmentation.

Equally significant is the expression in the Sefire inscription, ארם כלה, "all Aram", defined more closely in the next line as כל עלי

> ¹<u>Aram-Naharaim</u>, p. 105. ²KAI 201:3. ³KAI 202:4.

⁴So also Donner and Röllig, KAI, II, p. 204. Cf. the use of the expression in the Old Testament, Judg. 3:10 (Cushan Rishathaim); 1 Kings 15:18; 20:1,20,22,23; 22:3,31; 2 Kings 5:5; 6:8,11,24; 8:7,9 (cf. **by c**) **αcry**, v. 13),28,29; 9:14,15; 12:18; 13:3,4,7,22,24; 15:37; 16:5,6,7; Isa. 7:1; 2 Chron. 16:2; 18:30.

ANDAL DAK, "all upper and lower Aram".¹ The adjectives indicate that DAK is being employed in a geographic sense,² although the areas referred to have been the subject of considerable discussion. Dupont-Sommer has argued for the upper and lower Euphrates, respectively.³ However, this suggestion has found little acceptance. The primary alternatives depend upon the scope scholars are willing to allow the name Aram itself. Those who understand it as a collective for all of northern Syria, see in the more explicit expressions of line 6, references to the regions around Arpad and Damascus, respectively. But even here two options are available. Looking at the geography of Aram from the Assyrian perspective, the latter should probably be equated with "upper Aram", and the former with "lower Aram".⁴ However, according to the Elephantine papyri a'by and h'Enh were used of the opposite directions.⁵ Recently Na'aman has argued convincingly that Aram should be interpreted according to its prevalent contemporary usage, i.e., the territory of the kingdom of Aram-Damascus.⁶

¹KAI 222 I A:5-6.

²So also J. Fitzmyer, <u>The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire</u> (Rome: 1967), p. 29.

³M. A. Dupont-Sommer, <u>Les inscriptions araméenes de Sfiré (Steles</u> <u>I et II</u>) (Paris: 1958), p. 27. So also H. Bauer, "Ein aramäischer Staatsvertrag aus dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Die Inschrift der Stele von Sudschin," AfO, 8 (1932-35), p. 4.

⁴A. Alt, "Die syrische Staatenwelt vor dem Einbruch der Assyrer," <u>ZDMG</u>, 88 (1934), p. 254 (= <u>KS</u>, III, pp. 229f.); Fitzmyer, p. 31. Cf. also M. Noth, "Der historische Hintergrund der Inschriften von Sefire," <u>ZDPV</u>, 77 (1961), p. 131, who sees "lower Aram" as the area nearer the Mediterranean coast; "upper Aram", the inland region.

⁵Gibson, <u>AI</u>, pp. 35f. Cf. A. Cowley, <u>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth</u> <u>Century B.C.</u> (Oxford: 1923), Texts 8:14; 13:13-14; 25:5-7; E. J. Kraeling, <u>The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri</u> (New Haven: 1953), pp. 77-79. Mazar, <u>BA</u>, 25 (1965), pp. 116f. (= <u>BAR</u>, 2, pp. 146f.) identifies "upper Aram" with the north; "lower Aram" with southern Syria.

⁶N. Na'aman, "Looking for KTK," <u>WO</u>, 9 (1978), pp. 220f.

"Upper Aram" then refers to the regions approaching the Lebanon, and "lower Aram" the territory farther inland. The absence of a final answer to the enigma does not detract from the significance of the expression in the context. The region appears to have derived its name from the people who presently inhabit it.

Conclusion

In Part I it was established that the terms **Dy** and **max** in their basic sense, represented kinship expressions. It was therefore hypothesized that when these terms were applied to national groups, a recognition of ethnic community was implied. The present study has confirmed this hypothesis by demonstrating that the identification of national groups by means of compound names expressed the same notion. These kinship connotations are clearest in \underline{zr}^{c} -GN, less plain in <u>bny</u>-GN, and least explicit in <u>byt</u>-GN. But it was also observed that these overtones are not dependent upon the presence of the compound forms; they are present when the simple absolute forms of the eponym are used as well.

Lest too simplistic a perception of the role of the ethnic factor in the development of national identity be accepted, the limitations of our conclusions should be clearly spelled out. Although we have defended the view that the populations of certain states, notably Israel and the Transjordanian nations of Edom, Ammon and Moab, were essentially homogeneous, this does not mean that they were racially pure. Extraneous elements were introduced to the population in various ways. First, according to the biblical accounts none of the ethnic entities of which these nations were primarily composed was indigenous to the territory it occupied. Each had moved in from the outside, dispossessed the original inhabitants, and occupied the land.¹ It is clear that the Israelites incorporated many of the native Canaanites into their society,² in spite

For Israel see the book of Joshua. The Edomites (<u>bny</u> Esau) occupied Mt. Seir, formerly held by the Horites (Deut. 2:12); the Moabites dispossessed the Emim (2:9-11); and the Ammonites the Rephaim/ Zamzummim (Deut. 2:19f.).

²Note especially the acceptance of the Gibeonites, Josh. 9. That this occurred also on a smaller scale is indicated by the sparing

of divine injunctions to the contrary.¹ If this was transpiring under these circumstances, it may be inferred that similar developments occurred also in the Transjordanian states.

Second, foreign components were introduced deliberately for political or military reasons. International alliances were frequently sealed with dynastic marriages.² Often the princess concerned would bring with her a large group of attendants and retainers from her native land.³ Non-Israelites played prominent roles in David's military⁴ and administrative staff.⁵

Although the extent of the practice is difficult to assess, intermarriage with aliens appears to have had an important role in diluting the ethnic purity of a nation. Foreign women had been accepted as brides for Israelite men from earliest times.⁶ Ruth, the Moabitess, who

of Rahab and her כלת אב, 5:25. Cf. also 1 Kings 9:20-21, where the narrator notes that some of Solomon's forced labour units consisted of remnants of the Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, and Jebusites, whom the Israelites had failed to exsterminate. Cf. also Judg. 3:1ff.

See especially the principle of the ban, stated and applied Josh. 6:15ff., et passim in the book. Cf. Deut. 7:1ff.

²Cf. Solomon's many foreign wives, 1 Kings 11:1f.; the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel of Tyre, 1 Kings 16:31; Jehoram of Judah and Athaliah of Israel, 2 Kings 8:25f.

³Many of the 450 prophets of Baal and 400 Prophets of the Asherah "who eat at Jezebel's table," (1 Kings 18:19) would have come with her from Tyre.

⁴Note the Cherethites, Pelethites and Gittites, 2 Sam. 15:18ff. His list of mighty men also included Eliphalet of Maacah, Igal of Zobah, Zelek the Ammonite, and Uriah the Hittite, 2 Sam. 23:34f.

⁵E.g., Obil the Ishmaelite and Jaziz the Hagrite who were placed in charge of his camels and flocks respectively, 1 Chron. 27:30-31.

^oE.g., Tamar, Gen. 38:6f.; Asenath, 46:20.

eventually became the ancestress of Israel's royal line represents a classic later illustration.¹

Finally, although the employment of the terms, גר, גר, זר גר, זר מושב מושב nd Israelites and non-Israelites, their frequent appearance in the civil and religious laws expresses an acceptance of their presence.²

No individual illustrates better the degree to which foreigners could be integrated into the primary ethnic group than Caleb ben Jephunneh, the Kenizzite. At the time of the census at Mount Sinai, Caleb was numbered with the <u>bny</u> Israel.³ Later he represented the tribe of Judah in the reconnaissance of Canaan,⁴ as well as in the apportioning of the land.⁵ He himself received Hebron as his allotment.⁶ For his part, Caleb demonstrated his integration into the nation by calling the Israelites "my brothers",⁷ and by his whole-hearted devotion to the national

²Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 66ff.

³Num. 26:65. Cf. Deut. 1:36, which describes him as a member of the generation to whom Yahweh had sworn the land.

⁴Num. 13:6,14. For studies of the literary development and significance of the Caleb narratives, see R. de Vaux, "The Settlement of the Israelites in Southern Palestine and the Origins of the Tribe of Judah," <u>TUOT</u>, pp. 108-34, esp. 108-11 and 119-22; M. Noth, "Die Ansiedlung des Stammes Juda auf dem Boden Palästinas," <u>PJB</u>, 30 (1934), pp. 31-47 (= Aufsätze, I, pp. 183-96).

⁵Num. 34:19.

⁶Josh. 14:13f. His association with this region is remembered in the place names Negev of Caleb (1 Sam. 30:14) and Caleb Ephrathah (1 Chron. 2:24).

⁷אחי, Josh. 14:8.

Her complete identification with the Israelites is expressed by her declaration, "Your Dy shall be my Dy, and your God, my God." Ruth 1:16. Cf. the formal recognition of marriage as an effective means of fusing diverse ethnic elements, Gen. 34:16.

deity, Yahweh.¹ The latter, in turn, reciprocated by accepting him as "my servant".² Yet Caleb was a Kennizite, from a prominent Edomite tribe, having descended from Esau via Eliphaz.³ Nevertheless, the genealogies of 1 Chron. 2:42-50 witness to the total acceptance into the lineage of the nation of a person whose roots lay outside of Israel.⁴

Even if the nations in question had been ethnically pure, this would not have guaranteed a one-to-one correspondence between ethnic and state boundaries throughout the entire Levant. It appears that the nations which emerged in southern Syria in the eleventh-tenth centuries B.C. were perceived, by the Hebrews at least, to have encompassed the major portions of the descendants of Jacob/Israel, Moab, <u>ben</u> Ammi, and Esau, respectively. Consequently, a relatively close congruence between ethnic and state boundaries may be recognized. This does not, however, appear to have been the case in the north. Instead of developing into one large nation, with a strong ethnic base, the Aramaeans segmented

¹Num. 32:12; Deut. 1:36.

²עבדי, Num. 14:24.

³Gen. 36:11,15. Cf. 1 Chron. 1:36,53. Caleb's own descent from this tribe is regularly expressed through Jephunneh, כלב בן יפנה. So Num. 13:6; 14:6,30,38; 26:65; 32:12; 34:19; Deut. 1:36; Josh. 14:13; 21:12; 1 Chron. 4:15; 6:41. Also כלב בן יפנה הקנזי, Josh. 14:6,14.

⁴On the nature and significance of these genealogies see J. M. Myers, <u>1 Chronicles</u>, AB (Garden City: 1965), pp. 12ff.; M. Noth, "Eine siedlungs-geographische Liste in 1 Chr. 2 und 4," <u>ZDPV</u>, 55 (1932), pp. 97-124. R. R. Wilson, <u>Genealogy and History in the Biblical World</u>, Yale Near Eastern Researches, 7 (New Haven: 1977), pp. 187-83. See especially, p. 183, n. 98. How or when the Kenizzite line first made contact with Judah cannot be determined. Judging from the thoroughness of the integration it seems to have occurred much earlier than the Exodus. Perhaps the identification of Caleb as <u>bn</u> Jephunneh remembers the event as having happened in the latter's time. into a host of independent political entities. Each of these possessed its own monarchical institution and exercised control over its own specific territory, usually centred around a major city. Consequently, although the Aramaeans continued to be recognized as one by they actually constituted a series of smaller גווים. Similar conditions seem to have obtained in Phoenicia as well.¹

The division of a single by into more than one יוג is illustrated also by the separation of Northern Israel from the United Kingdom in 930 B.C.² After this event, both Judah and Israel were recognized as bיוג in their own right, each with its own territory and political structures.³ Since the split is described as having occurred along tribal lines, it is possible to view their political boundaries as being roughly coterminous with identifiable ethnic borders. However, the Chronicler was careful to point out that at the time of the division many northerners defected to the south.⁴ In any case, the prophets continued to look upon both states as one people.⁵ They even foresaw a day when the two would be reunited as one ^יוג, in one ^γix, ruled by one ¹/₂, worshipping one ⁵.

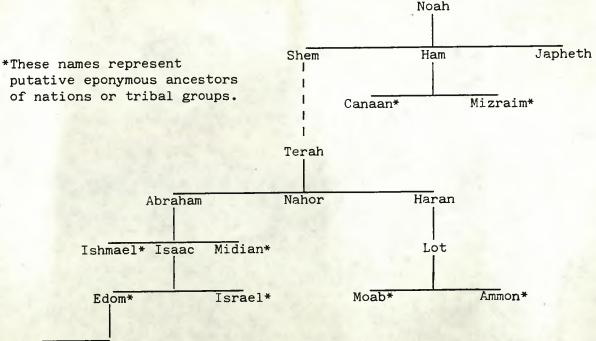
¹On the Phoenician political situation see <u>infra</u>, pp. 574ff.
²1 Kings 12.
³E.g., Ezek. 35:10.
⁴2 Chron. 11:16; 15:9.
⁵Note the use of the name Israel to refer to both North and Cf. Danell, pp. 287ff., <u>et passim</u>.

See especially, Ezek. 37:15-28.

South.

To sum up our findings, it is apparent that the importance of the ethnic factor in national self-consciousness varied from region to region in the ancient Near East. In Phoenicia and Northern Syria, where city states dominated the political scene, ethnic unity seems to have played only a minor role. On the other hand, in the Transjordanian states, an awareness of descent from a common ancestor seems to have served as a significant unifying factor. The achievement of nationhood status represented a natural outgrowth of an advanced family-clan-tribal evolution. This at least is the impression provided by the Hebrews, from whom most of our information is derived. To what extent these perceptions corresponded with historical reality is another matter.¹

¹If the data in Gen. 10 is combined with that of the patriarchal narratives, it appears that the Hebrews perceived all of the nations of the world known to them to represent one large kinship group. This universal family may be represented in a genealogical tree as follows:



Amalek*

CHAPTER VI

THE TERRITORIAL FACTOR

Introduction

Of all the elements which distinguish one nation from another, none seems more obvious than the territorial aspect. One may conceive of a nation that is heterogeneous ethnically, whose government is not monarchical, or which shares a language or other cultural features with another, but it is difficult to imagine either 1) a nation which does not occupy a land that it calls its own, or 2) a nation which shares its territory with another. In order to examine how the Semites of ancient Syria perceived the relationship between a nation and its territory, the following questions will be considered: 1) What terms were used to represent "land, territory"? 2) How was the association between a nation and its territory expressed? 3) What was the nature of that association?

At the outset, some limitations should be noted. Although we will need to touch on the matter frequently, our primary concern is not the theological significance of Israel's own understanding of its relationship to its homeland. A great deal of effort has already been expended in this pursuit.¹ Secondly we will not seek to establish the

¹See esp. G. von Rad, "Verheissenes Land und Jahwes Land im Hexateuch," <u>ZDPV</u>, 66 (1943), pp. 191-204; translated by E. W. Trueman Dicken and reprinted as "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the precise boundaries of the various nations of ancient Syria.¹ Insofar as we are concerned with the principle of nationality, and the relationship of the territorial tie to this, our task may be seen as more fundamental.²

Once again the most helpful source for the investigation is the Old Testament. Although the Hebrews viewed their relationship to their own territory as special, the cognate sources provide a limited control with which to check the extent to which these conceptions were shared elsewhere in the Levant.

Hexateuch," in <u>The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays</u> (London: 1966), pp. 79-93. Also H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," <u>EvT</u>, 16 (1956), pp. 404-22; P. Diepold, <u>Israels Land</u> (Stuttgart: 1972); H. O. Forshey, "The Hebrew Root <u>NHL</u> and its Semitic Cognates," Harvard University Dissertation, 1973; J. N. M. Wijngaards, <u>The Dramatization</u> of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools, <u>OTS</u>, 16 (1969), esp. ch. 3, pp. 68-105.

¹These matters have been frequently discussed elsewhere. For a reference source dealing with all of these nations see J. Simons, GTTOT. For specific studies on Israel/Canaan, Z. Kallai, The Boundaries of Canaan and the land of Israel in the Bible," Eretz-Israel, 12 (1975), N. Glueck Memorial Volume, pp. 27-34; G. W. Buchanan, The Consequences of Covenant, NTS, 20 (1970), esp. ch. 3, "The Land of Conquest," pp. 91-108; Y. Aharoni, The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography, trans. by A. F. Rainey (London: 1967), pp. 58-72; M. Saebø, "Grenzbeschreibung und Landideal im Alten Testament mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der min-^Cad-Formel," <u>ZDPV</u>, 90 (1974), pp. 14-37; de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, pp. 125ff. For Edom see M. Weippert, "Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Edomiter auf Grund Schriftlicher und archäologisher Quellen," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Tübingen, 1971, pp. 394-421; J. Lindsay, "The Babylonian Kings and Edom, 605-550 B.C." PEQ, 108 (Jan.-June, 1976), pp. 23-39. For Moab, A. H. van Zyl, The Moabites (Leiden: 1960), pp. 44ff.; M. Noth, "Die Nachbarn der israelitischen Stämme im Ostjordanland," ZDPV, 68 (1946-51), pp. 44-50 (= Aufsätze, I, pp. 470-75). For Ammon, Noth, ibid., pp. 36-44 (= Aufsätze, I, pp. 463-70); G. M. Landes, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," BA, 24 (1961), pp. 67f.

²The discussion of the land-nation tie is complicated by the presence of a third dimension in the relationship, the divine. The role of the deity in the association will be investigated in the following chapter.

The Vocabulary of the Territorial Association

Among the Northwestern Semites four terms were especially important as designations for the territory associated with a state: ארץ, שדה, גבול, אדמה.

ארץ

Of the four expressions listed above, none was more common than $\gamma\gamma$. According to table 17 the word appears in the biblical texts more than 2500 times. Table 18 indicates that it is also common in the extra-biblical inscriptions. $\gamma\gamma\gamma$ was capable of a broad range of meanings.¹ In its most comprehensive scope it signified "the earth" as opposed to the heavens.² As such the $\gamma\gamma\gamma$ has been specially designated as the residence of men,³ who are identified as its inhabitants,⁴

For general studies on the use of YNX see M. Ottoson, "YNX 'erets," <u>TDOT</u>, I, pp. 388-405; H. H. Schmid, "YNX 'aeræş Erde, Land," <u>THAT</u>, I, pp. 228-36; L. J. Stadelmann, <u>The Hebrew Conception of the World</u>: <u>World: A Philological and Literary Study</u>, Analecta Biblica, 39 (Rome: 1970), pp. 126ff.; L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen fur Land und Volk im Alten Testament," in <u>Das Kleine Credo und Andere Studien zum Alten</u> <u>Testament</u>, Proksch Festschrift (Heidelberg: 1965), pp. 76-86, provides an especially helpful study of the territorial application of the term. The root is also found in the Ugaritic texts with a similar range of meanings. See G. R. Driver, <u>Canaanite Myths and Legends</u> (Edinburgh: 1956), p. 135; UT, No. 376, pp. 366f. Note especially, UT, 67 VI:8ff in which the significance of <u>Ars</u> alternates between "earth" and "ground" within the same context. The sense, "land" is required in ^Cnt VI:16, where Caphtor is identified as the <u>Ars</u> nhlt of Ktr-w-Hss.

²Note especially the expression "(the) heavens and (the) earth", Gen. 1:1; 2:1,4; 14:19,22; Isa. 65:17; 66:1,22; Jer. 33:25; 51:48; Joel 4:16; Ps. 69:35; 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6. For cognate occurrences see also KAI 27:13; 202B:26; 222A:26; 266:2; RS 24.643:B:2 (UT, p. 491). Note also the frequent paralleling of ארץ and שרש: e.g., Isa. 1:2; 49:13; 51:13,16 and many more. Also note Isa. 55:9.

³Ps. 115:16.

⁴יושב(ל), Isa. 24:1,5,6,17; Jer. 25:29,30; Ps. 33:14; 75:4.

TABLE 17

THE USAGE OF ארץ IN THE OLD TESTAMENT*

Earth	Underworld**	Land of the Living***	Dry Land	Ground	Territory [†]	Soil, Field, Property	Totals
83 13 8 5 27		· · · · · · · · · ·	21	11 7 1 5	195 114 71 116 163	1 2 3 1	311 136 82 123 195
136	•••		21	24	659	7	847
4 1 11 7 10 4		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · ·	3 8 17 18 4 4	100 51 24 15 41 63		107 60 52 40 56 71
37			• • •	54	294	1	386
100 52 16 3 3 3 1	5	2 1 7 		8 2 13 5	79 215 156 17 9 13		190 271 198 20 12 23 1 2
	83 13 8 5 27 136 4 1 11 7 10 4 37 100 52 16 3 3	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	83 13 8 5 27 136 136 136 11 11 11 7 10 37 100 2 $52^{\frac{1}{2}$ 1 16 5 3 3 1	83 21 13 8 5 27 136 21 136 21 4 21 1 21 4 21 1 1 11 1 7 1 7 1 10 2 37 1 100 2 16 5 7 3 1 3 1 3 1 3 1 1 1	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	83 21 11 195 13 $$ 7 114 8 $$ 7 114 5 $$ 7 114 5 $$ 1 1663 27 $$ 1 116 27 21 24 659 4 $$ 3 100 1 $$ 3 100 1 $$ 3 100 1 $$ 3 100 1 $$ 17 24 7 $$ 18 15 10 2 1 8 79 52^{1} 1 $$ 22 1 8 79 52^{1} $$ 1 $$ $$ 215 $$ $$	H 33 56 100 11 110 1100 1100 83 \dots \dots 21 11 195 1 13 \dots \dots 21 11 195 1 13 \dots \dots 21 11 195 1 13 \dots \dots 21 21 114 2 83 \dots \dots 21 24 659 7 136 \dots 21 24 659 7 136 \dots 21 24 659 7 4 \dots \dots 3 100 \dots 1 \dots \dots 3 100 \dots 1 \dots \dots 3 100 \dots \dots 1 \dots \dots 17 24 \dots \dots 10 \dots \dots 13 15 \dots \dots 11 13 15

TABLE 17--Continued

Book	Earth	Underworld	Land of the Living	Dry Land	Ground	Territory	Soil, Field, Property	Totals
Micah Nahum Habakkuk Zephaniah Haggai Zechariah Malachi	6 1 7 7 3 15 2				1 • • • • • • • • • • • •	8 2 3 1 2 27 		15 3 10 8 5 42 2
Subtotals	222	5	10	2	29	533	2	803
Psalms Job Proverbs Canticles Ruth Lamentations Qoheleth Esther Daniel [#] Ezra ^{##} Nehemiah 1 Chronicles 2 Chronicles	131 34 13 6 8 20 2 1 12 10	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	3 1		9 9 1 3 1 8 1 1 3	46 8 9 2 3 2 4 2 12 12 12 12 18 26 62		190 57 22 2 4 11 13 2 40 14 20 39 75
Subtotals	237	2	4	4	36	206		489
Grand Totals	632	7	14	27	143 -	1692	10	2525

. . . . continued

TABLE 17--Continued

Although it is often difficult to categorize precisely the significance intended, the tabulation provides a general indication of the semantic scope of the term.

** ארא תחתית, and variations.

ארץ (ה)חיים.

[†]These include the idiomatic כברת ארץ, Gen. 35:16; 48:7; 2 Kings 5:19.

These include the Aramaic forms ארק and ארע in 10:11a and 11b respectively.

[#]These include the eighteen occurrences of the Aramaic form, ארע.

^{##}This includes the occurrence of the Aramaic form ארע in 5:11.

TABLE 18

Title of	T . 1		Significance			
Inscription	Text	Line	Earth	Territory		
Hebrew						
Khirbet Beith Lei	HMI 15A	1		x*		
Moabite						
Mesha	KAI 181	5/6		x		
		7/8		x		
		10 29		x x		
		31		x		
Phoenician/Punic		2				
Yehimilk	KAI 10	10		x		
- on a main a lite	1111 10	10/11		x		
Eshmunazzar	KAI 14	16		x		
		18		x		
		19 20		x x		
Bod ^C aštart	KAI 15	1		x		
Masub	KAI 19	10		x		
Karatepe	KAI 26A	I:4		x		
		I:9		x		
		I:18		x		
		II:15 III:18		x		
	-		x			
Arslan Taş	KAI 27	13 15	x x			
Lapethos	KAI 43	2	^	x		
Tube 0109	1011 40			x x		
		2 2		x		
		6		x		
Tripolitana 30	KAI 121	1		x		
Tripolitana 32	KAI 126	4		x		
		5		x		

THE USAGE OF ארע, ארע IN NORTHWEST SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

. . continued

Title of			Significance			
Inscription	Text	Line	Earth	Territory		
Tripolitana 13	KAI 129	1	x			
Djebel Massoudi	KAI 141	1		x		
Cherchel	KAI 161 -	2 10		x x		
Aramaic (ארע)		108 9	1.0			
Zakkur of Hamath	KAI 202B	26	x			
Panammu I (Hadad)	KAI 214	5 6 7		x x x		
Panammu II	KAI 215	5 7 14	x	x x		
Barrakab I	KAI 216	4	x			
Barrakab II	KAI 217	2	x			
Sefire	KAI 222A 222B 223A 224	26 28 27 8 6	x	x x x x x		
Ba ^C l Shamem Temple	KAI 244	3	x			
Saqqara	KAI 266	2	x			
Totals			13	35**		

TABLE 18--Continued

Gibson, HMI, p. 58, interprets אלהי כל הארץ as "the god of all the earth." However, in the context of references to the mountains of Judah and the god of Jerusalem, it seems more likely that ארץ should be interpreted territorially.

** For additional occurrences in Imperial Aramaic, Palmyrene and Nabataean texts, cf. <u>DISO</u>, p. 25. The references given are sufficient to indicate the semantic range of the term. peoples,¹ nations,² families,³ and kingdoms.⁴ The YNK is "the land of the living";⁵ in contrast to the realm of the dead, which is located "under the earth",⁶ or "the depths of the earth".⁷ Indeed YNK may even be used to refer primarily to mankind itself.⁸ But man is not only a resident of the earth, he is also divinely created and authorized to exercise dominion over it.⁹

In a more physical sense, ארץ is also used to refer to the ground beneath one's feet. It is to the ground that one bows in the presence of a superior;¹⁰ upon it he sits when sorrowful;¹¹ to it he is cast when

עמי הארץ, Deut. 28:10; Josh. 4:24; 1 Kings 8:43,53,60; Ezek. 31:12; Zeph. 3:20; 2 Chron. 6:33.

גויי הארץ, Gen. 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; Deut. 28:1; Jer. 26:6; 33:9; 44:8; Zech. 12:3.

³משפחות הארץ, Zech. 14:17.

⁴ממלכות הארץ, Deut. 28:25; 2 Kings 19:15; Isa. 37:20; Jer. 25:

26.

ארץ (ה)חיים Isa. 38:11; 53:8; Jer. 11:19; Ezek. 26:20; 32:23-27,32; Ps. 27:13; 52:7; 116:9; 142:6; Job 28:13.

⁶ארץ תחתית, "the lower world", Ezek. 31:14,16,18; 32:18,24. תחתיות ארץ, "the lower parts of the earth", Isa. 44:23; Ezek. 26:20; Ps. 63:10.

⁷, מחקרי ארץ Ps. 71:20. מחקרי ארץ, Ps. 95:4.

⁸Gen. 6:11; 10:25; 11:1; 18:25, etc. The euphemistic expression for death, "to go the way of all the earth", is a reflection on the universal mortality of man, who inhabits the earth. Josh. 23:14; 1 Kings 2:2. in Gen. 19:31 serves as an expression for sexual intercourse.

⁹Gen. 1:26f.; Ps. 8.

¹⁰Note the frequent use of the expression, "to bow down to the ground"(השתחוה ארצה) Gen. 18:2; 19:1; 24:52, etc.

¹¹Job 2:13; Ezek. 26:16. Cf. also Isa. 3:26; 47:1; Ob. 3.

punished;¹ upon it the creeping creatures crawl.² It is this same ארץ which opens up and swallows the wicked;³ it is from the ground that Samuel emerges before the witch at Endor.⁴ Indeed man, who is made of the הארמה (Gen. 2:7), returns to the earth (ארץ) when he dies.⁵ Even more specifically, ארץ may be used to represent the dry land of the earth, in contrast to the sea.⁶

More commonly, however, γr is used in Hebrew, Aramaic and Phoenician to represent a <u>portion</u> of the broader earth. As such an γr may be identified by its physical characteristics,⁷ a specific

¹Isa. 14:12; 21:9; 26:5; Ezek. 28:17; Ps. 147:6; Dan. 8:7,10, 12. Cf. also Amos 5:7; Ps. 74:7; 89:40,45.

²Note the expression רמש(ת) על הארץ, Gen. 1:26,28,30; 7:14,21; 8:17,19; Lev. 11:44.

³Num. 16:30-34 (interchanged with אדמה); 26:10; Deut. 11:6; Ps. 106:17. Cf. also Exod. 15:12.

⁴1 Sam. 28:13.

⁵Qoh. 12:7. Gen. 3:19 and Job 10:9 have עפר איר. Note the frequent association of vertice in the compound expression vertice in the paralleling of the two words, Ps. 22:30; Isa. 25:12; 26:5. Stadelmann, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 127, 167, has argued that vertice is doubtful, however, that the Hebrews employed it in this technical sense by itself. None of the texts cited on p. 128, n. 677 requires this interpretation. The frequent association of vertice is and vertice is interpreted a phenomenological form of expression. When a person dies, he is buried; he goes down to the grave, i.e., into the earth.

⁶Gen. 1:10,11,12. Perhaps also vs. 24,25,26,28,29; 2:6; 7:21.

ארץ (ה) ארץ (ה) ארץ (ה) ארץ (ה) מישור ' Ps. 143:10. ארץ (ה) ארץ (וסטובא, valley), Josh. 17:16; KAI 26A I:4; II:15 (Phoen.). ארץ הככר (valley), Gen. 19:28. ארץ מדבר (desert land), Deut. 32:10; Prov. 21:19. ארץ הרים ובקעה (land of hills and valleys), Deut. 11:11. ארץ נחלי מים (land of brooks of water), Deut. 8:7;10:7. (and of brooks of water), Deut. 8:7;10:7. (parched land), Isa. 41:18; 53:2; Jer. 2:6; 51:43; Ezek. 19: 13; Hos. 2:5; Joel 2:20; Ps. 63:2; 107:35. ארץ עימר (parched land), Isa. 32:2. ארץ רחבת (broad land), Exod. 3:8; Neh. 9:35. ארץ רחבת (vast land), Isa. 22:18. ארץ גזרה (solitary land), Lev. 16:22. landmark,¹ or its direction from Israel.² It may even have its own special name.³ However, an area may also be defined by its relationship to people. Thus it may represent the property of an individual,⁴ the region associated with a city,⁵ the territory occupied by a tribe,⁶ or a nation.⁷ Or it may simply be described in terms of its economic

ארץ אררט¹ (land of Ararat), 2 Kings 19:37; Isa. 37:38. ארץ ירדן (land of Jordan) Ps. 42:7. ארץ המריה (land of Moriah), Gen. 22:2. (land of Galilee), 1 Kings 9:11. ארץ גליל (land of the sea), KAI 14:16,18 (Phoen.).

² ארץ צפון (north-land), Jer. 3:18 + 7x; Zech. 2:10; 6:6,8. ארץ התימן (south-land), Zech. 6:6. ארץ הנגב (south-land), Gen. 24:62; Num. 13:29; Josh. 15:19; Judg. 1:15. ארץ קדם (east-land), Gen. 25:6. (from the east-land and the west-land), Zech. 8:7.

ארץ הנשן, 1 Chron. 5:11 (Cf. Encyclopedia Miqrith, 2, pp. 366f.); ארץ לנען, Gen. 11:31 + 65x (See below, pp.353ff.); ארץ גלעד, Num. 32:1 + 15x (Cf. M. Ottoson, <u>Gilead: Tradition and History</u> (Lund: 1969), pp. 15-17, where it is suggested that the name is derived from *<u>g^Cd</u>, "curly-haired" and like Seir, may reflect the forested nature of the landscape; ארץ Gen. 45:10 + 12x (<u>Encyclopedia Miqrith</u>, 2, p. 569); ארץ <u>Gen</u>. 10: 10; 11:2; Zech. 5:11; Dan. 1:2 (<u>IDB</u>, 4, p. 332); ארץ <u>Encyclopedia Miqrith</u>, 6, pp. 106f.); Jer. 25:20; Job. 1:1; Lam. 4:2 (<u>Encyclopedia Miqrith</u>, 6, pp. 106f.); ארץ <u>Encyclopedia Miqrith</u>, 6, pp. 106f.); Jer. 44:1; Ezek. 29:14 (<u>IDB</u>, 3, p. 676). The genitives in the above expressions should probably be interpreted as epexegetical rather than subjective. Cf. GK 128g,d.

Abraham buys a plot of ארץ for 400 shekels of silver Gen. 23:15 Cf. Lev. 25:23,24; 27:24 (ארץ alternates with שול). But 'rş-PN never occurs.

⁵Hepher, 1 Kings 4:10; Jazer, Num. 32:1; Hadrach, Zech. 9:1; Mizpah, Josh. 11:3; Shaalim, 1 Sam. 9:4; Shalisha, 1 Sam. 9:4; Tahtim Hodshi, 2 Sam. 24:6; Tappuach, Josh. 17:8; Tema, Isa. 21:14; Zuph, 1 Sam. 9:5; Sinim, Isa. 49:12 (Cf. <u>IDB</u>, 4, p. 472); Kittim (from Kition, <u>IDB</u>, 3, p. 40), Isa. 23:1; Madeba, KAI 181:8; ^CAtaroth, KAI 181:10 (both Moabite).

⁶Benjamin, Judg. 21:21 + 9x; Ephraim, Deut. 34:2; 2 Chron. 30:10. Gad, 1 Sam. 13:7. Judah, Deut. 34:2 + 6x. Manasseh, Deut. 34:2; 2 Chron. 30:10. Naphtali, 1 Kings 15:20; Isa. 8:23. Zebulun, Judg. 12:12; Isa. 8:23. Cf. ארצות אשר לבני ישראל, 1 Chron. 13:2; 2 Chron. 11:23.

⁷The land of Asshur, Isa. 7:18; 27:13; Mic. 5:5; Batylon,

significance for its inhabitants.¹ The relationship between the people and the land is highlighted even more where a gentilic appears in the genitive position.²

Which significance of ארץ represents the original meaning of the word is difficult to determine. Rost has argued that the word originally signified the ground beneath one's feet, that on which the individual as well as the clan lived, divided off from the heavens above by the horizon. Hence the ארץ was perceived as the visible territory occupied by a tribe.

Jer. 50:28; 51:29; Ammon, Deut. 2:19,37; Josh. 13:25; Judg. 11:15; 1 Chron. 19:2; 20:1; Cush, Gen. 2:13; Edom, Gen. 36:17,21,31; Num. 20:23; 21:4; 33:37; 1 Kings 9:26; Isa. 32:2; 1 Chron. 1:43; 2:22; 2 Chron. 8:17; Egypt, Gen. 13:10 + 200x; Hamath, 2 Kings 23:33; 25:21; Jer. 39:5; 52:9,27; Havilah, Gen. 2:11; Israel, 1 Sam. 13:19; 2 Kings 5:2,4; Ezek. 27:17; 40:2; 47:18; 1 Chron. 22:2; 34:7; Judah, 2 Kings 23:24 + 15x; Midian, Exod. 2:15; Moab, Deut. 1:5; 28:69; Judg. 11:15, 18 (<u>bis</u>); Jer. 48:24,33; Y'DY, KAI 215:5,7. On the name and entity see B. Landsberger, Sam'al (Ankara: 1948), pp. 22, n. 42 and 36, n. 76.

ארץ השמנה Jer. 2:7; ארץ הישנה (fruitful land), Ps. 107:34; ארץ פרי (land of livestock), Num. 32:4; ארץ זבח חלב ודבש (land flowing with milk and honey), Exod. 3:8 + 18x; ארץ זבח חלב ודבש (land flowing with milk and honey), Exod. 3:8 + 18x; ארץ זית יצהר (land of grain and wine, land of bread and vineyards, land of olive trees and honey), 2 Kings 18:32; cf. Isa. 36:17; ארץ דגן ותירוש (land of grain and wine), Deut. 33:28; note esp. Deut. 8:7-9; ארץ שמי ארץ דגן ותירוש גווארק שמי (land of barley, land of wheat, land of oils), KAI 214:5f.(Aram.); ארץ כנען כשרים (land of green growth), KAI 161:10 (Neo-Punic). Cf. also ארץ כנען כשרים (land of merchants), Ezek. 16:29; 17:4. On the other hand, the contempt which Solomon felt toward the cities in Galilee given to him by Hiram, induce him to call the entire region ארץ (land of no value, nothing), 1 Kings 9:13.

²Examples are ארץ האמרי, Num. 21:31; Josh. 24:8; Judg. 11:21; Amos 2:10; ארץ ימיני, 1 Sam. 9:4; ארץ הכנעני, Exod. 3:17; 13:5,11; Josh. 13:4; Ezek. 16:3; Neh. 9;8; ארץ כשרים, Jer. 24:5; 25:12; 50:1,8,25,45; 51:4,54; Ezek. 1:3; 12:13; ארץ העברים, Gen. 40:15; ארץ החתים, Josh. 1: 4; Judg. 1:26; ארץ העברים, ארץ העברים, Gen. 21:32 + 13x (the absolute form detwice form detwice form size only eight times, always in poetic texts); ארץ הגבלי, Deut. 2:20; 3:13; הארץ הגבלי, Gen. 36:34; 1 Chron. 1:45. Note also ארץ הגימל, Josh. 13:5. On the articular form of ארץ בני קדם (Gen. 29:1). It was created by and received from the deity for the good of men. With the increased mobility of the tribe, the visible sphere was extended, although the original relationship between heaven above and the ground below was retained. Eventually the entire world, even the sea came to be viewed as the residence of mankind, i.e., the YTX. One's own YTX, however, was restricted by the territorial claims of neighbouring tribes, each of whom exercised control over its own cosmogony.¹

This, however, seems strained, and, in any case, is not the only possible explanation for the broad range of meaning borne by $\gamma\gamma\lambda$. Indeed some have argued for the reverse.² Rather than viewing the world as an extension of one's private sphere of residence, the more limited sense of "land" or 'territory" may indicate that these are actually viewed as microcosms of the earth. If in its broadest sense, $\gamma\gamma\lambda$ stands for the whole earth, the residence and divinely authorized domain of mankind, then one's private property, the territory of a city, tribe or nation represents the residence and realm of the smaller group.³ It is his/its piece of the larger $\gamma\lambda$.

> ¹Rost, p. 85. ²Cf. Stadelmann, p. 127.

³This development would seem to be supported by the Akkadian usage, in which <u>ersetum</u> represents primarily the earth, in contrast to the heavens. <u>CAD</u>, 4, pp. 308ff. The territorial aspect is usually indicated by <u>matum</u>, a term absent from the west Semitic vocabulary except as a loan word in several Aramaic texts. See KAI 233:2 'Cons; perhaps also 266:9 (for discussion see Donner and Röllig, KAI, II, p. 314); and "An Assyrian Decree Law in Aramaic," E. Lipinski, in Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastica, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 1 (Leuven: 1975), p. 79 (hereafter cited as <u>SAIO</u>). On the Akkadian term, see CAD, 10, pp. 414ff., AHw, pp. 633f.

אדמה

A second term used frequently for "land, territory", אדמה, occurs 226 times in the Old Testament.¹ It is apparent from table 19 that it bears the primary sense, "territory", in fewer than one half of these texts. The only certain extra-biblical appearance of אדמה, meaning "land", is found in the neo-punic inscription from Mactar.²

Etymologically, the expression is doubtless to be related to the common Semitic root מאדם, meaning "red". The term appears to have originally signified the brown-coloured soil of the arable regions of Palestine in contrast to the grey and light tones of the desert.³ Consequently, it is not surprising that it should be used specifically for "soil", humus in the Old Testament.⁴ The אדמה also serves as the material

For studies of the term see Rost, pp. 77-80; Stadelmann, pp. 128-29; H. H. Schmid, <u>THAT</u>, I, pp. 57-60; J. G. Plöger, <u>TWAT</u>, I, pp. 95-105 (= <u>TDOT</u>, I, pp. 88-98); A. Schwarzenbach, <u>Die geographische</u> Terminologie <u>im Hebräischen Alten Testaments</u> (Leiden: 1954), pp. 133-36.

KAI, 145:3. ולעמא ישב אדמה, "and for the people living in the land", or perhaps in the absence of a preposition "inhabiting the land". Sefire A 10 (KAI 222A 10), contains the incomplete אדמן whose interpretation is far from certain. Fitzmyer, Sefire, p. 36, understands it as a place name like 'Adāmāh (Josh. 19:36), 'Admāh, 'Adam, or perhaps even as a name related to Hebrew 'Edom, Ugaritic udm, or Akkadian Udumu (on these names, see infra, pp.333ff)Since it is placed opposite רחבה, Lipinski, SAIO, p. 49, translates the two terms as "steppe" and "soil", in which case, its sense would be nearer to the primary meaning of the root. Donner & Röllig, on the other hand, understand it as a territorial designation and represent the pair as "Wüste" and "Fruchtland", wilderness and agricultural land, respectively, KAI, II, p. 239, 246. Akkadian adamātum, may be related. Note TCL 10,100,36: 3 mana a-dama-tim, which CAD, I, p. 94 interprets as "three minas of dark red earth (used as a dye)." AHw, I, p. 10, however, understands the word as the name of a plant (red-blooded?).

³So also Rost, p. 77.

⁴It is the אדמה אדמה one tills (עבד), Gen. 2:5; 3:23; 4:2,12; 2 Sam. 9:10; Isa. 30:24; Zech. 13:5; Prov. 12:11; 28:19; 1 Chron. 27:26. A farmer is identified as an איש אדמה. Gen. 9:20, or as "one who loves the soil", אהב אדמה, 2 Chron. 26:10.

TABLE 19

THE USAGE OF אדמה IN NORTHWEST SEMITIC WRITINGS*

Book	Earth	Ground	Soil	Dirt, Humus	Territory	Land, Property	Totals
Genesis Exodus Leviticus Numbers Deuteronomy	7 2 1 4	15 3 1 2 11	5	3 1 	1 1 1 2 22	13 2 	44 9 2 5 37
Subtotals	14	32	5	4	27	15	97
Joshua 1 Samuel 2 Samuel 1 Kings 2 Kings	· · · · 2 1 4 · · ·	· · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · 1 1	· · · · 1 2 · · · 1	2 •••• 3 3	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	2 3 5 8 4
Subtotals	7	1	2	4	8		22
Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel Hosea Joel Amos Jonah Zephaniah Haggai	3 2 1 2 2				8 11 26 1 6 1 		16 18 28 1 2 10 1 2 10 1 2 1

. . . . continued

TABLE 19--Continued

Book	Earth	Ground	Soil	Dirt, Humus	Territory	Land, Property	Totals
Zechariah Malachi	:::	1	1		2	• • •	3 1
Subtotals	10	13	2	1	55	2	83
Paalma Job Proverbs Daniel Nehemiah 1 Chronicles 2 Chronicles		4 1 1 2 	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		2 • • • • • • • • • • •	· · · · 1 · · · 1 · · ·	6 2 2 3 4 1 6
Subtotals		8	5	1	8	2	24
Grand Totals	31	54	14	10	98		226

*Although the distinctions in meaning are not always as clear as the table implies, the tabulation provides a general indication of the semantic scope of the term.

from which man¹ and animals² are made, moulds are made,³ altars are built,⁴ and earthen vessels are formed.⁵ The אדמה is sprinkled on one's head as a sign of woe⁶ or penitence.⁷ As a sign of his desire to worship Yahweh Naaman intends to bring two mule loads of אדמה Israel back with him to Damascus.⁸

More commonly, however, $\pi rank represents simply the ground beneath$ $one's feet. It is upon the <math>\pi rank$ that the creatures crawl.⁹ In a personified sense, the ground is said to open up its mouth and swallow the wicked.¹⁰ But the $\pi rank$ is not usually represented so three-dimensionally. Indeed the $\pi rank$ is quite consistently represented as something <u>upon</u> which rather than <u>in</u> which, events transpire. The prefix <u>a</u> appears before the word only on two occasions,¹¹ whereas by occurs in the same position

¹Gen. 2:7 (עפר מן האדמה). And to which he returns when he dies. Ps. 146:4 (שוב לאדמה). Dan. 12:2 (ישן אדמת עפר). Cf. Gen. 3:19.

²Gen. 2:19 (מן האדמה).

³1 Kings 7:46 (מעבה האדמה); cf. 2 Chron. 4:17 (בעבי האדמה).

⁴Exod. 20:24 (מזבח האדמה).

⁵Isa. 45:9(חרשי האדמה).

⁰1 Sam. 4:12; 2 Sam. 1:2; 15:32.

Neh. 9:1. Cf. the similar use of עפר, "dust", Josh. 7:6; Ezek. 27:30; Lam. 2:10; Job. 2:12; and אפר, "ashes", 2 Sam. 13:19; Dan. 9:3, etc. for the same purpose.

2 Kings 5:17. משא צמד פרדים אדמה. On the special treatment of the in this case, cf. infra, p. 432.

רמש האדמה⁹, Gen. 1:25; 6 20; Hos. 2:20. רמש האדמה, Gen. 7:8. רמש באדמה, Deut. 4:18. רמש באדמה, Gen. 9:2; Lev. 20:25. Ezek. 38:20, הלמש על האדמה הרמש על האדמה.

¹⁰Num. 16:30,31 (//ארץ/); cf. Gen. 4:11.

¹¹Deut. 4:18; (see note 9); 21:1 the slain are found (מצא) in the land. But cf. בארץ, Jer. 27:11. This contrasts sharply with בארץ, which appears approximately 400 times. ninety-six times,¹ an emphasis reinforced by the frequent insertion of \mathfrak{et} before $\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{c}$ It is upon that one lives³ and from upon ($\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{v}\mathfrak{c}$) which he is removed.⁴

Nonetheless, the major importance of the אדמה is seen in the role it plays in providing the foundation for man's welfare. Not only is it from the אדמה that all vegetation sprouts,⁵ but ultimately the food of mankind is its produce.⁶ But this nourishment is not provided automatically; indeed as a consequence of human evil, the אדמה has been cursed.⁷ Consequently, it will yield its produce only if it is

To this total should be added the five occasions when $\frac{1}{5}$ bears the meaning normally borne by $\frac{1}{5}$. Jer. 35:15; Ezek. 12:19; 21:7; 25:3,6.

 $2_{20} + x$. In the expression אדמה may be used either cosmically or locally.

³ Deut. 12:1; 31:13; 1 Sam. 20:31; 1 Kings 8:40; 2 Chron. 6:31. לישר, Deut. 30:20; Jer. 23:8; 25:5; Ezek. 33:24; 36:17; 39:26. Note also the many references to the lengthening or multiplying of one's days upon the land, Exod. 20:12; Deut. 4:40; 5:16; 11:21; 25:15; 30:18; 32:47.

⁴Note the variety of verbs used to describe this removal. אנד, Josh. 23:13; cf. Jer. 27:10; האסיף, Zeph. 1:2; גלה, 2 Kings 17:23; 25:21; Jer. 52:27; Amos 7:11,17; Gen. 4:14; גלה, Exod. 32:12; Deut. 28:21; Jer. 57:10; hoj, Deut. 26:63; Jeut. 29:27; 1 Kings 14:15; Jer. 12:14; Amos 9:15; 2 Chrcn. 7:20; Josh. 29:27; 1 Kings 9:7; Zeph. 1:3; גרסיה, 2 Chron. 33:8; Josh. 23: 15; Amos 9:8; hin, Jer. 27:10.

עמח^כ, Gen. 2:9 (trees); cf. Job 5:6 (trouble sprouts from the ground). Note the expression צמח האדמה in Gen. 19:25. על אדמת עמי גמח האדמה Isa. 32:13.

⁶Note the verb הוציא, "produce", in Hag. 1:11. Several terms are used to designate the produce. פרי האדמה, Gen. 4:3; Deut. 7:13; 26:2,10; 28:4,11,18,33,42,51; 30:9; Jer. 7:20; Mal. 3:11; Ps. 105: 35. Cf. also בכורי האדמה, Exod. 23:19; 34:26; Neh. 10:36; האדמה, Isa. 30:23; האדמה, Neh. 10:38.

⁷Gen. 3:17; 5:29; (both ארר); 8:21 (קלל). Cf. 4:11 where Cain is cursed מן האדמה. industriously tilled by men,¹ and watered by rainfall.² Failing these, the אדמה produces only briers and thorns³ and the whole enterprise fails.⁴ In a very real sense, one's security depends upon the אדמה; to be driven from it is to be sentenced to a perpetual life of wandering and vagrancy, ever under the threat of death.⁵ The אדמה, therefore represents the fertile soil,⁶ and stands in stark contrast to the sterility of the **threat**.

But the word is also used in several derived senses. Quite naturally, if in essence the term signifies the productive ground, as opposed to the barren desert, it also comes to be used for landed property which may be bought and sold, as well as the fields one owns and from which one wrests his personal livelihood.⁷ Especially instructive in this respect is Genesis 47:13ff. As the result of a severe famine, all of the Egyptians, the priests excepted, are forced to sell their own NICH to the Pharaoh in return for food, which Joseph had been storing up during the years of abundant harvest. The people have nothing left but

Gen. 2:5; 3:23; 4:2,12; 2 Sam. 9:10; Isa. 30:24; Jer. 27:11; Zech. 13:5; Prov. 12:11; 28:19. Isa. 28:24 speaks of plowing (פתח) and harrowing (שרד) the איש איש. Note the designation of a farmer as an איש , Gen. 9:20. Cf. also אהב אדמה in 2 Chron. 26:10.

²Gen. 2:6; 1 Kings 17:14; 18:1. Cf. Isa. 30:23. The dew also falls upon it, 2 Sam. 17:12.

³Isa. 32:13. ⁴Deut. 11:17; Jer. 14:4; Hag. 1:10f. ⁵Gen. 4:11-15. ⁶Cf. Neh. 9:25, ארמת שמנה .

⁷Note the interchange of אדמה and שדה Gen. 47:20. Elsewhere the two terms appear as parallel elements in Joel 1:10; 2:21 (// שדי); 1 Chron. 27:26.

their bodies and their land, which now is producing nothing.

But the scope of אדמה אדמה may be broadened further to signify "territory", in which case it is used almost synonymously with ². Indeed, occasionally the two appear as equivalent parallel elements.² This interchangeability is noticeable in the singular occurrence of אדמה in the stock phrase, "a land flowing with milk and honey",³ but more commonly in the references to the land of Canaan as given⁴ or sworn⁵ by Yahweh to his people. This does not mean, however, that the two are identical in significance;⁶ it merely suggests a semantic overlapping. אדמה is seldom, if ever, employed in a political sense.⁷ In Isa. 7:16

¹The account describes how all the arable land of Egypt fell into personal hands of the Pharoah. Note especially v. 20. Joseph buys all the ארץ, for every Egyptian sold his שוה. Thus the whole ארץ became Pharaoh's.

²Deut. 26:15; Ezek. 20:42; Ps. 105:35 (// גבול and גבול). This is the only text in which אדמה and גבול are associated.

³Deut. 31:20. Everywhere else γγκ is used. Cf. Exod. 3:8,17; 13:5; 33:3; Lev. 20:24; Num. 13:27; 14:8; 16:13,14; Deut. 6:3; 11:9; 26:9,15; 27:3; 31:20; Josh. 5:6; Jer. 11:5; 32:22; Ezek. 20:6,15.

⁴Deut. 21:23; 25:15; 1 Kings 8:34,40; 9:7; 14:15; 2 Kings 21:8 Jer. 16:15; 24:10; 35:15; etc. Cf. the γγλ being given ()) by Yahweh, Exod. 6:4; Lev. 25:38; Jer. 3:19; 11:5; 32:22; Ps. 105:11; Neh. 9: 8; 1 Chron. 16:18. Especially illuminating is Lev. 20:24. Cf. Deuteronomy, in which, except for 21:1, ψγ is always coupled with γγλ. On the exception, see J. G. Plöger, Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium, BBB, 26 (Bonn: 1967), pp. 126f.

⁵Num. 11:12; 32:11; Deut. 26:15; 30:20; etc. Cf. the ארץ as sworn by Yahweh, Gen. 50:24; Num. 14:16; Deut. 6:23; 31:21,23; 34:4; Judg. 2:1; etc.

^oFor a discussion of their distinctive usage in Deuteronomy, see Plöger, pp. 60-129.

Dan. 11:9 may be an exception. In Isa. 24:21 (מלכי האדמה), the term is used in a cosmic rather than territorial sense. the prophet speaks of "a land whose two kings you fear," implying that the nmTN transcends national boundaries. Neither can any reference to the borders of an nmTN be found.¹ Its only boundaries are physical, rather than political, e.g., the edges of the desert. If, on the one hand, state borders may cut right across an nmTN, on the other, as Rost has observed, they may also extend beyond the limits of the latter. Large tracts of desert could also be incorporated.² The non-political significance of the expression is confirmed by the absence (apart from Ps. 49:12) of the plural form, NTNN. Where the territory of a nation is specifically identified as its NTN, the emphasis appears to be on the land as the foundation of the economic well-being of the state. This may account for the studious avoidance of the association of nNTN with nomadic desert tribes.³ Without an NTMN a state cannot exist; hence the need for Yahweh to provide the same for the sons of Israel.

When אדמה is used in a cosmic sense, "earth",⁴ the distinctions between this term and ארץ are further diminished. However, the frequent prefixing of פני before the former suggests that here too, it is not simply the objective world in view, but its surface, the habitat of men.⁵

> ¹But cf. Ps. 105:35, where אדמה is paralleled with ארץ and גבול. ²Rost, p. 80.

Cf. the use of שדה, infra, pp. 327ff.

⁵Gen. 6:1,7; 7:4; 8:8,13; Exod. 32:12; 1 Sam. 20:15,31; 2 Sam. 14:7; 1 Kings 13:34; 17:14; 18:1; Isa. 23:17 (הארמה); Jer. 25:26 (הארמה); Jer. 25:26 (הארמה); Ezek. 38:20 Amos 9:8; Zeph. 1:2,3. Rost and Plöger are correct in distinguishing ארמא, a formal objective expression for the residence and domain of a nation, from אדמה, a more subjective term which speaks of the land as the source of a nation's health and economic well-being. However, Rost's explanation of the latter as "Heimat"¹ introduces a nuance not necessarily evident in the Hebrew.

גבול

The third designation for "territory", Appears to have been a distinctly western term, being attested in Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic texts.² In Ugaritic, <u>gbl</u> means "mountain, height",³ similar to the Arabic <u>jebel</u>.⁴ But this sense seldom if ever occurs in the Old Testament.⁵ As table 20 suggests, here is usually signifies "border,

Rost, p. 79. In fact the frequent association of אדץ with association of אדץ with suggests "Heimat" is more appropriately applied to ארץ. E.g., Gen. 12:1; 24:4; 31:3; 32:10; Num. 10:30 (all ארץ/מולדת). Cf. also the expression , Gen. 11:28; 24:7; 31:13; Jer. 22:10; 46:16; Ezek. 23:15; Ruth 2:11. Note also the expression ארץ אבות e.g. Gen. 31:3; 48:21.

²For a general discussion of the term see M. Ottoson, <u>TWAT</u>, I, pp. 896-902 (= <u>TDOT</u>, II, pp. 361-66). The expression does not occur in Akkadian, where, instead, a variety of other terms cover the same semantic range: <u>misru</u>, <u>itu</u>, <u>kisurru</u>, <u>patu</u>, <u>pulukku</u>, <u>kudurru</u>, <u>tahumu</u>. Cf. <u>CAD</u>, <u>AHw</u>, <u>s.v</u>.

³Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 146. Cf. $\frac{c_{nt}}{VI:7}$ (= B V vi 7), and Keret vi: 57. The latter Driver translates, "peak, height, pitch". Cf. Gibson, <u>CML²</u>, p. 1-2, "frontier". This sense also lies behind the toponym Byblos (Heb. 51), Ezek. 27:9). Cf. also the gentilic 51), Josh. 13:5; Ugaritic <u>gbl/gbly</u>; Akkadian <u>Gubla</u>.

⁴E. W. Lane, <u>An Arabic-English Lexicon</u> (London: 1885), I, p. 376. For a discussion of the discrepancy between the Hebrew and Arabic usage, see L. Koehler, "Der Berg als Grenze," ZDPV, 62 (1939), pp. 124-25.

M. Dahood, "Biblical Geography," <u>Gregorianum</u>, 43 (1962), pp. 73-74, has argued, on the basis of Ugaritic and Arabic usage, the witness of LXX opos, and the parallel element הר that הנו boundary", from which the denominative, "to build, set a border",¹ is derived. In its most concrete sense, לכול, refers to a boundary marker.² Since the individual Israelites, as well as the nation as a whole, considered their property to be a divinely bestowed inheritance, to move a blax, or to add arbitrarily to one's property at the expense of another, was a serious offence.³ To what extent these sensitivities reflected general Levantine custom is difficult to determine. Amenemope 6 demonstrates that the practice of using inviolable boundary markers was common in Egypt.⁴ The use of the <u>kudurru</u> stone in Babylonia to mark off property also displays marked parallels with the Israelite custom.⁵ On the

as "hill" in Ps. 78:54. He interprets 1 Sam. 13:18 similarly, adding that the verb used in the context, שקף, "to look down upon", confirms this reading. But cf. Barr, <u>Comparative Philology</u>, pp. 248f., who suggests two reasons for treating LXX here as errant: 1) the similarity of opos "mountain", and opos (or opiov), "frontier"; 2) the erroneous transcription of opos for opos since הר (opos) does occur in the second clause. Consequently, the Greek evidence is purely accidental, caused by the similarity of the Greek words and the parallelism with "mountain".

¹Exod. 19:12,23 (Hiphil); Deut. 19:14; Josh. 18:20; Zech. 9:2 (Qal).

²Deut. 19:14; 27:17; Hos. 5:10; Job 24:2; Prov. 22:28; 23:10. ³Cf. Isa. 5:8f.

⁴<u>ANET</u>, p. 422. On the Egyptian practice see A. Erman, H. Ranke, <u>Agypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum</u> (Tübingen: 1923), pp. 101-104, 420, 594; W. Helck, "Grenze, Grenzsicherung," <u>Lexikon der Agyptologie</u>, ed. by W. Helck and W. Westendorf (Wiesbaden: 1976), II, pp. 896-97; <u>idem</u>, "Grenzsteine," <u>ibid</u>; <u>idem</u>, <u>Zur Vorstellung von der Grenze in der</u> ägyptischen Frühgeschichte (Hildesheim: 1951).

⁵Cf. A. K. Grayson, "Grenze," <u>RLA</u>, III, pp. 639f.; W. J. Hinke, <u>A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I</u> (Philadelphia: 1907), pp. 1-115 (esp. pp. 37ff. for a summary of the contents of the inscriptions found on the stones); L. W. King, <u>Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial</u> <u>Tablets in the British Museum</u> (London: 1912). The inviolability of the boundary markers is stressed by the curses inveighed upon any who would dare to move them.

TABLE 20

Book	Territory	Boundary	Boundary Marker	Border (object)	Totals
Genesis Exodus Numbers Deuteronomy	2 6 7 7	1 1 25 6	· · · · · · · 2	· · · · · · ·	3 7 32 15
Subtotals	22	33	2		57
Joshua Judges 1 Samuel 2 Samuel 1 Kings 2 Kings	19 8 8 1 1 3	66 2 2 1 2			85 10 10 1 2 5
Subtotals	40	73	• • •	•••	113
Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel Hosea Joel Amos Obadiah Micah Zephaniah Malachi	3 1 ••• 1 3 ••• 1 1 2	3 3 38 • • • • • • • 1 • • •			6 4 43 1 1 3 1 1 1 2
Subtotals	12	45	1	5	63
Psalms Job Proverbs 1 Chronicles 2 Chronicles	4 1 3 1	2 •••• 1 1 1	 1 2 		6 2 3 4 2
Subtotals	9	5	3	• • •	17
Grand Totals	83	156	6	5	240

THE USAGE OF גבל IN NORTHWEST SEMITIC WRITINGS*

. . . continued

-	Book	Territory	Boundary	Boundary Marker	Border (object)	Totals
Phoe	enician					
KAI	14	1 (20)			_	1
KAI	26A		3 (I:14,21, II:2)			3
KAI	43		1 (9)			1
Arar	naic				-	
KAI	215	2 (15)				2
KAI	224	1 (23)				1

TABLE 20--Continued

The occurrences of Hebrew גבולה are included in the tabulation.

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basis of this Hebrew, Egyptian, and Babylonian usage, it may be surmised that the practice was followed in Phoenicia and Aram as well. However, the absence of boundary stones in Assyria may argue against this conclusion.¹ Furthermore, Jezebel's callous seizure of Naboth's vineyard suggests that she, a Phoenician, either did not understand the custom, or she viewed herself, by virtue of her position, to be above it.²

In the absence of man-made boundary markers, Left is frequently used to designate a prominent feature of the landscape which serves as a border between two adjacent territories. Sometimes the features, such as rivers and wadis,³ and seas,⁴ function as the boundary itself. In other

¹Cf. Grayson, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 639.

³The Arnon, as the boundary of Moab, Num. 21:13; 22:36; Judg. 11:18 (ארנון גבול מואב). The Jabbok as the border of Ammon, Deut. 3: 16: Josh. 12:2. The Jordan, Josh. 13:23 (border of <u>bny</u> Reuben), 13:27; 22: 25. On the significance of Jordan as a border see M. Saebø, "Grenzbeschreibung und Landideal im Alten Testament mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der <u>min-^Cad</u> Formel," <u>ZDPV</u>, 90 (1974), pp. 14f.; M. Noth, "Der Jordan in der alten Geschichte Palästinas," <u>ZDPV</u>, 72 (1956), pp. 123-48; A. R. Hulst, "Der Jordan in der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen," <u>OTS</u>, 14 (1965), pp. 162-88.

⁴The Mediterranean, Num. 34:6; Josh. 15:12,47; Ezek. 47:17,20; 48:21. Cf. Saebø, loc. cit., pp. 14f. The Dead Sea, Josh. 15: 2,4,5. The expressions לובנו הגדול וגבול (Num. 34:6 bis; Josh. 15:12,47) and free problems. 12:23,27) have presented special interpretive problems. It has been common to translate אידרן וגבול territory". So BDB, p. 252, G. B. Gray, <u>Numbers</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1903), p. 458; F. Delitzsch, Joshua, reprint(Grand Rapids: 1950), p. 142. S. R. Driver, <u>Deuteronomy</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1902), p. 57, however, suggests the <u>waw</u> be interpreted "at the same time (zugleich)." This view has recently been accepted by Ottoson, p. 900, who translates the latter phrase as "und das grosse Meer zugleich (1) als Grenze." instances the landmarks represent the extremities of the territory. This applies especially where the $\eta - \eta$ formula is used.¹ It appears that in some of these instances $\lambda c \ell \eta$ may also be interpreted as "territory". Even so the features named are still viewed as the borders of the territory.² Boundaries are also perceived as imaginary lines, connecting two points,³ or crossing over the landscape joining a series of points.⁴

¹See Saebø's thorough discussion, pp. 14-37. Note esp. Exod. 23: 31, "I will fix your גבול from the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines (i.e., Mediterranean), and from the wilderness (מרבר) to the river (Euphrates). Also, Josh. 12:1, where the Transjordanian region is defined as אנחל ארנון עד הר חרמון Cf. Deut. 11:24; Josh. 1:4. Cf. also the general description of the boundary in the Synchronistic History (Chronicle 21), iii:20f. iš-[tu] ^CTil-Bit-Ba-ri ša el-la-an ^CZa-[ban] a-di <u>Til-ša-^mBa-ta-a-ni u</u> (Til)-ša-^CSab-da-ni ku-dur u-ki[n-nu] "They established a boundary from Til-Bit-Bari which is upstream from Zaban to Til-sha-Batani and Til-sha-Sabdani." ABC, p. 166f.

²This is not true of the expression "from Dan to Beersheba". Judg. 20:1; 1 Sam. 3:20; 2 Sam. 3:10; 17:11; 24:2,15; 1 Kings 5:5. In this case the territory of Israel is defined by referring to the main centres in the north and in the south, without demanding that these names be viewed as border points. Cf. Y. Aharoni, <u>The Land of the Bible: A</u> <u>Historical Geography</u>, trans. by A. F. Rainey (London: 1962), p. 71; Y. Kaufmann, <u>The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine</u>, trans. by M. Dagut (Jerusalem: 1953), pp. 53f. Kaufmann identifies this expression as a description of the "real land of Israel," in contrast to the utopian conceptions, on the one hand, and the imperial on the other. See also Saebø, loc. cit., pp. 21f.

Note the use of the verb אוה, "to mark, describe with a mark". in Num. 34:7,8,10.

In order to protect one's territory, boundaries were occasionally marked by fortifications at strategic points.¹ On the other hand, references to borders may be made only by indicating their direction in relationship to the land.²

Primarily then, λεικ is used to signify "border, boundary".³ But in a derived sense it represents also the territory incorporated within the designated boundaries,⁴ whether that area be the private property

may have been selected on topographical grounds. Note also the use of the expression תוצאות הגבול, Num. 34:8; Josh. 15:4,11; 18:19; 19:22.

¹See especially KAI 26A I:14 (Karatepe, Phoen.), "And I built fortifications (Π^{α}) at all the outposts (∇^{α}) at the borders (\mathcal{L}^{α}) in places where there were evil men, gangsters, none of whom had served the house of Mupsh." Aharoni, p. 272, has also suggested that the Levitical cities may have served similar military purposes. Noth has argued that the cairn erected by Jacob and Laban at Gilead was also a national boundary marker, separating the territory of the Aramaeans and the Transjordanian Israelites. M. Noth, "Das Land Gilead als Siedlungsgebiet israelitischer Sippen," PJB, 37 (1941), pp. 61f. (= Aufsätze, I, pp. 358ff.); idem, The History of Israel, 2nd ed. (London: 1960), p. 159; idem, History of Pentateuchal Traditions, pp. 91f. Cf. M. Ottoson, Gilead: Tradition and History, Coniectanea Biblica, OT series 3, trans. by J. Gray (Lund: 1969), p. 46, who suggests that the contract signifies Israel's break in relations with the East. After the agreement a "western Aramaean group" comes into being which is soon referred to as Israel. (Gen. 32:29; 35:9ff.) He argues that the cairn is more geographical than historical, and gives Mizpeh Gilead the character of an Israelite cult centre in a border region.

גבול נגב², Num. 34;3; Josh. 15:2,4. גבול ים, Num. 34:6 (<u>bis</u>); Josh. 15:4,12; Jer. 5:22 (with ל); Ezek. 45;7. גבול צפון, Num. 34: 7,9; Josh. 15:5. אבול קדם קדימה, Num. 34:10; Josh. 15:5; Ezek. 45:7. This "border" interpretation of גבול קדם יה ארץ, Num. 20:23; Deut. 19:3; Ezek. 47:15; KAI 14:20 (Phoen.). גבול נחלה, Josh. 19:10; 24:30; Judg. 2:9; cf. also Deut. 32:8 (גבול עמים) and Ezek. 47:15.

³Cf. the special meaning in Ezek. 40:12 (barrier wall) and 43: 13,17 ("edge" of the altar).

⁴The distinction between the two is not always clear.

of an individual,¹ the territory received by a person/clan as his share of the promised land,² or areas reserved for religious officials,³ or associated with the temple,⁴ or the ark of the covenant.⁵ It is more common, however, to find the word associated with a city (in which case it usually appears to refer to the surrounding territory),⁶ a tribe,⁷ or a nation.⁸ This interpretation of λ is confirmed by the occasional appearance of the word alongside γ N. The two are found as

Prov. 15:25 (the widow). Cf. the references, <u>supra</u>, p. 320, n. 2. Gen. 23:17, אשר בכל גבלו סביב, is probably best understood as "which were within its border."

²Jabez, 1 Chron. 4:10. One cannot really speak of enlarging borders. They may be extended, but the use of the verb π suggests be more appropriately translated "territory".

³Sons of Kohath, 1 Chron. 6:51; priests and Levites, 2 Chron. 11:13; sons of Aaron, 1 Chron. 6:39.

> ⁴Ezek. 43:12. ⁵1 Sam. 6:9.

⁶Damascus, Ezek. 47:16; Hamath, Ezek. 47:17; Calneh, Amos 6: 2; Jazer, Josh. 13:25; Lo-debar, Josh. 13:26; Beth Horon, Josh. 16: 3; Beth Shemesh, 1 Sam. 6:12; Hauron, Ezek. 47:16; Zion, Ps. 147:14; Isa. 60:18; Tiphsah, 2 Kings 15:16. The Philistine Pentapolis, Judg. 1:18 (Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron); Josh. 13:3 (Ekron); 1 Sam. 5:6 (Ashdod); 2 Kings 18:8 (Gaza); Amos 6:2 (Gath); cf. the cities in general, 1 Sam. 7:14; Tala'im, KAI 224:23 (Aram.). Note also upon ying as a sociopolitical term cf. Johnstone, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 315-17.

⁷Ephraim, Josh. 16:5; 17:10; Judah, Josh. 18;5; Jer. 17:3; Joel 4:6; Manasseh, Josh, 13:30; 17:7; <u>byt</u> Joseph, Josh. 18:5; Zebulun, Josh. 19:11; Issachar, Josh. 19:18,22; Asher, Josh. 19:25; Naphtali, Josh. 19:33; Dan, Josh. 19:47; Ezek. 48:2; Benjamin, 1 Sam. 10:2; cf. Josh. 18:20.

⁸Edom, Num. 20:16,21,23; 21:22 (cf. גבול אחיכם כני עשו, Deut. 2: 4); Egypt, Gen. 47:21; Exod. 10:14,19; Ps. 105:31,33; Moab, Deut. 2: 18; Judg. 11:18; the Amorite, Num. 21:13; Josh. 13:4; Judg. 1:36; 11:22; Israel, Judg. 19:26; 1 Sam. 11:3,7; 7:13; 27:1; 2 Sam. 21:5; 1 Kings 1:3, 2 Kings 10:32; Ezek. 11:10f.; 1 Chron. 21:12; Mal. 1:5. גבול גבול אחייה more common than ארץ ישראל parallel elements in Mic. 5:5 and Isa. 60:18.

The use of Left to represent "land, territory", adds an additional nuance to the ancient Near Eastern view of the territorial tie. It suggests that territories were recognized as specific entities, definable in terms of boundaries, and set apart from the surrounding regions by the same.

שדה

Although שדה appears more often than either גבול, only rarely does it bear a territorial sense. Otherwise, the term was capable of considerable variation in meaning.² On the one hand, שדה denoted the terrain inhabited by wild beasts,³ where man had not settled. In several

In both texts גבול is the B-element. Cf. also Exod. 23:31 (Yahweh fixes the גבול הארץ are given into Israel's hand); Exod. 34:24 (Yahweh enlarges the גבול and no man covets Israel's hand); Deut. 19:8 (Yahweh enlarges the גבול and gives Israel all the ארץ); sworn to the fathers); Jer. 31:17 (Israel returns to its גבול from the vof the enemies); 1 Sam. 27:1 (David is sought in all of the herefore he escapes to ארץ).

²LXX translates שרה variously as άγριος (Exod. 23:11), άγρος (Lev. 19:9), άμπελών (Lev. 19:19), γεώργιον (Prov. 24:45[30]), _{χτήμα} (Prov. 23:10), όδος (1 Kings 27:7), όριον (Judg. 20:6), πεδιον (80+), χώρα (Gen. 32:3[4]). For a study of the term see Schwarzenbach, <u>loc</u>. cit., pp. 82-87.

³The expression אית (ה) שדה appears 29 times: Gen. 2:19,20; 3:1,14; Exod. 23:11,29; Lev. 26:22; Deut. 7:22; 2 Sam. 21:10; 2 Kings 14:9 = 2 Chron. 25:18; Isa. 43:20; Jer. 12:9; 27:6; 28:14; Ezek. 31:6,13; 34:5,8; 38:20; 39:4,17; Hos. 2:14,20; 4:3; 13:8; Job 5:23; 39:15; 40:20. Note also the poetic forms יחיח in Isa. 56:9 and Ps. 104:11. (Cf. יחית הארץ in Gen. 1:24,25; 9:2,10; 1 Sam. 17:46; Ezek. 29:5; 32:4 [חית כל הארץ]; 34:28; Ps. 79:2; Job 5:22). בהמה שדה is used synonymously with חית היחית in 1 Sam. 17:44; Joel 1:20; Ps. 8:8. The animals. in the expression חית הימצא בשדה frequently serves as a counterpart to domesticated animals. איז היח frequently serves as a counterpart to domesticated (Ezek. 38:20; Hos. 2:20; 4:3; Ps. 8:8), עוף השמים (Gen. 2:19,20; 2 Sam. 21:10; Ezek. 31:6,13; 38:20; Hos. 2:20; 4:3. Cf. also 1 Sam. 17:44; Ps. 8:8 (// נפור כל כנף //). instances איה appears to be deliberately contrasted with השדה, domesticated livestock.¹ Occasionally, some of the איות השדה are identified.² As many of these are ferocious carnivores, even though the שדה provides man with game for the hunt,³ it also represents a constant threat to his security.⁴ On the other hand, glimpses of harmony between man and beast do shine through, but these are dependent upon direct divine or messianic intervention.⁵

If in its broadest sense, therefore, שדה signifies the habitat of the wild creatures; מושכ, which denotes the land occupied by a people or tribe,⁶ functions as a counterpart. But the שדה is associated with a

¹Gen. 2:20; Lev. 26:22. בהמה is also juxtaposed with חית הארץ in Gen. 1:24,25; 9:10.

Bear (גר), 2 Sam. 17:8; Hos. 13:8; lion (שחל), Hos. 13:7; (cf. אריה), Jer. 12:9; jackal (תנים), Isa. 43:20; Jer. 14:6; leopard (גריה), Hos. 13:8; ostrich (בנות יענה), Isa. 43:20; gazelle (נמר), 2 Sam. 2:18; Cant. 2:7; 3:5; deer (אילה), Cant. 2:7; Jer. 14:5; wild donkeys (פראים), Jer. 14:6; Ps. 104:11; serpent (פראים), Gen. 3:1; behemoth, Job 40:20. Cf. also Isa. 11:6f.

³Gen. 25:27,29; 27:3,5,27.

⁴This is recognized by Yahweh's refusal in the early stages of the Conquest to deliver more territory into the hands of the Israelites than they were able effectively to occupy. The continued presence of the Canaanites in the land provided a check on the rapid increase in the population of the wild beasts. Exod. 23:29; Deut. 7:22. Even after they had been established in the land, constant precautions had to be taken to protect the flocks from the predators. Note especially Isa. 56:9, where the wild animals are invited to feast on the flocks because the watchmen are blind, the dogs are dumb, and the men of the city are indulging in revelry. Cf. also Ezek. 34:5ff. Occasionally the wild beasts are cited as agents of divine judgment upon the Israelites and others. Lev. 26:22; Jer. 12: 9; Ezek. 29:5; 32:4; 39:4,17; Hos. 2:14. In Jer. 27:6 and 28:14 they are designated as servants of Nebuchadnezzar. The Ezekiel texts refer also to the birds of prey (Y20). Cf. UT 49 II:30ff., the birds come to devour the body of Mot which has been sown 703: bod.

⁵Hos. 2:20; Job. 5:23; cf. also Isa. 11:6-9.

⁶Gen. 10:30; 27:39; 36:43; Num. 15:2 (ארץ מושב); 24:21; 31:10

variety of types of terrain, ranging from the desert land,¹ and forested regions,² to the mountains.³ The term, שדה, also carries several more

(עריהם במושבתם); Ezek. 6:6,14; 48:15; 1 Chron. 4:33; 6:39; 7:28; cf. also Ezek. 34:13 (מושכי הארץ) and Ps. 107:4,7,36 (עיר מושכ). In the last text especially, the term stands in contrast to the bleakness and waste of the desert (מרבר).

¹Isa. 43:20, the beasts of the שדה will glorify Yahweh because he has given water to the ישימן//מדבר. Ezek. 29:5, Pharaoh will be abandoned to the מדבר; he will die מני השדה Joel 1:19, fire has devoured the pastures of the wilderness and the trees of the שדה he wilderness of the wilderness and the trees of the pastures of the 2:22, the beasts of the שדה are not to fear, for the pastures of the wilderness (נאות מדבר) have turned green and the trees have borne their fruit. Josh. 8:24, the inhabitants of Ai are slain in the dy in the wilderness (מדבר). This association is also reflected in the Ugaritic texts:

	"They settled like locusts					
sd khsn pat	on the 'field', like grasshoppers on the fringe					
mdbr	of the desert" (Krt 192-94).					

ilm n^{c} mm ttlkn sd tsdn pat mdbr wngs hm ngr mdr^c "The gracious gods go to and fro in the field, they stalk the fringe of the desert, they come upon a watchman of the sown land" (UT 52:67-69).

Significantly, in the latter text, both the desert and the <u>sd</u> are depicted as being outside the cultivated region. A guard is required to keep the latter safe from intruders from the former.

²1 Sam. 14:25, the people entered the forest (יער (יער), they found honey איתו ביער//חיתו שדי. Isa. 56:9, איתו ביער//חיתו ביער השדה. Ezek. 21:2, 39:10, they will not take wood from the שדה נגב from שדה. Hos. 2:14, when the vines and figs become a איער השדה איער השדה will devour the people. Ps. 80:14, "the boar from the חית השדה will devour the people. Ps. 80:14, "the boar from the חית השדה "whatever moves in the "שדה" 96:12, "Let the שדה exult; then all the trees of the איער שוו sing for joy." Note also the expression איער. Mandelkern, <u>s.v</u>.

³Isa. 55:12, the Dria and the ALQUAL sing for joy; the trees of the The clap their hands. Jer. 13:27, λευκία δια το βατά and το βατά and το βατά and το βατά and the beasts of the beasts of the beasts of the beasts of the beast flow between the beast in the and is his. Ps. 104:10-11, the springs that flow between the bria give drink to every beast of the beast of the also the association of algored drink to severy beast of the also the association of algored drink to beast of the also flow between the bria give drink to every beast of the also flow between the bria give drink to are. 18:14; Ezek. 31:3ff.; especially 2 Kings 14:9 (= 2 Chron. 25:18), Jer. 18:14; Ezek. 31:3ff.; especially 2 Kings 14:9 (= 2 Chron. 25:18), Jer. and the also for foreings" (e.g., LXX aγροι aπαρχων, NIV, RSV), the correctness of the text has long been doubted. Cf. S. R. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel (Oxford: 1890), p. 182; BDB, p. 929. In 1938 H. L. Ginsburg in "A Ugaritic Parallel to 2 Sam. 1:21," JBL, 57 (1938), pp. 209-13, appeared to have arrived at a solution by appealing to CTA 19 I:44-45 (UT 1 Aght 44-45). In view of

specific meanings. Occasionally it denotes the grazing area of flocks and herds.¹ But the identification of the countryside, as opposed to

this text, he recommended restoring MT to של טל ואל מטר עליכם ושרע no upsurging of the deeps." This rendering has gained wide acceptance. See A. Schoors, "Literary Phrases," in <u>Ras Shamra Parallels</u>, Vol. I, AnOr, 49 (Rome: 1972), pp. 56f., for apparent approval and citation of authors. The most recent defence is provided by T. L. Fenton, "Comparative Evidence in Textual Study: M. Dahood on 2 Sam.1 21 and CTA 19 (1 Aqht), I, 44-45," <u>VT</u>, 29 (1979), pp. 162-70. Dahood, however, has defended MT, arguing that approvides an appropriate parallel to <u>vor</u>. "Hebrew Ugaritic Lexicography," <u>Bib</u>, 53 (1972), pp. 398-99. In order to do this, however, he introduces an unprecedented significance for ant, which usually means "offerings".

Interestingly, the Akkadian cognate, sadum, normally also means "mountain". AHw, p. 1124. However, this term may also denote "steppe, AHw, ibid. See especially, A. Heidel, "A Special Usage of the field". Akkadian Term Sadu," JNES, 8 (1949), pp. 233-35, for discussion and citations. The relationship of שרה to the last element in the divine name El Shaddai is uncertain. The common approach, recently, has been to relate the name to the Akkadian expression, in which case, the name signified, "God of the Mountain". See F. M. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History and Religion of Israel (Cambridge, Mass.: 1973), pp. 46-60. De Vaux, EHI, pp. 276f., however, following M. Weippert, "Erwägungen zur Etymologie des Gottesnamens 'El Shaddaj," ZDMG, 111 (1961), pp. 41-62, argues that the name really means "Lord of the Steppe". The main difficulty with this interpretation is the discrepancy in the initial sibilants. However, it has been observed that, although the process involved in the phonetic shift is not clear (Cross, pp. 52f.), in the second millennium B.C., the first letter was written as a shīn. See the Ugaritic references, supra, p. 329, n. 1. Gordon, UT, p. 488, n. 2385. Note also EA 287, 56, sa-de-e. For other recent discussions cf. K. Koch, "Saddaj," VT, 26 (1976), pp. 299-332; M. Weippert, THAT, II, pp. 873-81. An important recent development in the discussion has been the discovery of the plural form שרין in the Aramaic texts from Deir ^CAlla. See J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, Aramaic Texts from Deir ^CAlla (Leiden: 1976), p. 173, I:8. H. P. Müller suggests these were individuations of Shaddai. "Gott und die Götter in den Anfängen der biblischen Religion: Zur Vorgeschichte des Monotheismus," in Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt, ed. by O. Keel, Biblische Beiträge, 4 (Fribourg: 1980), pp. 130-31; idem, "Einige alttestamentliche Probleme zur aramäischen Inschrift von Der CAlla, ZDPV, 94 (1978), pp. 65-67.

¹Gen. 29:2; 30:14,16; 31:4,5,7; 37:15; Exod. 9:3, <u>et passim</u>; 1 Sam. 25:15.

the city, as the שדה, is especially common.¹ Indeed, it often appears to refer to the specific territory belonging to a city where the latter's residents tended their livestock and grew their crops.²

In its application to cultivated land שדה functions as an alternative to אדמה.³ It is the שדה that one sows,⁴ plows,⁵ and harvests.⁶ If it is adequately supplied with water, a שדה is valued as fertile.⁷

Lev. 14:7,53; Deut. 20:19; 21:1; 22:25,27; 28:3,16; Judg. 9:32, 43; 20:31; 1 Sam. 27:5 (David requests a place in one of the ערי השדה); 2 Sam. 10:8; 11:23; 1 Kings 14:11; 16:4; 21:24; Jer. 14:18; Ezek. 7:15; Mic. 4:10; 1 Chron. 27:25.

²Lev. 25:31 distinguishes clearly between a city and a village; ארץ יחשב הארץ יחשב. Note also the phrases, Gen. 41:48; Josh. 21:12 (with "and its villages"); 2 Chron. 31:19; שדה הערים, Neh. 12:44. Cf. also "the villages and their fields," Neh. 11:25, and "Lachish and her fields," 11:30. This sense seems also to be required in KAI 43:9, בגבל שד נרנך (Phoen.). Occasionally denotes the land beside the road. E.g., Num. 22:23; Judg. 20:31; 2 Sam. 20:12; 1 Kings 11:29; Jer. 6:25. Cf. Johnstone, loc. cit., pp. 315f.

Note the juxtaposing of the two in Jer. 7:20 (פרי האדמה/עץ השדה); Joel 1:10 (שדר שדה אבלה אדמה). Also Gen. 47:20, etc. The similarity is also reflected in the phrase, פני השדה, "the open field", cf. פני אדמה, <u>supra</u>, pp. 314f.The frequent association of כרם and כרם should also be noted. E.g., Exod. 22:4; Num. 16:14; etc. In the latter text, ארץ זבת is paired with שדה וכרם.

עבד is used in Jer. 26:18; Mic. 3:12. Cf. the more general עבד in Qoh. 5:8, and עשה in 1 Chron. 27:26.

⁵Exod. 23:16; Lev. 19:19; 25:3; Deut. 28:38; Jer. 35:9; Ps. 107:37. In Ezek. 17:5 fertile soil is called שדב זרע.

קצר שדה קצר is used in Lev. 19:9; 23:22; Deut. 24:19; Job. 24:6. Cf. קציר שדה, Joel 1:11. קציר שדה in Ruth 2:2, <u>et passim</u>. The produce is variously identified as תכואת השדה, 2 Kings 8:6; 2 Chron. 31:5; cf. Lev. 25:12 (תכואת מן השדה); Deut. 14:22, ארובאת זרע, 25:12 (תכואת מן השדה); Deut. 14:22, ארובאת זרע, Deut. 32:13; Lam. 4:9; cf. העובה השדה, Ezek. 36:30. אמעשה מן השדה, Deut. 23:16. These products are occasionally identified, and consist primarily of grains, grapes, and various fruits. E.g., Joel 1:11f.; 2 Chron. 31:5 (+ oil and honey); Jer. 41:18.

⁷Ezek. 17:5. Cf. Josh. 15:18f.; Judg. 1:14f. Achsah is not happy with the ארץ she has received; she requests a ארץ with springs of water. Often the term designates a specific piece of property,¹ the private sense being reflected by the application of pronominal suffixes.² Insofar as one had to go out from his house to the π , the expression was occasionally juxtaposed with π in ways reminiscent of π and γ y noted above.³

To sum up, three dimensions to the scope of שדה may be recognized, depending upon the point of reference.⁴ These may be illustrated thus:



Note especially the references to אמר שדה, "an acre of land", 1 Sam. 14:14; פאת שדה, "a corner of the field", Lev. 19:9; 23:22; שדה, "the end of the field", Gen. 23:9. As a specific plot it may be given (נתן), 1 Sam. 22:7; Jer. 8:10; sold (מכר), Gen. 47:20; Lev. 27:20,28; turned over to another (סכב), Jer. 6:12; mortgaged (ערב), Neh. 5:3; bought (חכר), Gen. 23:11f.; etc.; taken (חסר), 1 Sam. 8:14; seized (לקר), Mic. 2:2; coveted (האה), Deut. 5:21; (לקר), Mic. 2:2; redeemed (אג), Lev. 17:20, <u>et passim</u>; sanctified (ערכ), Lev. 27:17, <u>et passim</u>; divided (קלה), 2 Sam. 19:30; Mic. 2:4; or added to (הקריב), Isa. 5:8.

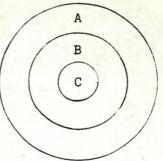
See Mandelkern, s.v. Note also the forms <u>sd</u>-PN in the Ugaritic property lists, <u>UT</u> 85; 146; 300:2-6. In 2 Sam. 9:7 and 19:30 the term refers to the personal estate of the king.

³Gen. 39:5; Exod. 8:9; 2 Kings 8:3,5; Jer. 32:15; Prov. 24:27; Neh. 5:3. Cf. also the association with tents, Gen. 25:29; Lev. 17:5 (tent of meeting). Also 1 Aght 213-14:

agrtn
bat
batbddk
b[a]hlm"Our
hired
woman
has
entered
thy
tents.""Our
fields,
ANET, p. 155Note also the sense "outdoors" recognized by BDB, p. 961, for Exod. 1:14;
Judg. 13:9.Also note 2 Sam. 11:11;
Ezek. 16:5.

⁴Note, in addition, the rare employment of עדה to signify "mainland", as opposed to י, "the sea". Ezek. 26:6,8; Ps. 96:12; 1 Chron. 16:32. In each instance the centre circle represents the place of residence, refuge and security, i.e., "home", whereas the outer circle denotes the outside world, that to which one goes for economic or other reasons,¹ but in which one is vulnerable to natural and human threats. From another perspective, the relative general positions and sizes of each may be represented by three concentric circles:

A = unoccupied territory
B = the region surrounding a city
C = a field, private property



As mentioned earlier, איש denotes a tribal or national territory only rarely. In Hos. 12:13 Jacob is said to have fled to שדה ארם, an expression serving for Paddan-Aram.² Faddan is commonly associated with Akkadian <u>padanu</u>, "road", and interpreted as a synonym for the place name Haran (from Akkadian <u>harranu</u>, "road").³ Albright and de Vaux, however, have related Paddan to the Syriac and Arabic usage, where the cognate signifies "plain".⁴ Thus *TP* serves as a semantic equivalent to Hebrew *nTw*, i.e., the "plain" where Laban resided. However, the close association of *Try* with *Try*, the actual semantic counterpart to Akkadian

²Cf. Gen. 25:20, etc.

³O'Callaghan, <u>Aram-Naharaim</u>, p. 96.

⁴Albright, <u>FSAC</u>, p. 237; de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 195. Interestingly, LXX always interprets grap as a proper name, Mesopotamia, but in Hos. 12:13 is rendered πεδιον, "plain".

Note the verbs of motion associated with אשדה. יצא, "to go out to", Gen. 27:3; 24:63; Judg. 9:27; 1 Sam. 20:11 (<u>bis</u>), 35; 2 Sam. 11: 23; 18:6; 2 Kings 7:12; Jer. 6:25; Cant. 7:12. בוא מן, "to come in from", Gen. 25:29; 30:16; 34:7; Judg. 19:16; 1 Sam. 11:5; Prov. 23:10 (גבול//שדה); etc.

padanu, may still speak in favour of the Akkadian explanation.1

The territory of Edom is referred to as דה אדום in Gen. 32:4 and Judg. 5:4. In the former the expression is paralleled by ארץ שעיר; in the latter by שעיר alone. Since Seir is actually the name of a mountain, an association of אדה with the Akkadian cognate is suggested,² unless, of course, the parallelism is contrastive rather than synonymous.³ On the other hand, such geographical distinctions should probably not be pressed; the expression may simply denote "the territory of Edom".⁴

In view of the nature of the terrain, a "highland" significance for אדה is excluded where the territory of the Philistines is referred to as שדה ⁵ But the expression is consistent with David's request in 1 Sam. 27:5 for an עיר השדה. Since ארץ פלשתים occurs in 27:1, the two expressions should be viewed as generally equivalent.

Gen. 14:7 represents the only specific reference to the territory of the Amalekites.⁶ The context suggests the שרה העמלקי is to be located

¹Cf. Num. 22:23; Judg. 20:31; 2 Sam. 20:12; 1 Kings 11:29; Jer. 6:25.

²Cf. supra, p. 330, n.

³But this has, to our knowledge, never been proposed. Indeed, the second phrase, שדה אדום, is commonly viewed as a late gloss. So J. R. Bartlett, "The Land of Seir and the Brotherhood of Edom," <u>JTS</u>, n.s. 20 (1969), pp. 9f. (this gloss is viewed to have been influenced by the parallelism in Judg. 5:4, the only other occurrence of the phrase); Skinner, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 405; Proksch, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 191, Gunkel, <u>Genesis</u>, 4th ed. (Göttingen: 1917), p. 357. However, since the expression <u>śdh</u>-GN is so rare, it is difficult to understand why a scribe should have inserted this form of explanation.

⁴So G. F. Moore, <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1898), p. 141, who comments, "It is not specifically the plateau in distinction from the mountains, but simply <u>the region of Edom</u>." Cf. LXX, $\chi\omega\rho\alpha$, "region, country".

⁵1 Sam. 6:1; 27:7,11. LXX renders the expression in each case, αγρω τῶν αλλοφύλων, "foreign field".

^bBut cf. Num. 13:29, "Amaleq lived in the land of the Negeb;"

Obadiah 19 refers to the northern Kingdom of Israel as שדה אפרים. In view of the common designation of the region around a city as its שדה, the entire country may be perceived as the "field" of Samaria, the capital. If the expression is unexpected it should also be observed that this prophet's identification of Edom as עשרה (vs. 8,9,19,21) and the territory of the Philistines simply as edwn'e also unique. On the other hand, the entire phrase may simply represent a poetic expression for "the territory of Israel". This interpretation of an up in

14:25, "The Amalekites and the Canaanites lived in the valleys." LXX misunderstood the expression in Gen. 14:7 completely, reading מרי and translating מסמידמה Aµaλnx, "leaders of Amalek".

¹Cf. Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, <u>The Macmillan Bible Atlas</u> (New York: 1968), #24.

On the basis of שדה העמלקי, M. Anbar (Bernstein), "'<u>eres ha ibrim</u> 'le pays des Hebreux'," <u>Or</u>, 41 (1972), p. 384, suggests שדה designates the territory of a non-sedentary population. This is attractive in view of the association of the term with the wild, and with grazing land. Laban appears to have been primarily a keeper of livestock, Hos. 12:13; cf. Gen. 29-31, hence its suitability here. The designation "<u>sdh</u> Edom" in Gen. 32:4 denotes the region at a time when the sons of Esau at least were still non-sedentary. Judg. 5:4 may be a deliberate archaism; Gen. 36 suggests a degree of sedentarization had already occurred. This understanding of *m*, however, is inappropriate for the other occurrences of <u>sdh</u>-GN (cf. infra), unless these too represent archaisms.

Judg. 20:6, שדה נחלת ישראל, seems assured.¹

represents the most important example of the sdh-GN form, not only because of its frequency, but also for its difficulty. In many instances it appears to serve as an alternative to ארץ מואב.² The seven occurrences in Ruth, however, are problematic. Whereas in every other instance LXX renders the term πεδιον, "plain", in Ruth the term is consistently translated aypos, "field". Explanations for this usage vary. On the one hand, the preference for שדה instead of ארץ מואב instead of may have been influenced by the frequent occurrence of שדה its usual sense. "field", in the rest of the book.³ However, the matter is complicated by the alternation between שדי and שדי within the book. On the surface 'I looks like a plural form, in which case the entire expression denotes "the fields of Moab". 4 Jouon adopts this interpretation, viewing the entire expression as a composite proper noun, the Fields of Moab (les Champs de Moab), representing a specific region of Moab, the elevated but cultivated plateau. The form, שדה מואב, was introduced to provide an easier reading in conformity with the more common usage.⁵ Campbell, however, rejects this approach, arguing, along with Myers, that שרי

¹So also Moore, <u>Judges</u>, p. 425. Cf. LXX, "border". The expression may reflect a pre-sedentary stage of occupation. Cf., <u>supra</u>, p. 335, n. 2.

²Deut. 1:5; 28:69; Judg. 11:15,18 (<u>bis</u>); Jer. 48:24,33. ³2:2,3,9,17; 4:3,5. ⁴Cf. GK 93 11.

⁵P. P. Jouon, <u>Ruth: commentaire philologique et exégétique</u> (Rome: 1953), p. 32. Jouon thereby rejects the equivalency of שדי מואב and שדה מואב.

⁶J. M. Myers, <u>The Linguistic and Literary From of the Book of Ruth</u> (Leiden: 1955), p. 9.

represents a dialectical variation,¹ or an "old poetic form."² This view seems preferable.³

There seems to be general agreement that the expression שדה מואב applies to the Moatite plateau. Campbell suggests a reference to "ideal Moab," a twenty-five mile square area extending from the Arnon northward to just beyond the top of the Dead Sea. Consequently, he consistently translates שדה מואב as "the Moab plateau."⁴ This contrasts with the yealley between the Dead Sea and Wadi Nimrin.⁵

Why the territory of Moab should have been called שדי מואב is difficult to determine. If ישרי is a legitimate plural form, the expression may mean literally "the fields of Moab", as Morris observes, "a

E. F. Campbell, Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary, AB (Garden City: 1975), p. 26.

Ibid., p. 50. This has been the more commonly accepted explanation. GK 93 11; BDB, p. 961. Fenton, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 167, however, questions the very existence of **vrv** as a true grammatical form. But it does appear elsewhere in a number of poetic texts: Deut. 32:13; Isa. 56:9; Jer. 4:17; 18:14; Hcs. 10:4; 12:12; Joel 2:22; Ps. 8:8; 50:11; 80:14; 96:12; 104:11; Lam. 4:9.

Jodon's defence of 'Jo as the original form in each instance, on the basis of "la lectio difficilior", loc. cit., n. 1, is not as convincing as it appears. If the scribes deemed it necessary to smooth out the text in 1:6b and 4:3, why were they not consistent in their concern? Indeed, the discrepancy of form within one verse (1:6) is more difficult to explain than the use of 'J' itself.

⁴Cf. Proksch, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 223, who interprets the phrase, "das Moabitische Hochebene."

The expression occurs in Num. 22:1; 26:3,63; 31:12; 33:48-50; 34:1,8; 35:1; 36:13; Josh. 13:32. This is the interpretation of van Zyl, <u>The Moabites</u>, pp. 49, 59f., 115f.; Schwarzenbach, pp. 98f.; E. D. Grohman, <u>IDB</u>, III, p. 411. Donner and Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 170, understand the region referred to to be farther south, the Arnon serving as the northern border, and Wadi Zered (el-Hesa) the southern. Simons, <u>GTTOT</u>, p. 65, rejects the view that the expression denotes a limited part of the country; rather, it is to be interpreted as "its whole territory, identical with 'the land of (γ_{1}) M.'... in the same way as seden edom is 'the land of Seir'." very natural way of describing a predominantly rural country."¹ On the other hand, if שדה represents an archaic or poetic singular, then the phrase clearly denotes "the territory of Moab". It is possible that it originally applied to the region first occupied by the Moabites. With the expansion of the Moabite population and their sedentarization, the expression was retained and applied to the broader region of settlement as well. Even if the term refers to the Moabite heartland in the book of Ruth, שדה מואר, ארץ מואר,

The final witnesses for the territorial usage of אדה derive from extra-biblical sources. The Eshmunazzar Inscription, in the comment, extra-biblical sources. The Eshmunazzar Inscription, in the comment, field/plain of Sharon," uses ארצת דגן האדרת אש בשד שרן ever it appears that ארץ and ש are not treated as equivalent, nor congruent, for the שד is said to contain the ארצת (plural) of Dagan. In other words, a שד is larger than an ארץ. The third century B.C. text from Lapethos³ seems to employ שד to denote the territory surrounding a city, similarly to what was observed above.⁴ These texts, however, are

> ¹L. Morris, <u>Judges, Ruth</u>, TOTC (Chicago: 1968), p. 247. ²KAI 14:19.

³KAI 43:9, יתת ויקדשת חית שגית בגבל שד נרנך, "I gave and consecrated many animals in the territory (or perhaps, "within the boundary") of the 'field' of Narnak (Larnax)." Note also the first century A.D. Lamia Inscription (KAI 118:2 = Tripolitana 6), בשת רב מחנת רב מחנת בשד, "In the year of the pro-consul in the 'territory' of the Libyans, Lucius Aelius Lamia." Donner and Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 123, suggest the phrase has reference to the region of the province of Africa. In KAI 15, the unclear term appearing twice should probably be read Tw rather than Tw. Sc Donner and Röllig. Note also the problematic text, KAI 153.

⁴Cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 331.

Phoenician, not Hebrew, and allowance should be made for some variation in meaning.

Summary

Among the Northwestern Semites national territory was identified by several different terms, each of which makes its special contribution to our understanding of the role of the land in the perception of national identity. The distinctive nuances of these terms may be summarized as follows:

- ארץ: The most formal term, denoting the land as the realm over which its inhabitants exercise authority; a microcosm of the earth, the realm of mankind.
- ארמה: The land as the source of life and nourishment, health and prosperity, for the individual as well as for the group.
- גבול: The land as a specific geographic area, distinguished from other territories by recognized boundaries.
- זשרה: The land as a field which has been wrested from an original wild state, and brought under human control and cultivation.

Although these distinctions tend to be blurred in common usage, with the result that any or all may be used in a rather neutral territorial sense, a recognition of their differences assists in understanding the role the land was perceived to play in the life of a nation.

The Expression of the Territorial Association

A national-territorial association has been implicit in much of the previous discussion. Now a closer examination of how this relationship is expressed will be made. The issue will be approached from three perspectives: 1) the use of genitives to express the relation; 2) the use of antithetical expressions, and 3) the use of national names.

Genitival Constructions

Genitive constructions provide the most specific confirmation of the tie between people and land. These genitives are of two types: bound constructions and pronominal suffixes attached to words representing "territory".

Bound forms

National territories may be referred to by bound constructions in several different ways.¹ Occasionally the name of the patron deity of a nation will appear in the genitive position, e.g., "the land of Yahweh",² or "the lands of Dagan".³ Elsewhere the name may be that of a reputed eponymous ancestor,⁴ state founder,⁵ or another individual,

In addition to the four terms examined above, ה might also be included. Although its literal meaning is never far from the surface, ה הר העמלקי, הר העמלקי, Judg. 12:15; ח. Deut. 1:7,19; הר אפרים Josh. 17:15; 19:50; etc.; הרי ישראל, S3:28; 34:13; 35:12.

²ארץ יהוה, Hos. 9:3; אדמת יהוה, Isa. 14:2.

³ארצת דגן, KAI 14:19 (Phoen.). Cf. the converse relationship expressed by אלהי נכר הארץ, Deut. 31:16; אלהי הארץ, 2 Kings 17:26 (<u>bis</u>). On the relationship between patron deity and nation see ch. VIII, infra.

⁴Egypt is on ארץ, Ps. 105:23,27; 106:22.

⁵Assyria is "the land of Nimrod", Mic. 5:5 (ארץ נמרד//ארץ אשור). Cf. Gen. 10:8-12. For a discussion of the relationship between an eponymous ancestor and his descendants as a nation see <u>supra</u>, ch. V. usually the ruler. Thus Egypt is not only ארץ מצרים, but Goshen, specifically, is "the land of Rameses".¹ The Amorite territories of the Transjordan are generally referred to as "the land of Og"² and the "land of Sihon".³ The most frequent means of associating a nation and its territory, however, places the national name in the genitive position. The concept is expressed principally by the phrase ארצות הגוים ⁴ Specifically, the texts refer to the lands of Israel,⁵ Judah,⁶ Edom,⁷ Moab,⁸

ארץ רמסס¹, Gen. 47:11, also known as שדב צען, Ps. 78:12,43. Ps. 78:12,43.

²Deut. 4:47; Neh. 9:22.

³Deut. 4:46; 1 Kings 4:19; Neh. 9:22 (// ארץ מלך הכשן). The notion is expressed in principal form by the phrase ארץ ממשלתו (Neh. 9:22) and ארץ המלך ארץ ממשלתו ו Kings 9:19 = 2 Chron. 8:6 (Israel as the domain of Solomon); Jer. 51:28 (BHS suggests ארץ ממשלתו be read as the domain of Solomon); Jer. 51:28 (BHS suggests ארץ ממשלתו be read as the domain of solomon); Jer. 51:28 (BHS suggests Jer. 34:1. The reverse relationship is reflected in ארץ ממשלתו (Isa. 16:1), as well as identified as ארני הארץ : מלך הארצות identified as אדני הארץ : מלך הארץ ארץ (San. 21:12, where David is identified as אדני הארץ : מלך הארץ (governor), 1 Kings 10:15; 2 Chron. 9:14; ארץ 20:7; Jer. 26:17; Prov. 31:23; אולי הארץ (nobles), 2 Kings 24:15; (mighty men), Ezek. 17:13.

⁴Ps. 105:44.

ארץ ישראל^ל 47:18; 1 Chron. 22:2; .2 Chron. 30:35; 34:7. Cf. ארץ ישראל, Josh. 11:22. On the significance of this expression see <u>infra</u>, p. 367. ארמת עמי, Isa. 32:13; ארמת ישראל, Ezek. 7:2 + 16x in Ezek. גבול Judg. 19:29; 1 Sam. 11:3,7; 7:13; 27:1; 2 Sam. 21:5; 1 Kings 1:3; 2 Kings 10:32; 1 Chron. 21:12; Mal. 1:5. Cf. also 2 Kings 14:25; Ezek. 11:10,11 though here גבול

⁶ארץ יהודה, 2 Kings 23:24 + 15x. אדמת יהודה, Isa. 19:17.

ארץ אדום, Gen. 36:17,21,31; Num. 20:23; 21:4; 33:37; 1 Kings 9:26; 1 Chron. 1:43; 2 Chron. 8:17. שדה אדום, Gen. 32:4; Judg. 5:4, 11:18.

ארץ מואב⁸, Deut. 1:5; 28:69; Judg. 11:15,18. גבול מואב, Isa. 15:8; Judg. 11:18. שדה מואב, Gen. 36:35 = 1 Chron. 1:46; Num. 21:20; 1 Chron. 8:8; Ruth 1:6b; 4:3. Cf. שדי מואב, Ruth 1:1,2,6a,22; 2:6. <u>Bny</u> Ammon,¹ Aram,² Hamath,³ Midian,⁴ Assyria,⁵ Babylon,⁶ Egypt,⁷ Cush,⁸ Havilah,⁹ and outside the Old Testament, Y'DY.¹⁰ To these should also be added those occurrences in which a gentilic is employed as the <u>nomen</u> <u>rectum</u>, thus highlighting even more the association between the people and the land, i.e., the land of the Amalekites,¹¹ the Amorites,¹² the Canaanites,¹³ the Chaldaeans,¹⁴ the Gebalites,¹⁵ the Hebrews,¹⁶ the

¹ ארץ בני עמון, Deut. 2:19,37; Josh. 13:25; Judg. 11:15; 1 Chron. 19:2; 20:1.

²שדה ארם, Hos. 12:13. But cf. above, p. 333.

³ארץ חמת, 2 Kings 23:33; 25:21; Jer. 39:5; 52:9,27. גבול חמת, Ezek. 47:16.

⁴ארץ מדין, Exod. 2:15; Hab. 3:7.

⁵ארץ אשור, Isa. 7:18; 27:13; Mic. 5:5.

⁶ארץ בבל, Jer. 50:28; 51:29.

⁷ארא מצרים, Gen. 13:10 + 200x. אדמת מצרים, Gen. 47:20,26.

8 ארץ כוש, Gen. 2:13.

⁹ארץ החוילה, Gen. 2:11.

¹⁰ארק יאדי, KAI 215:5,7. On the name and entity see B. Landsberger, <u>Sam'al</u> (Ankara: 1948), p. 22, n. 42 and p. 36, n. 76.

¹¹, Gen. 14:7.

ארץ האמרי²¹, Num. 21:31; Josh. 24:8; Judg. 11:21; Amos 2:10. גבול האמרי, Judg. 11:22.

¹³ארץ הכנעני, Gen. 50:11; Exod. 3:17; 13:5,11; Josh. 13:4; Ezek. 16:3; Neh. 9:8. גבול הכנעני, Gen. 10:19. מקום הכנעני, Exod. 3:8. On as a technical term for "estate, property", cf. Johnstone, <u>loc</u>. cit., pp. 314f.

¹⁴ארץ כשרים, Jer. 24:5; 25:12; 50:1,8,25,45; 51:4,54; Ezek. 1:3; 12:13.

¹⁵הארץ הגבל, "the land of the Gebalite", i.e., Byblos, Josh. 13:5. On the form cf. GK 127 f.

ארץ העברים, Gen. 40:15. D. B. Redford, "The 'Land of the

Hittites,¹ the Philistines,² the Rephaim,³ the Temanites,⁴ and from outside the Old Testament, the Libyans.⁵ Perhaps the most explicit identification of a people with its territory, apart from אדמת עמי (Isa. 32:13), if MT is to be followed,⁶ is the expression ארץ כני עמו "the land of the sons of his people", found in Num. 22:5.⁷

The people-territory association may also be expressed by reversing the order of the elements in the construct relation, i.e., placing ארצות/ארץ in the genitive position. However, no proper noun ever appears

Hebrews' in Gen. XL 15," VT, 15 (1965), pp. 529-31, argues that the expression refers to the land of Palestine as it was known to the Egyptians in Saïte times (664-525 B.C.). M. Anbar (Bernstein), "'ereş hā ^Cibrīm, le pays des Hebreux," Or, 41 (1972), pp. 383-86, however, argues convincingly for the antiquity of the expression. It might be added, that the alternative to be avoided have been ארץ כנען, an expression which would have associated the family of Joseph too closely with the Canaanites, an association studiously avoided. Contrast this with the identification of Laban as the Aramaean.

Josh. 1:4; Judg. 1:26.

ארץ (ה) פלשתים, Gen. 21:32; + 13x. שדה הפלשתים, 1 Sam. 6:1; 27:7,11. The absolute form, פלשת, occurs only eight times, always in poetic texts. Cf. Mandelkern, <u>s.v</u>.

³ארץ רפאים, Deut. 2:20; 3:13.

⁴, Gen. 36:34; 1 Chron. 1:45.

⁵שר לובים, KAI 118:2 (Phoen.). Cf. supra, p. 338, n. 3.

⁶Many read my, i.e., the place name ^CAmau, between Aleppo and Carchemish, for my. So <u>BHS</u>. NEB, JB, RSV, Snaith, <u>Leviticus and Numbers</u>, p. 287; Albright, <u>Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan</u>, p. 13, n. 38; <u>idem</u>, "Some Important Recent Discoveries: Alphabetic Origins and the Idrimi Statue," <u>BASOR</u>, 118 (1950), pp. 15f., n. 13. This interpretation is doubtful, however, for two reasons: 1) the <u>bny-GN</u> construction is rare in Old Testament narrative (cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 153ff; 2) the identification of this place name with <u>ma-at A-ma-e^{ki}</u>, in the Inscription of Idrimi (line 23) is questionable. See M. C. Astour, "The Partition of the Confederacy of Mukis-Nuhasše-Nii by Suppililiuma: A Study in Political Geography of the Amarna Age," <u>Or</u>, 38 (1969), pp. 385f.; E. L. Greenstein and D. Marcus, "The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi," <u>JANES</u>, 8 (1976), p. 75.

 7 On the significance of the expression cf. supra, p. 40.

as the <u>nomen regens</u>; the only terms employed are general expressions for "nation". Y occurs frequently, referring to the sons of Heth,¹ the Egyptians,² the Canaanites,³ but more commonly to the people of Israel and/or Judah.⁴ In Ezra 4:4 Y applies to the non-Jewish population of Jerusalem and its environs, in contrast to the returned exiles. However, in the form Y a one-to-one correspondence between nation and territory is excluded.⁵ The plural forms of both <u>regens</u> and <u>rectum</u> (National Y appear in Ezra 3:3; 9:1,2,11;⁶ Neh. 9:30; 10:29; 2 Chron. 13:9; 32:13. The related Λ is found only in 2 Chron. 32:13,17. In Ezek. 20:32 the D'l are defined as "the families of the lands."⁷

Note also ארצה כני קדם, "land of the easterners", Gen. 29:1, and ארמתו עמו Deut. 32:43.

¹Gen. 23:7,12,13. ²Gen. 42:6. ³Num. 14:9.

⁴Exod. 5:5 (the Israelites in the land of Goshen); Lev. 20:24 (native Israelites, in contrast to aliens). Otherwise the expression usually refers to the common people, often in contrast to political or religious leaders. For references, discussion and bibliography, see <u>supra</u>, pp. 25f.

⁵Est. 8:17; Ezra 10:2,11; Neh. 9:24; 10:31,32; 1 Chron. 5:25. So also גויי הארץ, in Ezra 6:21. In each of these, the territory is viewed as singular, but inhabited by several different ethnic groups. Cf. also מלכי הארץ, Josh. 12:1,7.

^oThe "peoples of the lands" are specifically identified as the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Amorites. Cf. their presence in post-exilic Judah with 2 Kings 17.

נהיה כגוים כמשפחות הארצות'. Both expressions have taken on distinct religiously pejorative overtones.

Suffixed forms

The ways in which suffixed forms are used parallel in many respects the occurrences of the bound constructions. In the first place, suffixes are used to indicate the ownership of a land by a nation's patron deity. In principle this notion is best reflected in 2 Kings 18:33 and 35 and parallels.¹ The frequency with which the territory of Israel is referred to as Yahweh's land in this way indicates that at least here the concept was well known.² Whereas the name of a private person never appears as the genitive in construct formations, the use of suffixes to indicate the same relationship is quite common. Thus Hebrew writers may speak of the land belonging to Abraham,³ Jacob,⁴ Jethro,⁵ Jonah,⁶ Balak's leading officials,⁷ and the false prophets.⁸ This personal affinity with a territory as well as with one's own people is also assumed in Isa. 13:14, Jer. 50:16 and 51:9. In each text the liberation of the nations from the bondage of Babylon permits each

¹2 Kings 18:33, ההצל הצילו אלהי הגוים איש את ארצו מיד מלך אשור (Cf. Isa. 36:18). V. 35, מי בכל אלהי ארצות אשר הצילו את ארצם מידי. (Cf. Isa. 36:20); 2 Chron. 32:13.

ארצי Note ארצי, Isa. 14:25; Joel 1:6; 4:2. ארצי, Ps. 85:2; Jer. 2:7; 16:18; Ezek. 36:5; 38:16; Joel 1:6; 4:2. ארצך, Ps. 85:2; 2 Sam. 7:23. ארצו, Deut. 33:13; Ezek. 36:20; Joel 2:18; Ps. 10:16. Note also ארצן, with reference to אדמתי, Isa. 8:8. ארמון, 2 Chron. 7:20. אדמתי, Deut. 32:43; Zech. 9:16.

ארצר³, Gen. 12:1 (//, מולדתך); ארצר, Gen. 24:4 (בית אביך, מולדתי/).

⁴ארצי, Gen. 30:25 (//מולדתר), Gen. 32:10 (//ארצי, 62:15). ⁵גולדתי//, Exod. 18:27. ארצי, Num. 10:30 (//גולדתי/). ⁶ארצר, Jonah 1:8 (//אדמתי, Jonah 4:2. ⁷ארצכם, Num. 22:13.

captive to return to his own people ($\chi \alpha r$) and his own homeland ($\chi r \alpha r$).¹ A similar significance may be attached to 1 Kings 22:36, although in this instance it is the men from the army of Israel retreating from the Aramaean forces, "each to his own city ($\chi r r$)) and his land ($\chi r r$)," rather than individuals in general.

The designation of lands as the possessions of the kings who rule them is especially common. Note particularly the respective lands of Abimelech,² Sihon³ and Og,⁴ the kings of Ai,⁵ Tyre,⁶ Ammon,⁷ Assyria,⁸ Babylon,⁹ the Canaanites,¹⁰ Moab,¹¹ the Phanogh of Egypt,¹² the king of the North,¹³ and even the Queen of Sheba.¹⁴ In 2 Sam. 24:13, the

¹For a discussion of these verses see <u>supra</u>, p. 60, n. 1. Cf. Jer. 12:15, where ארצו is paralleled with מחלתו and applies to personal holdings rather than national territory.

²ארצי, Gen. 20:15.

³ארצך, Num. 21:22; Deut. 2:27. ארצו, Num. 21:24; Deut. 2:24, 31 (bis); 4:47.

ארצו⁴, Num. 21:34,35; Deut. 3:2. Both Og and Sihon, ארצס, Deut. 29:7; 31:4; Ps. 136:21.

⁵ארצו, Josh. 8:1.

⁶ארצך, Isa. 14:20.

⁷ארצי, Judg. 11:12,13.

⁸ארצו, 2 Kings 19:7 (<u>bis</u>); 2 Chron. 32:21. ארצו, Isa. 37:18.

⁹ארצו, Jer. 27:7; 50:18.

¹⁰ארצם, Josh. 10:42; 12:1; Ps. 135:12.

¹¹ארצו, Num. 21:26.

ארצן, Ezek. 32:8. ארצו, Exod. 6:1,11; 7:2; 11:10; Deut. 11:3; 29:1; 34:11; 2 Kings 24:7; Jer. 37:7; Neh. 9:10. The process whereby the land of Egypt fell into the hands of the Phargah is described in considerable detail in Gen. 47:13ff.

¹³ארצו, Dan. 11:19,28 (<u>bis</u>). אדמתו, Dan. 11:9.

ארצי¹⁴, 1 Kings 10:6 = 2 Chron. 9:5. ארצי, 1 Kings 10:13 = 2 Chron. 9:12.

prophet Gad twice identifies the territory of Israel as David's land (ארצך).¹ In the extra-biblical Aramaic inscription from Sefire the territory of Arpad is similarly designated as the land of King Matti'el (ארקר).² The king responsible for the treaty identifies his own domain as "my land" (ארקר).³

Pronominal suffixes are also used to identify the territory of a state by associating it with its capital city. This applies especially to city states like Babylon,⁴ Tyre,⁵ Nineveh,⁶ Arpad,⁷ Hamath,⁸ and Calneh.⁹ The only exception to this pattern is Jerusalem/Zion.¹⁰

This conception also lies behind Abner's question, "Whose is the land?" (למי ארץ), when he offers to deliver כל ישראל) over to David. 2 Sam. 3:12.

²KAI 223A:8; 224:6.

³KAI 222B:27. Note also the designation of Edom as the land of Hadad, a member of the royal house and an aspirant to the throne. 1 Kings 11:21,22.

⁴ארצה, Jer. 50:3; 51:2,47,52.

ארצך⁵, Isa. 23:10. The land of Tyre, the daughter of Tarshish will overflow like the Nile. גנוליך, Ezek. 27:4.

⁶ארצך, Nahum 3:13. The gates of Nineveh's land will open to her enemies.

ארקה, KAI 222A:28 (Aramaic). 8 גבולם, Amos 6:2.

גבולם, Amos 6:2. Calneh (Calno in Isa. 10:9) was the capital of the Assyrian province of Kullani in northern Syria. Cf. M. C. Astour, "Calneh (Calno)," IDB, Supp. Vol., pp. 124-25.

10ארצר, Isa. 60:18(//גבולו); 62:4(3x). It should be noted, however, that in neither context is the prophet contemplating the historical city of his day. Rather, his vision is of the future, when the restoration and glorification of the city, along with the land, will declare to the entire world the greatness of the salvation of Yahweh. Her glory and her peace will reflect, not the greatness of any mere mortal monarch, but that of her God.

Finally, those instances in which a territory is represented as belonging to a nation as a whole must be noted. This phenomenon is reflected in principle in the Table of Nations (Genesis 10), especially the colophonic conclusions to the three segments of the genealogy. It seems from 10:5¹ that the coastal regions were divided into their respective territories in such a way that each was distinctive with respect to its language (110), genealogical stock (AUCA), and its associated nation ('1).² This implies that a correspondence between national and territorial entities was recognized for these distant lands. In vs. 20 and 31 DATAM occurs parallel to λ ('1), both elements being understood as two of the organizing features distinguishing the bny Ham and the bny

¹The colophon poses many interpretive difficulties, all of which need not concern us here. The text is commonly emended by inserting אלה בני יפת after הגוים. So <u>BHS</u>, C. Westermann, <u>Genesis</u>, BKAT (Neu-kirchen-Vluyn: 1974), p. 665 (but cf. E. A. Speiser, <u>Genesis</u>, Anchor Bible [Garden City: 1964], p. 65, who places the insertion at the beginning of the verse). This procedure has several advantages: 1) It brings this colophon into stylistic conformity with vs. 20 and 31. 2) It ensures a comprehensive scope for the colophon, an apparent requirement of the context. Cf. vs. 20, 31. 3) It results in further consistency among the three major segments of the genealogy inasmuch as each colophon is now immediately preceded by a geographic note concerning the lastnamed members of the lineage. However, this solution is quite unnecessary. 1) Grammatically MT is quite intelligible as it stands. 2) The alteration assumes a degree of stylistic consistency for the colophon which contradicts the great freedom of expression reflected in other ancient Near Eastern writings. Cf. H. Hunger, Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone, AOAT, 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1968), for a detailed discussion. 3) The demand for consistency reflected in the procedure can be maintained for the Table as a whole only by drastic operations and excisions elsewhere. 4) It is without manuscript support.

²On the prepositions employed in these colophons, cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 83, n. 1.

Shem. Again correspondence between nations and territories is apparent. This principle is specifically applied to Israel on many occasions.¹ Similarly, the respective lands are depicted as belonging to Judah,² Edom,³ Moab,⁴ Ammon,⁵ Egypt,⁶ Cush,⁷ the Philistines,⁸ the Canaanites,⁹ and the Amorite.¹⁰ Ezekiel 36:13-15 represents an extra-ordinary case inasmuch as here the roles are reversed. Instead of the land appearing

ארצר¹, Exod. 23:10,26,33; 34:24; Lev. 25:7; Deut. 15:7,11; 19: 2,3,10; 24:14; 26:2; 28:12,24,52; 1 Kings 8:36 = 2 Chron. 6:27. ארצר Isa. 2:7 (bis), 8; Jer. 2:15; Hos. 10:1. ארצה, Deut. 29:22; Ezek. 12:19. ארצכם, Mic. 5:4,5; Ps. 85:10,13; Cant. 2:12 (?). ארצכם, Lev. 19:9,33; 22:24; 23:22; 25:9,45; 26:1,5,6,19,10,33; Num. 10:9; Deut. 11: 14; 2 Kings 18:32 = Isa. 36:17; Isa. 1:7; Jer. 5:19; 44:22. שראם, Num. 18:13,20; 1 Kings 8:48; Isa. 61:7; Jer. 18:16; 51:5; 2 Chron. 6: 38; 7:14. ארצם, Deut. 12:19; 21:23. ארמתכם, Kings 17:23; Amos 7:11, 17. ארמתה, Amos 5:2 (the virgin Israel). ארמתכם, Isa. 1:7; Jer. 42:12; Ezek. 36:24; 37:14. ארמתם, Deut. 29:27; Isa. 14:1; Jer. 12:14; 16:15; 23:8; Ezek. 28:25; 34:13,27; 37:21; 39:26,28; Amos 9:15 (bis). גבוליך גגבוליך, Deut. 11:24; Josh. 1:4; Amos 6:2. גבולים, Zeph. 2:8; Jer. 31: 17.

ארצך², Mic. 5:10. ארצם, Joel 4:19 (<u>bny</u> Judah). אדמתו, 2 Kings 25:21; Jer. 52:27; 27:11.

ארצר³, Num. 20:17; Judg. 11:17,19. ארצר, Isa. 34:9. ארצם, Isa. 34:7; ארצם, Deut. 2:5 (<u>bny</u> Esau). גבולר, Num. 20:16,17; 21:22. Num. 20:21.

⁴ארצו, Deut. 2:9.

⁵גבולם, Amos 1:13.

⁶ארצו, Deut. 23:8. ארצם, Ps. 105:30,32,35,36. ארמתס, Ps. 105: ארצולה, Jsa. 19:19; גבולה, Ps. 105:31,33.

⁷ארצו, Isa. 18:2,7.

⁸ארצנו, Judg. 16:24. ארצנו, 1 Sam. 6:5.

⁹ארצו, Gen. 24:37. אדמתם, Lev. 20:24. Cf. the Gibeonites Josh. 9:11, ארצנו.

¹⁰ארצם, Josh. 24:8,15; Judg. 6:10.

as the possession of the nation, in a highly figurative way, it is presented as a cruel owner of its people, devouring the latter's off-spring.

Antithetical Expressions

The close identification of the nations and the lands they occupied suggested by the genitival constructions is confirmed by the forms used to designate a territory other than one's own. The most general of these is the simple reference to "another land", ארץ ארא, occurring in Deut. 29:27 and Jer. 22:26.¹ In the two accounts of the naming of Moses' son Gershom, Midian is referred to as ארץ נכריה ארץ נכריה "a foreign land".² The identification of Babylon as ארץ נכריה, in Ps. 137:4 is quite similar.³ The same idea may also be expressed by using the negative phrase, ארץ לא ארץ לא, "a land you do not know". The reference is not to a well kept secret, whose revelation occurs only at the time of the exile; the unknown land should rather be construed as a land with which Israel has had no personal experience.⁴ The force of the threat of expulsion to a strange land lies in the fear associated with that which is unknown.⁵ Elsewhere foreign

Both contexts are concerned with Yahweh's expulsion of Israel from her own land as an act of punishment.

של אדמת נכר⁵ may also be translated, "upon foreign soil", but the significance of the phrase is not affected greatly.

⁴Variations of the expression appear in Jer. 14:18; 15:14; 16:13; 17:4; 22:28; Ezek. 32:9 (plural).

⁵The opposite notion is reflected in Num. 14:31, where Yahweh promises that the children of those who refused to enter the land will "know the land," i.e., enjoy a personal, intimate knowledge of it. So also Snaith, Leviticus and Numbers, p. 247.

²Exod. 2:22; 18:3.

lands were identified simply as ארץ לא לכם, "a land not belonging to you",¹ or by the extremely vague expression, "a distant land".²

The special, almost life-giving significance attached to the land of one's birth is reflected by the frequent association of ארץ and ארץ.³ By contrast, in Jer. 22:26 Yahweh declares that he will hurl Jehoiachin and his mother out to a land in which they were not born; there they will die.

The problem of alienation from one's land resulted in the development of a special vocabulary to identify landless people. The Hebrews commonly designated individuals who found themselves on alien soil as λ ; hence the identification of the land in which he was residing as λ ; hence the identification of the land in which he was residing as thready been discussed.⁵ Alien lands are generally depicted as threatening; they are

¹Jer. 5:19, כן תעבדו זרים בארץ לא לכם. Cf. 15:13.

²Note the expressions, ארץ רחוקה, Deut. 29:21; Josh. 9:6,9; 1 Kings 8:41; 2 Kings 20:14; Isa. 39:3; 2 Chron. 6:32,36; cf. ארץ גרא האויב רחוקה או קרובה, Kings 8:46. ארץ (ה)מרחק, Isa. 13:5; 46:11; Jer. 4:16; 6:20; Prov. 25:25. ארץ מרחקים

³The construct expression ארץ מולדת appears in Gen. 11:28; 24:7; 31:13; Jer. 22:10; 46:16; Ezek. 23:15; Ruth 2:11. The terms are paralleled in Gen. 12:1; 24:4; 31:3; 32:10; Num. 10:30.

⁴ארץ מגורי אביו, Gen. 37:1. ארץ מגורי אביו, Gen. 17:8; 28:4. ארץ מגוריהם, Gen. 36:7; Exod. 6:4; Ezek. 20:38. The verb ארץ מגוריהם associated with ארץ in Gen. 21:23; 47:4; Exod. 2:22; 6:4; 18:3; Lev. 19:33; Jer. 43:5; 44:12,14,28; Ps. 105:23. Cf. the conjunction of the nouns ארץ in Exod. 12:19; Num. 9:14; Deut. 23:8; Jer. 14:8; Ps. 119:19.

⁵Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 66ff. That a sensitivity to the presence of aliens was characteristic of all of the nations of the ancient Near East is indicated by the frequency with which regulations concerning the treatment, positive and negative, of fugitives and visitors from other countries appear in the international treaties. See the agreement between Rameses II and Hattusilis (<u>ANET</u>, p. 200, Egyptian version; <u>ibid</u>, lands to which one is cast,¹ where one is enslaved and oppressed.² From a religious perspective, they are perceived as unclean.³ Otherwise they represent the "land of the enemy",⁴ "the land of captivity",⁵ or the "land of affliction".⁶ This contrasts sharply with the אדמה, where one enjoys a long life,⁷ and dwells in prosperity,⁸ peace and security.⁹

Geographic Names

National names were derived from a variety of sources in the ancient Near East, including the eponymous ancestors, as indicated earlier, ¹⁰ a country's capital city, ¹¹ and the geographic area inhabited

p. 203, Hittite version); Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru (<u>ANET</u>, p. 204); Suppiluliumas and Aziras of Amurru (<u>ANET</u>, pp. 529-30); Niqmepa of Alalakh and Ir-^dIM of Tunip (<u>ANET</u>, pp. 531-32); Idrimi of Alalakh and Pilliya (<u>ANET</u>, p. 532); Barga'yah of KTK and Matti^C'el of Arpad (<u>ANET</u>, pp. 660-61). It should be noted, however, that in some of these texts, e.g., the last-named, the emphasis is not on the fugitives as inhabitants of the land, but as subjects of a king, who find themselves within the realm of another monarch.

> ¹Deut. 29:27; Jer. 16:13; 22:26,28. ²Gen. 15:13; Jer. 5:17; 17:4. ³Amos 7:17, אדמת טמאה .

⁴ארצות, 1 Kings 8:46. ארציר, Lev. 26:34,38. ארצות, Lev. 26:39. ארצת איביכם, Lev. 26:39. ארצת איביהם, Lev. 26:36. ארץ איביהם, Lev. 26:41,44; 1 Kings 8:48. מארץ אויב, Jer. 31:16. מארצות איביהם, Ezek. 39:27.

בארץ אשר נשכו שם⁵, 1 Kings 8:47. ארץ שביהם, 1 Kings 8:47. ארץ שביה, 1 Kings 8:47; 2 Chron. 6:37,38. ארץ שבים, Neh. 3:36.

⁶ארץ עניר, Gen. 41:52.

7_{Exod.} 20:12; Deut. 4:10,40; 5:16; 11:9,21; 25:15; 30:18; 32:47. 8_{Deut.} 7:13; 28:4,11; 30:9.

⁹Note esp. the phrase שכן/ישב לבטח, Lev. 25:18; etc. Cf. BDB, p. 105.

¹⁰E.g., Israel, Moab, Ammon. Cf. <u>supra</u>, pp. 244ff.

¹¹E.g., the major city states, Ashur, Babylon, Damascus, Hamath,

by its citizens.¹ The following discussion will be concerned with the last category. If it can be demonstrated that originally geographic names have been transferred to the inhabitants of the region, we should have additional data concerning the nature of the nation-territory association. Two sets of names will be examined: Canaan/Israel and Edom/ Seir/Esau. In each instance each of the names will be studied separately, and their relationship determined.

Canaan/Israel

Canaan

Etymology. A satisfactory etymology for the name Canaan is still lacking in spite of the many suggestions that have been offered.² Traditionally, the name has been associated with the root y10, "to be low", hence "lowland", in contrast to the hill country inhabited by the Amorites.³ Speiser associated the name with <u>kinabbu</u>, a Hurrian term for reddish purple dye.⁴ Albright proposed a derivation from a lost Semitic

Tyre, Sidon. Cf. the derivation of tribal names from toponyms in Babylonia, Brinkman, <u>PKB</u>, pp. 270f., and among the Turkmen of western Asia, M. B. Rowton, "Autonomy and Nomadism in Western Asia," <u>Or</u>, 42 (1973), pp. 256f.

¹G. R. Driver would include Moab in this category. See further below, p. 362, n. 2. The practice is attested among the bedouin tribes of Arabia today. Cf. Bräunlich, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 92f.

For a helpful survey, cf. de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 126. Also A. Millard, "The Canaanites," POTT, p. 34.

³Cf. F. Delitzsch, <u>A New Commentary on Genesis</u>, trans. by S. Taylor (Edinburgh: 1888), vol. I, p. 317; Skinner, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 201.

⁴"The Name Phoinikes," <u>Language</u>, 12 (1936), pp. 124f, reprinted in <u>Oriental and Biblical Studies: Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser</u>, ed. by J. J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg (Philadelphia: 1967), pp. 328ff.; <u>idem</u>, "One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts," Part II, "Translation and Commentary," <u>AASOR</u>, 16 (1936), pp. 121-22. root, *<u>kn</u>^c, "murex", from which in turn was derived <u>yyb</u>, "purple merchant", from which the land was named.¹ Landsberger has demonstrated, however, that any association with the term for the colour is excluded.² Astour relates the name to <u>Kina^cu</u> or <u>Kina^canu</u>, and explains its significance as "Occident", the "Land of Sunset", a West Semitic counterpart to Amurru.³ However, as de Vaux points out, the name could not then have originally been a self-designation, but a name given to the region by outsiders, even as the Amorites were identified as MAR.TU, "people of the West", by the Mesopotamians.⁴ A fourth possibility is to derive the word from <u>yub</u>, which is used occasionally for "merchant".⁵ This certainly suits the Phoenician economic scene. However, it may be argued with equal force that the sense "merchant" is secondary.⁶ None of these explanations is satisfactory and the final solution awaits further discoveries. According to Sanchuniathon, Canaan is derived from the eponymous ancestor of the Phoenicians, Xva.⁷ Although this tradition

¹"The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," in <u>The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of W. F.</u> <u>Albright</u>, ed. by G. E. Wright (London: 1961), p. 356, n. 50. Albright expresses some dependence upon B. Maisler, "Canaan and the Canaanites," <u>BASOR</u>, 102 (1946), pp. 9ff. The association with the colour is accepted also by J. C. L. Gibson, "Observations on Some Important Ethnic Terms in the Pentateuch," <u>JNES</u>, 20 (1961), p. 220.

²B. Landsberger, "Über Farben im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," <u>JCS</u>, 21 (1967), pp. 166-67.

³M. C. Astour, "The Origin of the Terms 'Canaan,' 'Phoenician,' and 'Purple,'" JNES, 24 (1965), pp. 348f.

⁴EHI, p. 126. Cf. also J. D. Muhly's rejection of Astour, "Homer and the Phoenicians," <u>Berytus</u>, 19 (1970), p. 29, n. 67.

⁵Cf. Ezek. 16:29; 17:4; Zeph. 1:11.

⁶So Astour, p. 347; Muhly, p. 29.

⁷Eusebius, <u>Praep</u>. <u>Evan</u>., 1. 10. 39.

provides no hint concerning the meaning of the name, Noah's curse of Canaan ¹ may bear a hint of humuliation, recalling an original yoo, "to bow down", Niphal, "to be subdued". If so, the author may have introduced a play on the name, i.e., "lowland".²

Usage. Regardless of the etymology of Canaan, it is the usage of the name that concerns us most. Fortunately, in examining this aspect appeal may be made to a variety of widely separated sources. Unfortunately however, many of these provide little specific date other than attesting to the currency of the name at the time of the inscription.

The earliest extra-biblical reference to Canaan discovered to date occurs in an eighteenth century B.C. Akkadian text from Mari.³ Although little more may be made of this text, it is significant that the Canaanites $(\frac{awil}{Ki-na-ab-nu}[m]^{mes})$ appear as a group of mercenaries alongside other brigands $(\frac{awil}{ba-ab-ba-tum})$, hired to assist in defending against the advancing Assyrians.

The first clear reference to the <u>land</u> cf Canaan is found on the inscription on the statue of Idrimi, king of Alalakh in the middle of the second millennium B.C.⁴ Idrimi recounts his stay in Ammia in the land of

¹Gen. 9:25. ²So also Millard, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 34.

³Text A 355s:9-10, published and translated by S. G. Dossin, "Une mention de Cananéens dans une lettre de Mari," <u>Syria</u>, 50 (1973), pp. 277-82. Insofar as the text refers only to the people of Canaan, rather than to the land itself, Muhly's assertion (<u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 28) that the statue of Idrimi provides the earliest attestation to the land of Canaan, strictly speaking, still stands. However, it is slightly misleading.

⁴ANET, p. 557. For a recent study of this text see Greenstein and Marcus, loc. cit., pp. 59-96. Canaan, <u>i-na ma-at Ki-in-a-nim</u>^{ki,1} during his days as a fugitive. It is apparent that Canaan represents an accepted designation for a specific region, separate from Aleppo and Alalakh, and encompassing Ammia.²

In an early Hittite religious text, a supplicant appeals to the Cedar-gods to return from wherever they may have gone. In the prayer more than thirty lands are named, among them <u>Kinabhi</u>.³ Interestingly, "the country of Canaan" follows "the country of Alalakh", but precedes immediately "the countries" Amurru, Sidon and Tyre. This seems to reflect some grouping on the basis of geography. What is puzzling is that Canaan is identified separate from Tyre and Sidon, which are usually considered to be within its bounds.⁴

The earliest Egyptian reference to Canaan derives from the same general era. In a booty list following an Asiatic campaign, Amenophis notes 640 Canaanites ($\underline{Kyn}^{c}\underline{nw}$), along with 550 <u>maryannu</u>, their wives and children, as well as the wives of other princes.⁵ According to a Karnak

¹Lines 18-20.

²Ammia is identified with Amyun to the south of Tripoli. R. de Vaux, "Le pays de Canaan," <u>JAOS</u>, 88 (1968), p. 26, n. 29. The town also harboured other fugitives from Aleppo, Mukishkhi, Nih and Ama'u. The Alalakh tablets from the same general area and period confirm this usage by naming Canaan as the home of several persons. See D. J. Wiseman, <u>The Alalakh Tablets</u> (London: 1953), #48:5, Ba^Calaia of <u>Alaiki-in-a-</u> nim^{KI} borrows money from Ilimili; 154:24, a census list names a man from <u>MatKi-na-a-ni^{KI}</u>; 181:9, a census list of armed men from a wide range of countries includes an officer from Canaan, <u>matKi-en-a-ni^{KI}</u>.

³ANET, p. 352 (= KUB, xv, 34).

⁴See further, <u>infra</u>, p. 360, n. 4.

⁵E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis," <u>ZDPV</u>, 69 (1953), p. 132. For the interpretation of the list see pp. 167-73. inscription by Sety I (19th dynasty) the land of the Shasu is supposed to have been isolated from the fortress of Sile to "the Canaan" $(\underline{p-kn^{c}n})^{1}$ In a letter written in Akkadian, Rameses II speaks of the king arriving in Canaan ($\frac{KUR}{Ki-na-ah-hi}$).² On the famous "Israel Stela" of Merenptah, $\underline{p-kn^{c}n}$, "the Canaan", forms an enclosure with "Huru", another name for the region encompassing Syria and Palestine.³ Between these are listed the "Canaanite" lands, Askelon, Gezer, Yanoam, and Israel.⁴ Three Ramesside Papyri also deserve notice. In Papyrus Harris 9:1 Canaan is used synonymously with Djahy, an earlier designation for the same area.⁵ Papyrus Anastasi III refers to slaves of Huru (<u>Hwrw</u>).⁶ Anastasi I, 27 speaks of the foreign countries of "the end of the land of Canaan."⁷ In addition to these occurrences, we note a tenth century B.C. statuette of an Egyptian official in Syria, identified as "the commissioner of Canaan and Palestine, Pedeēset, the son of ^cApy."⁸

¹<u>ANET</u>, p. 254. For the Egyptian text see K. A. Kitchen, <u>Rames-side Inscriptions</u> (Oxford: 1975), I, 8, 3C. M. Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends," <u>Biblica</u>, 55 (1974), p. 270, interprets Canaan here as the frontier town of the province with the same name, probably Gaza.

²E. Edel, "KBo I 15 + 19, ein Brief Ramses' mit einer Schilderung der Kadesschlacht," ZA, 49 (1950), p. 208, line 29.

³On the use and significance of <u>Hwrw</u>, see R. de Vaux, "Les Hurrites de l'histoire et les Horites de la Bible," <u>RB</u>, 74 (1969), pp. 481-503.

⁴<u>ANET</u>, p. 378. For the Egyptian text see Kitchen, <u>Ramesside</u> Inscriptions (Oxford: 1968), IV, 12-19.

⁵ANET, p. 261.

⁶Anastasi Papyrus III A.5-6 = Anastasi IV 16,4. R. A. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (London: 1954), pp. 117,200.

7_{ANET}, p. 478.

⁵G. Steindorff, "The Statuette of an Egyptian Commissioner in Syria," JEA, 25 (1939), pp. 31-32. In a category all their own are the Amarna Letters, written in Akkadian and dating from about the fourteenth century B.C. The name appears thirteen times, an indication of the importance of the region in Egyptian foreign relations at the time.¹ It is clear from these texts that Canaan was treated as a single geographic entity, as well as one political unit. The expression <u>pibati ša Kinahi</u> in EA 36:15 identifies the region as an administrative province within the Egyptian empire. The references to the <u>šarrāni</u> <u>mātu</u><u>Kinahhi</u> indicate, however, that internally Canaan was divided into a series of states, each with its own king.² But this did not prevent outsiders from identifying the inhabitants with the gentilic based on the name for the broader region, i.e., <u>Ki-na-ha-a</u> <u>a-í</u>.³ This would suggest that Canaan was not primarily a political or national designation, but geographical.⁴ That Canaanite kings used the name suggests that it was not only a name used by outsiders, but also a self-designation by Canaanites themselves.⁵

¹EA 8:15-17,25; 9:19; 14 II:26; 30:1; 36:15; 109:46; 131:61; 137:76; 148:46; 151:49-68; 162:41 (for transliteration and translation see J. A. Knudtzon, <u>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</u>, VAB 2, 2 vols. [Leipzig: 1915]); AO 7095:8 (published by F. Thureau-Dangin, "Nouvelles lettre d'El Amarna," <u>RA</u>, 19 [1922], p. 100. For an English translation see <u>ANET</u>, p. 484).

²EA 30:1; 109:46.

³EA 9:19. Cf. the Amenophis Stele, <u>Kyn^Cnw</u> (<u>supra</u>, p. 356); Papyrus Anastasi IIIA, 8:5-6.

⁴The name appears in these texts only with the land determinative, never people. That Canaan was the name of a broader geographic unit but was recognized as consisting of smaller geographic entities is suggested by the expression matati ki(!)-na-ah(!)-ni, "lands of Canaan".

⁵Unless, of course, they are accommodating their language to Egyptian usage. Cf. EA 148:46; 151:49-68 (by King of Tyre).

The name Canaan has surfaced twice in the Ugaritic writings. A list of foreign merchants at Ugarit which contains the names of individuals from Egypt and Ashdod, among others, also refers to a certain $\frac{y^{c}l}{kn^{c}ny}$, "Ya^cal the Canaanite".¹ An Akkadian text records the payment of 3,500 shekels of silver by the people of Ugarit to <u>maru mat Ki-na-hi</u>, "gens du Canaan".² These texts, however, tell us little more than that Canaan was considered a foreign land by the Ugaritians.³

The final extra-biblical occurrences of Canaan are found in much later Phoenician and Punic sources. A second century B.C. coin from Berytus contains the inscription, ללארכא אש בכנען ⁴ A Punic inscription identifies a certain אשמן as ללארכא אש כנען as "^CBD'SMN the son of M'DR the Canaanite".⁵ Donner & Röllig note that the reference has to do either with an asiatic Phoenician or a native person who prefers nonetheless to identify himself this way.⁶

The precise limits of the region that was known by the name Canaan have been the subject of much discussion. Recent opinion has tended to agree in setting the southern border of the Egyptian province

¹<u>UT</u> 311:7.

²Ugaritica V, #36. Cf. J. Nougayrol, "Guerre et paix à Ugarit," Iraq, 25 (1963), p. 123.

³Cf. esp. A. F. Rainey, "A Canaanite at Ugarit," <u>IEJ</u>, 13 (1963), pp. 43-45; <u>idem</u>, "Ugarit and the Canaanites Again," <u>IEJ</u>, 14 (1964), p. 101.

⁴G. F. Hill, <u>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia</u> (London: 1910), pp. 1-11.

⁵KAI 116:3. ⁶<u>KAI</u>, II, p. 120. in the region of Gaza, which as the first major Canaanite town on the road from Egypt, and the administrative capital of the province was known as "the Canaan" $(\underline{p}-\underline{kn}^{c}\underline{n})$.¹ The eastern and western frontiers consisted of the Jordan valley and the Mediterranean Sea respectively. The determination of the northern borders of the territory is more difficult. From the Amarna correspondence the Egyptian province of Canaan appears to have been bounded on the north by two other provinces, Amurru with its capital at Sumur (Simyra),² and Upe, administered from Kumidu.³ This agrees with Idrimi's autobiography, which clearly treats Ammia as inside the region, whereas Aleppo and Alalakh are outside. The Ras

In the Old Testament the name Canaan is used in several different ways. The early chapters of Genesis treat it as that of an individual,

ANET, p. 254 (Sety text, cf. above, p. 357, n. 1). So Millard, The Canaanites," p. 32; de Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 128; Aharoni, <u>Land of the Bible</u>, p. 62. On the administration of the Egyptian province, cf. W. Helck, "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in den syrischen Besitzungen," <u>MDOG</u>, 92 (1960), pp. 6f. Cf. Weippert, <u>loc. cit</u>.

²Helck, p. 6.

³Helck, pp. 7ff. Damascus and the Beq^Ca are included in this province. Millard, p. 33.

⁴What should be made of the Hittite text, <u>ANET</u>, p. 352, (cf. <u>supra</u>, p. 356) in which the country of Canaan is treated separately from the countries of Tyre and Sidon, which by our definition are included in the land of Canaan, is not clear. The list clearly includes specific city states as well as the names of larger territories. Canaan may have represented the region in general, especially the interior and the area south of Phoenicia, whereas Tyre and Sidon formed distinct political entities in their own right. Concerning EA 151:49-68, Rainey stresses that the reporter, the king, is writing from inside Canaan, i.e., Tyre, but his letter concerns regions not to be included within the designation. "Ugarit and Canaanites Again," p. 101. the eponymous ancestor of the Canaanites.¹ More often, however, the simple form refers to the territory,² the geographic nature of which is emphasized by the common phrase '. π CLUC, ³ Rarely is Canaan used in a political sense. Except for Judg. 4:2,23,24, where Jabin is identified as political sense. Except for Canaan'' and "the kingdom of Canaan'' never appear.⁴ The inhabitants of the land are referred to by the gentilic, (b) the gentilic, ⁵ This form, however, appears to bear two senses, depending upon the scope demanded by the context. Frequently the name serves as a collective adjective for all the inhabitants of the region, without distinguishing separate tribal or city state entities.⁶ Elsewhere, especially where the tribes of Canaan are listed, the designation seems to denote a smaller group alongside the Hivites, Jebusites, etc.⁷ This

¹Gen. 9:18,22,25,26,27; 10:6,15; 1 Chron. 1:8,13.

²84x. These are distributed as follows: Genesis (39x), Exodus (3x), Leviticus (3x), Numbers (12x), Deuteronomy (1x), Joshua (8x), Judges (7x), Isaiah (2x), Ezekiel (2x), Hosea (1x), Zephaniah (2x), Psalms (3x), 1 Chronicles (3x).

³65x. Note also the appositional construction הארץ כנען, Num. 34:2.

⁴But cf. "the kingdoms of Canaan" (ממלכות כנען), Ps. 135:11; "kings of the Canaanites" (מלכי הכנעני), Josh. 5:1. Also "the Canaanite, the king of Arad", Num. 21:1; 33:40.

 5_{70x} . Genesis (11x), Exodus (9x), Numbers (7x), Deuteronomy (4x), Joshua (15x), Judges (16x), 2 Samuel (1x), 1 Kings (1x), Ezekiel (1x), Obadiah (1x), Ezra (1x), Nehemiah (2x), 1 Chronicles (1x).

⁶E.g., Gen. 12:6; 24:3; Exod. 13:11; Num. 21:1; Josh. 16:10; Judg. 1:1ff.

⁷Gen. 13:7; 15:21; 34:30; Exod. 3:8,17; 13:5,11; 23:23,28; 34:11; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; 9:1; 12:8; 24:11; Judg. 1:4; 3:3; 2 Sam. 24:7; Ezra 9:1; Neh. 9:8. tribe appears to have inhabited the lowland region in the southwestern corner of the land. It is possible that since these would have been the first inhabitants of the land encountered by the Egyptians, their name came to represent all.¹

The precise boundaries of the biblical land of Canaan appear to correspond generally with those of the Egyptian province of the second millennium.² The most detailed description, Num. 34:1-12, describes the southern border as running eastward from the River of Egypt, through the wilderness of Zin, up toward the southern tip of the Dead Sea. To the west Canaan was bounded by the Mediterranean; to the east by the Jordan River. The northern border is described less precisely. It appears to have crossed eastward from the Mediterranean at the northern edge of the Lebanon mountain range, passing through Lebo-Hamath,³ and continuing as far as Hazerenan. From here it turned southward passing through the as yet unidentified Shapham and Riblah, eventually turning westward to end up at the Sea of Chinnereth (Galilee). It is obvious from this

¹J. van Seters, <u>Abraham in History and Tradition</u> (New Haven: 1975), pp. 46ff., argues that the biblical usage is polemical and theological, rather than historical, and reflects a late revival of archaic forms and terms. Cf. <u>idem</u>, "The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament," VT, 22 (1972), pp. 64-81.

²Aharoni, <u>Land of the Bible</u>, p. 62 writes, "The biblical description of the borders of the 'land of Canaan' at the time of the conquest defines the exact same area (Num. 34:1-12)." Cf. Gen. 10:15-18, which provides both ethnic and geographic definitions of "Canaan". The territorial dimensions are described more generally than in Num. 34.

³I.e., Labweh. Aharoni, <u>ibid.</u>, pp. 65f.; K. Elliger, "Die Nordgrenze des Reiches Davids," <u>PJB</u>, 32 (1936), esp. pp. 42ff. But cf. Y. Kaufmann, <u>The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine</u>, trans. by M. Dagut (Jerusalem: 1953), p. 48, n. 54, who translates nnn , "up to the gateway of Hamath," i.e., as a close approximation of the River Euphrates. demarcation that the biblical land of Canaan incorporated more territory than did the Egyptian province; most of Upe (incorporating the Beq^Ca and Damascus) were included as well.¹

With regard to the political conditions in pre-Israelite Canaan, the biblical texts are quite consistent. The region is never presented as a single nation, the nation of Canaan. Rather, the population is segmented into a series of independent or semi-independent tribal and political units, each of which was ruled by a king,² and constituted a ¹¹ in its own right.³ As such they were capable of independent political action,⁴ but, in the face of a common foe, they could be quickly forged into military alliance.⁵

To sum up, in general, the biblical and extra-biblical usages of the name Canaan display remarkable agreement. In both 1) Canaan functions primarily as a geographic rather than ethnic or national designation; 2) the boundaries of the territory are similar; 3) the gentilic serves as a general designation for its inhabitants; 4) Canaan does not constitute one political entity, but a series of independent or semi-independent citystates.

Cf. Millard, "The Canaanites," p. 33. For a map of these borders see Aharoni and Avi-Yonah, <u>Bible Atlas</u>, p. 41, map 50. De Vaux, <u>EHI</u>, p. 128, however, suggests the tenth century inscribed statuette of the Egyptian official found in Syria might indicate the Egyptians treated this entire region as Canaan. Cf. Steindorff, pp. 30-33.

²Josh. 9:1, and the king list, 12:8ff. That these were for the most part city-states is suggested also by expressions like ערי הגוים, Deut. 20:15; ערי העמים האלה, v. 16.

³Cf. the use of the term χ_i in Deut. 7:1; 20:15. For further discussion see infra, p. 500.

⁴E.g., the Gibeonite treaty with Israel, Josh. 9:3ff. ⁵Josh. 9:1-2; 11:1ff. Israel

The etymology and general usage of the name Israel have been discussed in the previous chapter. We need here only to examine the territorial use of the name.

In extra-biblical sources, Israel appears in an unequivocal sense only in one inscription, that of Shalmaneser III.¹ None of the six occurrences in the Mesha Inscription is clearly geographic.² Indeed the references to Israel perishing forever (line 5), and the taking of Nebo from Israel (line 14), argue strongly against this interpretation. Although it is possible to pass off other occurrences of the people instead of land determinative in Egyptian inscriptions as careless scribal errors, it is doubtful that this applies to the celebrated reference to "Israel" in the Merneptah stela.³ Its presence in the context, where all other determinatives indicate foreign lands, has every appearance of being deliberate, and may have been determined by either the unsettled condition of the Israelite population at this time, or a recognition of the reality reflected also in the biblical texts: the name is not appropriately rendered as a geographic term; its connotations are primarily ethnic.

Among the thousands of references to Israel in the Old Testament, the texts in which the name is used in an undeniably geographic sense are but a handful. The expression ארץ ישראל occurs only nine

¹ANET, p. 279, <u>A-ha-ab-bu</u> ^{mat}Sir-'i-la-a-a, "Ahab the Israelite". Note the land determinative.

²KAI 181:5,7,10,14,18,26.

³ANET, p. 378. Cf. also M. Weippert, <u>The Settlement of the Isræl-</u> <u>ite Tribes in Palestine</u> (London: 1971), p. 61, n. 24. For the Egyptian text see Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, IV, p. 19.

times,¹ גבול ישראל, thirteen times,² and the less political גבול ישראל seventeen times.³ In many of these instances, however, it may be argued that the genitive is not to be interpreted epexegetically, but possessively; i.e., the reference is not to the land which is Israel, but the land belonging to Israel.⁴ However, such distinctions may be too fine, since in the political entity known as Israel, land and people are virtually inseparable.

Israel may occasionally contain a territorial nuance in varying degrees of overtness, especially when it follows the preposition, J. The clearest examples are: 1) 2 Kings 5:15. Naaman declares, "Now I know that there is no god in all the earth, but in Israel." 2) 2 Kings 10:32. Yahweh began to cut off portions from (J) Israel. 3) Ezek. 39: 11. "I shall give Gog a burial ground there in Israel." 4) Mal. 2:11. "An abomination has been committed in Israel and Jerusalem." 5) 2 Chron. 34:33. "And Josiah removed all the abominations from all the lands belonging to the sons of Israel, and he made all who were present in Israel to serve Yahweh their God." Many additional examples could be cited in which the geographical nuance is implied, but not exclusively

¹1 Sam. 13:19; 2 Kings 5:2,4; Ezek. 27:17; 40:2; 47:18; 1 Chron. 22:2; 2 Chron. 30:25; 34:7. Cf. ארץ בני ישראל, Josh. 11:22.

²Judg. 19:29; 1 Sam. 7:13; 11:3,7; 27:1; 2 Sam. 21:5; 1 Kings 1:3; 2 Kings 10:32; Mal. 1:5; 1 Chron. 21:12. Cf. also 2 Kings 14:25; Ezek. 11:10,11, though here גבול appears to be used in the sense of "boundary". In שדה נחלת ישראל, Judg. 20:6, Israel cannot be understood geographically.

> ³Ezek. 7:2 + 16x in Ezekiel. ⁴Cf. Buccellati, <u>Cities and Nations</u>, p. 107.

demanded.¹ A similar ambivalence appears when "Israel" is preceded by א, "from". 1) 2 Kings 10:28. "Jehu removed Baal from Israel." 2) 2 Chron. 15:9. "Many had defected to him from Israel." 3) 15:17 "But the אושם were not removed from Israel." 4) 30:25. "And all the assembly of Judah rejoiced, with the priests and Levites, and all the assembly that came from Israel, both the sojourners who came from the land of Israel and those living in Judah." This last example is probably the most overtly geographic in sense.²

In contrast to the usage of "Canaan", which appears to have been relatively constant, the area identified as "the land of Israel" varied considerably, depending upon the historical circumstance. Quite naturally, the notion of "the land of Israel" developed only after the entrance of this people into "the land of Canaan". When the patriarchal traditions refer to the promised land, they speak only of "the land of Canaan".³

²Cf. also "to reign over Israel" (מלך אל/על ישראל), 1 Sam. 13:13; 14:47; etc.; "to be ruler over Israel" (נגיד על ישראל) 1 Sam. 25:30. Note also the restoration of the cities "to Israel" in 1 Sam. 7:14.

³Gen. 12:5ff.; 13:12f.; 17:8; 35:6f.; 48:3f.; Exod. 6:4; 16:35; Lev. 14:34; 18:3; 25:38; Num. 13:2,17; 26:19; 32:30,32; 33:40,51; 34:2, 29; 35:10f.; Deut. 32:49; Josh. 5:12; 14:1f.; 21:1f.; 22:9f.,32; 24:3; Judg. 21:12. The only later reference to "the land of Canaan" occurs in Ps. 105:11 = 1 Chron. 16:18, another reference to the patriarchal promise. (If the Pentateuchal sources actually derive from much later times, long after the expression had fallen into disuse, this consistency is remarkable. But cf. van Seters, <u>loc. cit.</u>, who sees in the use of the name an archaizing tendency).

¹E.g., expressions like "(a) God in Israel" (1 Kings 18:36; 2 Kings 1:3; 6:16; cf. Ezek. 39:7, Yahweh is the Holy One in Israel); "a prophet in Israel" (2 Kings 5:8); "a prince/ruler in Israel" (Ezek. 45:16; Mic. 5:1); "a custom in Israel" (Ruth 4:7); etc. Cf. also expressions like "to inquire in Israel" (1 Sam. 9:9); "to bring deliverance in Israel" (1 Sam. 11:13, by Yahweh; 14:25, by Jonathan); "to fall in Israel" (2 Sam. 3:38); "to sojourn in Israel" (Ezek. 14:7).

Three expressions used in the pre-monarchic era are of interest: Josh. 11:22 refers to ארץ נולת ישראל, Judg. 20:6 to ארץ נחלת, and Judg. וו the first two res- גבול ישראל in the first two respectively, betrays an early historical stage, when ארץ ישראל had not yet become a technical expression for the territory of the nation. The choice of גבול in the third appears to have been deliberate, to emphasize, along with the notice of the dismemberment of the corpse into twelve pieces, that the warning applied to all Israelites. The emergence of the technical use of ארץ ישראל coincides, on the one hand, with the disappearance of ארץ כנען, and on the other, with the political maturation of the nation, reflected specifically in the establishment of the monarchy. Whereas prior to this ארץ ישראל could have encompassed only the territory actually occupied by the Israelites, during the days of the United Kingdom, it applies to the entire heartland of the nation, "from Dan to Beersheba",² along with the Transjordan region occupied by the two and onehalf tribes. It did not, however, include the territories of the vassal states, i.e., Moab, Ammon, Damascus. With the division of the Kingdom in 931 B.C., a fundamental change in the scope of the expression occurred. Hereafter, and until 722 B.C., in a geo-political sense, "Israel" refers only to the Northern Kingdom, as distinct from Judah. But the fall of the North marked the beginning of the end of geographical entity known by that name. Nonetheless, the Chronicler continued to use it for the

¹Cf. the references <u>supra</u>, p. 365, n. 1.

²On the use of the expression, see Saebø, pp. 21ff.

³But the prophets continue to use the name Israel in its broadest sense, in keeping with their theological perspective.

northern area until the exile of Judah.¹ Nevertheless, by the time of Ezra it had fallen into total disuse.²

In conclusion, it is remarkable that, in contrast to the Edomites who gave up their ethnic name, <u>bny</u> Esau, in favour of the name of the region over which they gained control,³ the Israelites should have rejected the name Canaan and clung to the original ethnicon as their selfdesignation. Perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that outsiders should have treated them similarly. Several reasons for this development may be suggested. 1) The name "Israel" was a firmly fixed ethnic designation before the territorial association had been established.⁴ 2) The ethnic discontinuity between the original Canaanites and the Israelites was widely recognized.⁵ To have transferred the name of the former to the newcomers would have blurred this distinction. 3) The land occupied by Israel was not coterminous with the land of Canaan. 4) The association of "Canaan" with moral and spiritual degeneracy provided Israel with strong religious grounds for rejecting the name as a selfdesignation.⁶

¹2 Chron. 30:1,6; 34:7,21; etc.

²The post-exilic writers, the Chronicler excepted, use the name only in the ethnic sense. Where the region is referred to, it is identified as part of the imperial province "Beyond the River". עבר נהרה (Aramaic), Ezra 4:10 + 13x in Ezra; עבר הנה (Hebrew), Ezra 8:36; Neh. 2:7,9; 3:7. So also 1 Kings 5:4(bis). Cf. <u>ebirtim</u> and <u>eber nāri</u> in the Mari and Neo-Assyrian texts respectively. <u>CAD</u>, IV, p. 8; <u>AHw</u>, p. 181. For further discussion see M. Noth, <u>Könige</u>, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1968), Vol. I, pp. 75f. J. J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamia," <u>JNES</u>, 21 (1961), pp. 83f. The southern region is, however, frequently identified as Judah.

³Cf. the discussion following.

⁴Cf. the Exodus traditions, the "Israel" Stela.

⁵Cf. the "Israel" Stela again.

⁶Cf. Ezekiel's scathing attack on Jerusalem's spiritual condition

That the self-designation should eventually become the name by which others referred to the Israelites and their land may be attributed to historical circumstances. Quite naturally outsiders, who felt the influence of this new political force, adopted the self-identification as their own designation for the country.¹

Edom/Seir

The Edomites are referred to in the ancient sources by at least three different designations, Esau,² Edom, Seir. The first is found only in the biblical texts, in which it serves, primarily as the name of an individual rather than a national name.³ According to the Hebrew traditions, Esau was the elder son of Isaac, the twin brother of

by associating her with the original Canaanites, 16:1ff.

¹A similar explanation may account for the application of the name Aram to Syria, known to the Mesopotamians as <u>Hatti</u>, or <u>Amurru</u>, a more general and older designation. Cf. M. Liverani, "The Amorites," POTT, pp. 119ff.

The etmology of the name remains a mystery. The purported aetiology in Gen. 25:25 is of little help. S. R. Driver, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 246, repointed 100 as 100 and related the name to Arabic Cathiya, "to have thick or matted hair", or <u>'a^Cthā</u>, "thick-haired". Cf. KB, p. 741, "having much hair", W. H. Müller, <u>Asien und Europa nach alt-</u> <u>agyptischen Denkmälern</u> (1893), pp. 361f. (as referred to by M. Noth, <u>HPT</u>, p. 96), associated the name with the goddess <u>Cst</u>, mentioned in Egyptian monuments. This deity is characterized as "the female form of the rough huntsman Esau." According to Skinner, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 360, some connection with the Phoenician Ougwos, hero of the chase, is probable, though not certain. But as Noth notes, this still does not explain the form. His alternative is to regard Esau as a "nickname that may have been used to characterize a dunce," loc. cit., n. 282.

³Even if the occurrence of the personal name $\frac{c_{esaw}}{esaw}$ should be confirmed in the Ebla texts, this person could not be identified with the biblical personage. Cf. K. A. Kitchen, <u>The Bible in its World</u>: The Bible and Archaeology Today (Exeter: 1977), p. 53, et, n. 54.

of Jacob,¹ and eponymous ancestor of the <u>bny</u> Esau,² more commonly known as the Edomites.³ The association of Esau with Mount Seir is firmly established in Genesis 32:4, 33:14f.; and 36:8. According to Deut. 2: 5 and Josh. 24:4 Yahweh has specifically allotted this territory to Esau as a possession ($\gamma\gamma$). This promise was realized when the Horites, the former inhabitants were displaced.⁴ So fundamental does the Hebrew

¹Gen. 25:20-34; 26:34; 27:1ff.; 28:1-9; 32:33; 35:1,29. Memories of the individual are also reflected in Josh. 24:4; Mal. 1:2-3; 1 Chron. 1:34.

²The form occurs in Deut. 2:4,8,12,22,29. Cf. also byt Esau in Ob. 18. The national genealogy of the Edomites is recorded in Gen. 36 and 1 Chron. 1:35ff. On the relationship between an eponymous ancestor and the ethnic composition of a nation, see the previous chapter.

³This identification of Esau with Edom is emphasized by the explanatory comment הוא אדום which follows the name Esau three times (36: 1,8,19) in the genealogy. In 36:9.43b (cf. 1 Chron. 1:35) Esau is specifically identified as the ancestral father (אב) of the Edomites. According to J. R. Bartlett, "The Land of Seir and the Brotherhood of Edom," JTS, N.S. 20 (1969), pp. 1f., the identification of Esau-Edom was made only in Judah. Furthermore, he notes that the southern notion of Israel's brotherhood with Esau-Edom was based on entirely different circumstances than was the northern view. Whereas the kinship in the latter appears to have been based on common feelings of hostility toward Judah, in the south it derived from Judah's geographical proximity to Seir (which he places west of the Arabah). This interpretation suffers however, because: 1) The distinction between the northern and southern reasons for the sense of kinship with Edom is purely speculative. We have no evidence of a covenant of brotherhood between Israel and Edom. 2) The identification of Seir with the region west of the Arabah cannot be confirmed. Cf. below. 3) The distinction can be maintained only by an artificial dismemberment of the texts of Numbers and Deuteronomy. It fails to treat with sufficient respect the transmitted form of the traditions concerning the history of relations between Jacob and Esau, as well as Israel and Edom. For other treatments of the Edom-Esau problem see G. Wallis, "Die Tradition von den drei Ahnvätern," ZAW, 18 (1969), p. 20; V. Maag, "Jakob-Esau-Edom," TZ, 13 (1957), pp. 418-29.

⁴Deut. 2:12. Because many of the names in the Horite genealogy in Gen. 36:20-30 appear to be Semitic, it has been generally agreed that these Horites are not to be identified with the Hurrians/Hivites in Palestine at the time (e.g., the Shechemites). Many understand the name association of Esau with Seir become that Obadiah repeatedly refers to the mountain as הר עשו, "the mountain of Esau".¹

Since the name Esau is only secondarily associated with the land of the Edomites, and never actually functions as a territorial designation, the major part of this study will concern itself with Edom and Seir, both of which are clearly used as toponyms.

Edom

<u>Usage</u>. The extra-biblical references to Edom are disappointingly rare. Apart from two enigmatic Egyptian references to Shamash-Edom,² the earliest clear occurrence of the name derives from the late thirteenth century B.C. Papyrus Anastasi VI 54-55. In a letter to his superior a frontier official writes:

We have finished letting the Shasu tribes of Edom ('-d-w-m) pass the Fortress [of] Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat -- life, prosperity,

here as a Semitic term meaning something like "cave dweller". So Speiser, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 283; <u>idem</u>, "Horite," <u>IDB</u>, II, p. 645; D. J. Wiseman, "Horites, Horim," <u>IBD</u>, II, p. 660. De Vaux, however, argues that because the Israelites had no name for the region south of Moab, they applied the Egyptian name of Canaan, <u>Huru</u>, to this area. "Les Hurrites de l'histoire et les Horites de la Bible," <u>RB</u>, 74 (1969), pp. 481f., 501f.; <u>idem</u>, <u>EHI</u>, pp. 136ff. But cf. C. J. Mullo Weir, "Nuzi," <u>AOTS</u>, p. 80, who defends the Horite-Hurrian association.

¹Ob. 8,9,19,21.

²The first of these is found in a list of Asiatic and African territories conquered by Thutmose III (1504-1450). For text see K. Sethe, <u>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie in Urkunden</u>, IV (Leipzig: 1907), pp. 780-81. For the translation see <u>ANET</u>, p. 242-43. Cf. also J. Simons, <u>Handbook</u> for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia (Leiden: 1937), p. 117. The second occurrence dates from the reign of Amen-hotep II (1450-1425). For text see A. M. Badawi, "Die neue historische Stele Amenophis" II, <u>ASAE</u>, 42 (1943), pp. 1-23. For a translation see <u>ANET</u>, p. 245. J. A. Wilson suggests a Palestinian location for the town. ANET, p. 245, n. 4. health! -- which is (in) Tjeku, to keep them alive and to keep their cattle alive..."1

The foreign land determinative suggests that here we have to do with a geographic rather than ethnic designation.²

The earliest neo-Assyrian occurrences of the name date from the eighth century B.C., when the expansion of the Assyrian empire had reached southern Syria.³ In each of the nine appearances, Edom ($\underline{U}-\underline{du}-\underline{mu}$), is depicted as one member among a series of western lands conquered by successive Assyrian emperors. But little concrete information on the land of Edom can be derived from any of these texts.⁴

The name has also surfaced on two ostraca found recently at Tel Arad, some seventeen miles east of Beersheba, i.e., in the vicinity of Edom itself.⁵ In the Ramath-negeb ostracon, since fear is expressed

For the text see A. H. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (Brussels: 1937), pp. 76f. For translation see ANET, p. 259.

²But note Weippert's caution against too strict an interpretation of the determinative, since Egyptian scribes were not always consistent in this regard. "Edom," p. 667, n. 1340. W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," JBL, 63 (1944), p. 229, has suggested that the use of this determinative indicates the beginning of sedentarization for the bedouin Shosu, whose presence has been attested from Egypt to Syria. On the Shosu see R. Giveon, Les Bedouins Shosou des documents Egyptiens (Leiden: 1971); K. A. Kitchen in a review of Giveon, JEA, 58 (1972), p. 323; W. Helck, <u>Die Beziehungen Agyptens zu Verderasien</u> (Wiesbaden: 1962), pp. 278-79; <u>idem</u>, "Die Bedrohung Palästinas durch einwandernde Gruppen am Ende der 18. und am Anfang der 19. Dynastie," <u>VT</u>, 18 (1968), pp. 472-80. On p. 478 these Shosu are seen as tribes which founded the kingdoms of Moab and Edom. M. Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends. Über die <u>Sisw</u> der ägyptischen Quellen," <u>Bib</u>, 55 (1974), pp. 265-80; 427-433.

³For forms and references see Parpola, Toponyms, pp. 364f.

⁴It is of passing interest that in later times, under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal the determinative <u>matu</u> tends to be replaced by <u>alu</u>. Because of scribal inconsistency, however, not too much should be made of this. Both are geographic, in any case.

⁵The texts have been published by Y. Aharoni, "Three Hebrew

that Edom will attack the fortress, it is clear that Edom is being used as a national, rather than a geographic designation.¹ Although אדם appears three times in the Nehemyahu ostracon, the text is of little value here, except to confirm the national use of the name.²

In this context we should also note several additional texts in which the name NTM appears, but whose association with the nation Edom is doubtful. The references to Udm in the Keret Epic were initially greeted with enthusiasm as early evidence for the biblical Edom.³ This interpretation, however, has now been generally abandoned.⁴ al_{U} -<u>du-mu</u> in Amarna Letter 256, is likewise not to be confused with Edom.⁵

Ostraca from Arad," <u>BASOR</u>, 197 (1970), pp. 16-42; <u>idem</u>, <u>לתוכות ערד</u> (<u>Arad Inscriptions</u>), Judean Desert Studies (Jerusalem: 1975), p. 48, text 24:20; p. 72, text 40:10,15. For a French translation and discussion cf. A. Lemaire, <u>Inscriptions hebrafques</u>, Vol. I: <u>Les Ostraca</u>, Litteratures anciennes du proche orient (Paris: 1977), p. 188f.

Line 9 reads: פן תכא אדם שמה, "Lest Edom should come there." "Three Hebrew Ostraca," p. 20. Aharoni has dated the ostraca around 600 B.C.

²This text is dated 100 years earlier than the Ramath-negev ostraca. Ibid., p. 42.

³So C. Virolleaud, <u>La legende de Keret roi des Sidoniens</u>, MRS, II (1936), p. 19; R. Dussaud, <u>Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit)</u> et l'Ancien Testament (Paris: 1941), p. 166.

⁴C. H. Gordon, <u>Ugaritic Literature</u> (Rome: 1949), p. 66, n. 1, identifies <u>Udm</u> as a Syro-Lebanese coastal city. A. Jirku, <u>Kanaanäische</u> <u>Mythen</u> (Gütersloh: 1962), p. 88, n. 7, locates the site near the Sea of Tiberias. See further, H. L. Ginsburg, <u>The Legend of King Keret: A</u> <u>Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age</u>, BASOR Supp. Studies, Nos. 2-3 (1946), p. 7; R. de Langhe, <u>Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec</u> <u>le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament</u> (Paris: 1945), pp. 105-10.

^bW. F. Albright associates the name with the legendary <u>Udm</u> in the Keret Epic. "Two Little Understood Amarna Letters from the Middle Jordan Valley," <u>BASOR</u>, 89 (1943), p. 14, n. 36. For translations of this text see Albright, <u>ibid</u>., pp. 10ff.; <u>ANET</u>, p. 486; J. A. Knudtson, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, VAB, II (Leipzig: 1907), p. 815. Similarly, the identification אדם with Edom in Sefire Inscription I A 10,35, is quite unlikely. Although Fitzmyer allows that אדם here may be related to the Ugaritic <u>Udm</u>, Akkadian <u>Udumu</u>, or Hebrew Edom, he opts for a place name like <u>'Adamah</u> or <u>'Adam</u>.¹

Unfortunately, none of our extra-biblical texts is able to contribute much to our understanding of the use of Edom as a geographic designation in antiquity, except that the Egyptian citation pushes the date for its existence back to at least the thirteenth century.² For further clarification it is necessary to go to the biblical sources.

Judging by the distribution of the name Edom in the Old Testament, it is apparent that chronologically, at least, the history of this nation ran parallel to that of Israel.³ The usage of the name displays

¹J. A. Fitzmyer, <u>The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire</u>, Biblica et Orientalia, 19 (Rome: 1967), p. 36. Cf. J. C. L. Gibson, <u>AI</u>, p. 29, who interprets אדם "cultivated ground," as opposed to אדם, "open country." Lipinski translates the two words as "soil" and "steppe" respectively. <u>SAIO</u>, p. 49.

²J. Simons, <u>GTTOT</u>, p. 23, suggests that the biblical Edomites are likely to represent a detached branch of nomadic people in Egyptian texts, probably once living in the desert to the south of Palestine, but occasionally penetrating the borders of Egypt with their livestock.

³The distribution of all forms of the name is as follows: Genesis (13x); Exodus-Numbers (10x); Deuteronomy (1x); Joshua-Kings (34x); 8th century prophets (9x); 7-6th century prophets (17x); post-exilic prophets (1x); Ezra-Chronicles (15x); Psalms (8x); Lamentations (2x); Daniel (1x). Apart from the basic form D(1)TK, the gentilics 'DTK (Deut. 23:8; 1 Sam. 21:8,9,18,22; 1 Kings 11:14; Ps. 52:2), DTK (2 Chron. 25:14; 28:17), D'TA'(1 Kings 11:17), NTA'(1 Kings 11:1). Several different persons bear the name DY, 2 Sam. 6:10f. (a Gittite); 1 Chron. 15:18f. (a Levite musician); 2 Chron. 25:24 (a temple official). Cf. also a Carthaginian by the same name, CIS 295. S. R. Driver, <u>Samuel</u>, pp. 206, 293, suggests that these names may be evidence of a deity named DTK. For additional representatives of this interpretation, cf. Weippert, "Edom," p. 668, n. 1351. Because of the similarity of <u>resh</u> and <u>daleth</u>, the name appears in several texts to have been confused in transmission considerable variation. A national interpretation is required in Isa. 34:5 (Edom is identified as an by devoted to destruction), Jer. 9:25 (Edom is one of the uncircumcised נווים), Ezek. 36:5 (Edom will be one of the remnant of the nations (נוים), Ezek. 36:5 (Edom will be one of the remnant of the nations שארית הגוים).¹ Both Jer. 49:15 and Ob. 1-2 predict a day when Edom will be small among the מיזא. Although a geographic connotation is not excluded, construct relationships of a sociological nature appear usually to bear a collective sense.² This is also the case where the gender of Edom is construed as masculine.³ Since gentilics may be derived from either the name of the place of residence, or the name of the people to which one belongs, it cannot be determined from the form whether the national or geographic sense is primary.⁴

with Aram. 2 Kings 16:6, Q = ארומים; cf. K = ארומים; 2 Sam. 8:12, MT = מארם, cf. LXX, Syr. 1 Chron. 18:11, מארם; 2 Sam. 8:13, MT = ארם cf. LXX, Syr.; 1 Chron. 18:13, דע; 2 Chron. 20:2, MT = מארם, cf. one ms. מארם; Ezek. 27:16, MT = ארם, cf. 25 mss., 'A, S, ארם.

¹Cf. also Amos 9:12. But LXX, Acts 15:16-18 assume a deleted waw and translate "mankind".

אלופי אדום, Gen. 36:43a; Exod. 15:15; 1 Chron. 1:51,54. אלך אדום, Num. 20:14; Judg. 11:17 (<u>bis</u>); 2 Kings 3:9,12; Jer. 27:3; Amos 2:1. Cf. 1 Kings 22:48; 1 Chron. 1:43 (מלכו בארץ אדום). גבורי Jer. 49:22. שארית אדום, Amos 9:12 MT. כל זכר אדום, 1 Kings 11: 16 is vague, as are אהלי אדום, Ps. 83:7, and אלהי אדום, 2 Chron. 25:20.

³With masc. verb, Num. 20:18,20,21; 24:18; 2 Kings 8:20, 21,22; Dan. 11:41; 2 Chron. 21:8,9,10. With masc. pronominal suffix that has reference to Edom, Amos 1:11. With masc. modifiers, 2 Sam. 8:14; 2 Kings 14:7; Ps. 60:2; 1 Chron. 18:12,13. Cf. GK 122i; K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," ZAW, 16 (1896), pp. 56-58. No hint of gender is provided in 1 Sam. 14:47; 2 Kings 14:10; Isa. 11:14; Jer. 25:21; 49:7,20; Amos 1:6,9; Ps. 83:6; 2 Chron. 25:19; also Ezek. 25:12 (with neutral infinitive although the contexts support the national interpretation).

⁴Deut. 23:8; 1 Sam. 21:8; 22:9,18,22; 1 Kings 11:1,14,17; 2 Kings 16:6; Ps. 52:2; 2 Chron. 25:14; 28:7.

But Edom does occur quite frequently with a predominantly geographic sense. This is usually the case when the name is associated with another explicitly geographic term,¹ or alternatively, where the name is preceded by a locative preposition.² The territorial significance appears to be primary also when the gender of Edom is treated as feminine,³ or when Edom is paralleled with another toponym.⁴

The expression בת אדום, "daughter of Edom", in Lam. 4:21,22, calls for special comment. The broader context of the entire book, in which the people of Judah are variously identified as כת ציון,⁵ , בת יהודה,⁷ or even as בת עמי, ⁸ indicates that the phrase is consistent

ערי אדום, Gen. 32:4; Judg. 5:4. ארי אדום, Gen. 36:16,17,21,31; Num. 20:23 (גבול ארץ אדום); 21:4; 33:37; Judg. 11:18; 1 Kings 9:26; Isa. 34:6; 1 Chron. 1:43; 2 Chron. 8:17 (Cf. Jer. 40:11, Edom is listed as one of the ארצור, אדום, ארצור, אדום, Num. 34:3. עליד, אדום, Josh. 15:1,21. מדבר אדום, 2 Kings 3:8 (cf. Jcel 4:19, אדום למדבר אדום). אדום למדבר אדום, 2 Kings 3:8 (cf. Jcel 4:19, מדרך אדום).

באדום² באדום, Gen. 36:32; 2 Sam. 8:14; 1 Kings 11:14f.; 22:48; Jer. 40:11; Ezek. 25:14 (<u>bis</u>); 1 Chron. 18:13. בכל אדום, 2 Sam. 8:14. 1 Kings 11:15. מאדום, Isa. 63:1; Ob. 8; 1 Chron. 18:11; את אדום, Ps. 60:10 = 108:10. על אדום, Ps. 60:11 = 108:11.

With fem. verb, Jer. 49:17 and Mal. 1:4. With fem. pronominal suffix that has reference to Edom, Ezek. 25:13; 32:29; 35:15; 0b. 1. This usage may be derived from the Semitic notion that the earth (γ τκ) and segments thereof, i.e. the lands (κ τζιπ), function as the mothers and nurses of their inhabitants. GK 122h,i; Albrecht, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 56.

⁴Num. 24:18 (//); Judg. 5:4 (//); Isa. 63:1 (//λ.).
⁵1:6; 2:1,4,8,10,13,18; 4:22.
⁶1:15; 2:2.
⁷2:15.
⁸2:11; 3:48; 4:3,6,10.

with the general poetic style of the writing. In v. 22 CAN Serves as a perfect counterpart to CAN V. Who is referred to as the "daughter of Edom" is clarified in v. 21. If she is identified with the inhabitants of Uz,¹ it follows that the genitive should be interpreted as a geographic designation in each case.²

Etymology. Scholarly opinion is virtually unanimous in relating the term to the common Semitic root *'dm, "to be red".³ Echoes of this

Note the plural אושבתי בארץ עוץ. Uz is elsewhere identified as the home of Job (Job 1:1) as well as one of the bny Seir (Gen. 36:28). The name probably has reférence to an Edomite district, which in Lam. 4:21 is used as representative of the entire land. Cf. Simons, <u>GTTOT</u>, p. 25. In Jer. 49:20, Edom is juxtaposed with juxtaposed.

²But cf. A. Fitzgerald, "<u>Btwlt</u> and <u>bt</u> as Titles for Capital Cities," CBQ, 37 (1975), p. 180, who suggests that the meaning may be either "daughter Edom", or "daughter/capital of Edom". Other peoples are also identified as the daughters of their respective localities: Babel, Jer. 50:42; 51:33; Ps. 137:8; Zech. 2:11; Tarshish, Isa. 23:10; Sidon, Isa. 23:12; Dibon, Jer. 48:18; Gallim, Isa. 10:30. Cf. Ammon identified as and in Jer. 49:4. On the form see GK 122i. Cf. also the Akkadian usage of martu-GN to refer to residents of a place, AHw, p. 614.

³In <u>Hebrew</u> the Qal occurs only in Lam. 4:7. Cf. Pual, Exod. 25: 5; 26:14; 35:7,23; 36:19; 39:34 (מאדמים); Nah. 2:4; Hithpael, Prov. 23:31; Hiphil, Isa. 1:18. See KB, pp. 13f.; BDB, p. 10; G. R. Driver, review of <u>The Moabites</u>, by A. H. Van Zyl, <u>JTS</u>, 12 (1961), p. 66, "<u>'edom</u> means 'redness' (cp. <u>'adom</u> 'red')." The Hebrew vocalization follows the pattern of many other nouns, e.g., <u>Dinn</u>, <u>anne</u>. Cf. GK 84n. In <u>Ugaritic</u>, <u>'dm</u> = "to rouge oneself", <u>UT</u>, p. 352. <u>Akkadian</u>, <u>adamu</u> is used of "blood" and "a red garment", <u>CAD</u>, I, p. 95. <u>AHw</u>, p. 10. For comparative definitions and bibliography see D. Cohen, ed. <u>Dictionnaire</u> <u>des Racines Semitiques</u>, Fasc. 1 (Paris: 1970), p. 9. F. Hommel's explanation, of <u>bny</u> Edom as "Söhne der Erde," <u>Ethnologie</u>, p. 164, has found few supporters. This association of the name with the colour is reflected in the word play in Isa. 63:1,2.

> יי מי זה בא מאדום "Who is this who comes from Edom אוי מי זה בא מאדום With garments of crimson from Bozrah?

אדוע אדם ללבושך Why is your apparel red. And your garments like him who treads in the winepress?"

The reference to the grape juice $(\Sigma \Sigma)$ in vs. 3,6, is a suitable figure

etymology may be heard in Gen. 25:21-34 in the account of the origins of Jacob and Esau. In spite of the many interpretive problems,¹ judging from the formal nature of the naming of both Jacob and Esau,² it is doubtful that the Hebrews ever looked upon the individual as having been called Edom. Subsequent narratives provide no hint of this usage. Furthermore, wherever the ancestor of the Edomites is explicitly referred to he is identified as Esau.⁴ Conversely, in the narrative texts the Edomites are never identified as <u>bny</u> Edom; only <u>bny</u> Esau.⁵ The former expression occurs only in one poetic passage, Ps. 137:7.⁶ Even in our text, although the "redness" motif appears already in the description of the boy's birth,⁷ the actual association of the individual with the

life-blood because of its colour, as well as the method by which it is produced, i.e., trampling.

¹In addition to the commentaries, see Wallis, pp. 20-22; V. Maag, pp. 418-19.

> ²V. 25, ויקראו שמו עשו. V. 26, ויקרא שמו יעקר.

³In contrast to Israel, which appears repeatedly, after Gen. 32, as an alternative to Jacob.

⁴Gen. 36, <u>passim</u>; 1 Chron. 1:35. Cf. the specific statements regarding the connections between the sons of Lot and Moab and Ammon, Gen. 19:37,38.

⁵Deut. 2:4,8,12,22,29.

⁶On the relationship of this expression to the bny/maru-GN form common in the cognate languages, as well as the distinctions between the poetic and narrative use of the form see above, pp. 153ff.

Von Rad, <u>Genesis</u>, p. 265, sees in v. 25, an allusion, not to the red sandstone cliffs of Edom, but to the darker colour of the skin of the Edomites. On the other hand, the word אדמוני, which occurs only here and in 1 Sam. 16:12; 17:42 may have been intended to cover both ideas expressed in the verse and signify "red-haired". Cf. LXX τυρραχης, Latin rufus. The former is closely related to πυρρος, which was used especially name Edom occurs only later, when the boys are already grown men (v. 30). The author's enjoyment of word plays is apparent throughout the account. With the parenthetical comment, על כן קרא שמו אדום, his use of this literary device has been made explicit.¹

What general conclusions concerning the Edomite nation may then be drawn from this account? 1) It is apparent from the pre-natal oracle that the narrative is not concerned merely with individuals, the literal twin sons of Isaac and Rebekah; it involves the relationships of nations.² 2) The historical conflict between these two nations is prefigured in the pre-natal struggle for priority in birth. 3) The story reflects the contrasting national characteristics of the two nations: Esau is a ruddy person, a man of the field and the chase, whereas Jacob lives the more settled life of a shepherd. 4) Most important for our discussion, Edom is not the personal name of the ancestor of the Edomites; that role is reserved for Esau.

If the association of the name Edom with the individual is indeed secondary and represents an intentional word play, the origin of the name remains unexplained. It seems most natural to see in the name a reflection of the physical environment in which the Edomites lived. Since A. H. Sayce, at the turn of the century, associated the name with the red colour of the sandstone cliffs on either side of the Arabah³

to describe red hair, e.g., of the Scythians, Thracians, etc. Liddell & Scott, p. 1559. Cf. also Skinner, p. 359.

¹Compare the form of the phrase with vs. 25,26, in which the references to the naming of the sons forms an essential part of the narrative, and flows smoothly from the context.

²Note the parallel use of גוים and עמים in v. 23. ³"Edom, Edomites," <u>HDB</u>, I, p. 644.

this explanation has dominated scholarly opinion. Bartlett, for example, has recently asserted that in the fourteenth to twelfth centuries, B.C., "'Edom' was as yet only the name of a certain area, distinguished by the colour of its sandstone mountains, and inhabited by various groups or clans with their leaders, the <u>'allupim</u> . . ."¹ Weippert, however, notes that in antiquity "red" encompassed a broad spectrum of nuances from reddish yellow to dark brown,² Consequently, although the name most likely signifies "red land" the precise geological formation connected with the etymology is difficult to determine.³ If this explanation of the name is correct, then in Edom we possess an example of a nation whose association with its territory is demonstrated by the transference of the geographical designation to that of its inhabitants.

Seir

<u>Usage</u>. The references to Seir in the Egyptian texts are not only more frequent than the occurrences of Edom; the earliest witness also antedates the latter by more than a century. In Amarna Letter 288 ^CAbdu Hepa complains to Amenophis IV,

The land of the king is lost; in its entirety it is taken from me; there is war against me, as far as the lands of Seir (matati se-e-ri^{ki}) (and) as far as Ginti-karmel.⁴

Seir is obviously used as a geographic designation, identifying the

²"Edom," p. 393. Cf. the discussion of the word family *<u>'DM</u> by R. Gradwohl, <u>Die Farben im Alten Testament: Eine terminologische</u> <u>Studie</u> (Berlin: 1963), pp. 4-16, 26f.

Weippert, "Edom," p. 393.

⁴For the Akkadian text see Knudtzon, #288. For the English translation see ANET, p. 488.

¹"The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Edom," <u>PEQ</u>, 104 (1972), p. 28. Cf. also W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," <u>JBL</u>, 63 (1944), p. 229, n. 128.

southern region of the administrative district whose northern counterpart is Ginti-karmel.¹ The name also appears in several Rameses II texts. In an annalistic list from ^CAmara West $\underline{s}_{2}-\underline{c}-\underline{r}-\underline{i}-\underline{r}_{3}$ appears alongside <u>Rbn</u>, <u>Pysps</u>, <u>Yhw</u>, <u>Sm^ct</u>, and <u>Wrbr</u>. The entire list is preceded by <u>ts <u>s</u>_3<u>s</u>w</u>, "Shasu land".² <u>S</u>_3-<u>c</u>-<u>r</u>-<u>i</u>-<u>r</u>_3 is generally identified with Seir.³ In the Tanis Obelisk, Rameses II boasts that he has laid waste the Shosu, he has plundered Mount Seir (<u>dw n <u>s</u>-<u>c</u>-<u>r</u>-<u>i</u>).⁴ One additional inscription, the Stele Ismailia 2758, has as one of the epithets of Rameses II, "who has plundered Mount Seir" (<u>dw n <u>s</u>[-<u>c</u>-<u>r</u>-<u>i</u>...]).⁵ The semantic resemblance to Hebrew True for the people of Seir (<u>s</u>_2-<u>s</u>-<u>i</u>-<u>r</u>_3) among the <u>s</u>_3<u>s</u>w tribes.⁷ The most interesting feature of</u></u>

¹So also Knudtzon, p. 1340.

²Translated by Weippert, "Edom," p. 31, as "Nomadenland".

³Helck, <u>Beziehungen</u>, p. 238, n. 50; H. W. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Amārah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," JEA, 25 (1939), pp. 139-44; R. Giveon, "Toponyms ouest-asiatiques à Soleb," VT, 14 (1964), pp. 239-55; B. Grdseloff, "Edom d'apres les sources égyptiennes," <u>Revue d'histoire juive en Egypt</u>, 1 (1949), pp. 79f.; Weippert, "Edom," p. 31.

⁴For the text see P. Montet, G. Goyon, "Les obelisques de Ramses II. Les fouilles de Tanis: Rapports et études, premiere et deuxieme parties," <u>Kemi</u>, 5 (1935-37), p. 111. For a translation see Weippert, p. 34. Weippert, p. 388, maintains that this inscription is based on an older Soleb inscription from the reign of Amenžphis III. For a discussion of the Asiatic wars of Rameses II see K. A. Kitchen, "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II," <u>JEA</u>, 50 (1964), pp. 47-70.

> ⁵Kitchen, <u>ibid</u>, p. 67, appends this text to the Tanis inscription. ⁶Gen. 36:8,9. So also Weippert, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

⁷For the text see W. Erichsen, <u>Papyrus Harris I: Hieroglyph-</u> <u>ische Transkription</u> (Brussels: 1933), esp. p. 93. A translation is found in <u>ANET</u>, p. 262. Cf. Kitchen, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 67. this reference is the use of the foreign people, rather than land determinative, suggesting an ethnic rather than geographic significance for the name.¹ Furthermore, the Seirites are presented as a segment of the Shosu tribes, a group that had not yet become sedentary.² Another papyrus, identified as a "literary letter" mentions "the people of Seir" $(\underline{si}-\underline{c}-\underline{i}-\underline{ri})$ just in passing.³ The final Egyptian witness is found in another recently published literary document.⁴ In this text the precise identity of "those of Seir" (<u>Niy -s^cr</u>) is uncertain, but the editor understands the reference to be to a settlement in Egypt of Palestinians from Seir, or perhaps a place which had originally been a colony of Se^cirians.⁵

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Whereas Seir appears more frequently than Edom in the Egyptian texts, the reverse occurs in the Assyrian records. Ashurbanipal's record of his Arabian campaign, occasioned by the revolt of his brother Shamashshumukin, to which the Arabians had lent aid, is the only occurrence of the name. The inscription reads as follows:

Upon the oracle-command of Ashur and Ishtar (I called up) my army

²Cf. the Edomites according to Papyrus Anastasi, above, pp. 371f.

³M. A. Korostovec, <u>leraticeskii Papirus 127</u> (Moscow: 1961), pp. 68f. Weippert, p. 36, has produced a translated exerpt. Weippert dates the papyrus in the twenty-first dynasty. Cf. Kitchen, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 69 f., n. 8, who suggests the twentieth (?).

⁴R. A. Caminos, <u>A Tale of Woe</u> (Oxford: 1977), p. 68, Col. 5, 1. 5. Caminos dates the papyrus at about 1000 B.C., although the story is probably 300 years older.

5_{Ibid}.

But the determinative may also simply indicate a gentilic meaning. So Weippert, p. 528, n. 196, and Kitchen, in private conversation.

and defeated him in bloody battles, inflicted countless routs on him (to wit) in the <u>giru</u> of the towns of Azaril (and) Hirata (-) kasaia, in Edom, in the pass of Iabrudu, in Beth Ammon, in the district of Haurina, in Moab, in Sa'arri, in Harge, in the district of Zobah. In the(se) battles I smashed all the inhabitants of Arabia who had revolted with him . . .

The separation of Edom and Seir in this text is problematic. Weippert sees here an indication that the two represent equal but distinct administrative entities in the Assyrian provincial system. Since the Assyrians were concerned to preserve existing territorial boundaries, the king may have restored older conditions (Verhältnisse) under new circumstances.2 But this explanation is not entirely satisfactory. In the first place it is obvious that the list consists of unequal members, i.e., girum, a pass (nerebum), districts (nagum), and several unclassified entries. Furthermore, the context suggests that the importance of the entries is not to be found in their political, but in their military significance. This is a list of battle sites, not necessarily arranged in chronological or geographic order. There is no hint of administrative organizational reflections. Consequently, it seems best to interpret the separate references to Edom and Seir as notices of two separate battles. The first name was memorable perhaps because it recalled a victory over the main national force; the second, on the other hand, may have commemorated either a victory at a specific location, or the conquest of a specific area of land, the region of Seir.3

¹As translated by A. L. Oppenheim, <u>ANET</u>, p. 298. For the transliterated text see Streck, II, pp. 65-66. The relevant names are written $URU_{\underline{u}-d\underline{u}-\underline{me}}$ and $URU_{\underline{sa}-\underline{u}-\underline{ar}-\underline{ri}}$ respectively.

²"Edom," p. 394.

³The spelling, with initial <u>s</u> instead of <u>s</u>, is difficult to explain. Perhaps it was influenced by the Canaanite pronunciation. Cf.

It appears from these extra-biblical sources that Seir was viewed primarily as a geographic designation. Biblical usage confirms this interpretation.¹ In most of the thirty-eight occurrences of the name, the reference is to the mountainous region south of the Dead Sea which, in the days of Abraham was inhabited by the Horites.² Later his grandson Esau was to make this his home.³ According to Deuteronomy, Seir was understood by the Israelites to have been given to Esau by Yahweh as a possession (ירשה) in the same way that Moab, Ammon and Israel had been allotted their respective territories.⁴ Subsequently, the <u>bny</u> Esau had succeeded in destroying the original inhabitants, and establishing themselves as a nation in the region.⁵

The exact location of Seir has been disputed. Most scholars agree that the mountains are to be located to the east of the Arabah, south of Moab.⁶ There are indications, however, that at certain times the name

von Soden, <u>GAG</u>, #30e. On the other hand, it may yet point to a different site, not to be identified with Seir at all. This would remove the problem of the apparent separation of Edom and Seir. The meaning of <u>girum</u> in the context is not clear. Streck, III, p. 469, declines to offer an explanation. So also AHw, p. 291; CAD, 5, p. 97.

Note the expressions: ארץ שעיר, Gen. 36:30. הר שעיר, Gen. 14:6; 36:8; Deut. 1:2; 2:1,5; Josh. 15:10; 24:4; Ezek. 35:2,3,7,15; 1 Chron. 4:42; 2 Chron. 20:10,22; 20:23. שעיר with a directive, Gen. 33:14,16; Josh. 12:7 (cf. 11:17). Note also ארצה שעיר, Gen. 32:4. Cf. 33:14,16; Josh. 12:7 (cf. 11:17). Deut. 1:44; 2:4,8,12,22,29. משעיר משעיר, 33:2; Judg. 5:4; Isa. 21:11. These account for all but eight of the occurrences of the name.

> ²Gen. 14:6. On the Horites see above, p. 370f., n. 1. ³Gen. 32:4; 33:14,16; 36:8,9. ⁴Deut. 2:1ff.; Josh. 24:4.

⁵Deut. 2:22. Cf. 2 Chron. 20:23, where the Edomites are designated as ישבי שעיר, "the inhabitants of Seir".

De Vaux, EHI, p. 557; Simons, <u>GTTOT</u>, pp. 23-24, 257; M. Noth, <u>The History of Israel</u>, p. 132. Weippert, "Edom," p. 394, suggests perhaps el-Gebal and es-Sera. For a dissenting view cf. Bartlett, <u>loc. cit</u>., pp. 1-20. applied also to parts of the western side of the Arabah. This may have resulted from the encroachment of the Seir-based Edomites into the Negeb and the territory adjoining Judah.¹ One may, therefore, reasonably speak of Seir proper, situated to the East of the Arabah, and Greater Seir, which included the territory to the west.²

Etymology

Why this mountain range should have received this name is not clear. It is possible that it was derived from one of its prominent early inhabitants. That Seir was understood as a personal name by the Hebrews is apparent from Gen. 36:20f, where the name is applied to an individual with descendants as well as ethnic identity.³ In view of the broader context, in which Esau, Reuel, Basemath and Oholibamah all appear as personal names in the <u>bny</u>-PN formula,⁴ the application of Seir in this position should be interpreted similarly. Seir is presented here as the eponymous ancestor of those Horites who inhabited the mountain to which his name was given. Consequently, the phrase, $\gamma \gamma \psi \gamma \gamma \lambda$ in v. 30, need not mean "the land which is Seir"; "the land which belongs to Seir" is also possible. In any case, where Seir is employed as a personal name, it has reference to the pre-Edomite inhabitant(s) of this

Deut. 1:2,44. For discussion, cf. de Vaux, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>., and Simons, <u>loc</u>. <u>cit</u>.

²Cf. Lindsay's identification of the 'land of Edom' and 'greater Edom', <u>PEQ</u>, 108 (1976), p. 38. This is not to be confused with the Little and Greater <u>Udm</u> in the Keret Epic. Cf. above, p. 373.

³אלה בני שעיר החרי. Cf. v. 21 and 1 Chron. 1:38.

⁴Note the identical phrase, אלה בני עשו, etc. 36:5,13,14,17 (<u>bis</u>), 18,19.

region. With the assumption of Edomite control, the traditional name of the region is retained.

On the other hand, the name Seir may be classified as a <u>Gattungs-name</u>, descriptive of the physical nature of the landscape.¹ Attempts to determine its etymology are complicated by the existence of three different Hebrew roots with the same radicals: "", "hair",², "he-goat", ",",", "satyr, demon".³ Most authorities associate the name with the first definition, relating the "hairy" aspect to the forested covering of the hills of Seir.⁴ Albright understood it to be derived from <u>sa^caru</u>, the Canaanite word for "thicket", which the Egyptians of the New Empire borrowed and applied to the region.⁵

¹So W. Boree, <u>Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas</u>, reprint of the 1930, 2nd ed. (Hildesheim: 1968), p. 106.

²Cf. Akkadian <u>sartum</u>, "behaarte Haut", <u>AHw</u>, p. 1191.

³N. H. Snaith, "The Meaning of עלירים, "<u>VT</u>, 25 (1975), pp. 115-18, has recently proposed a modification of this last sense. He suggests the bals of the rain-storms." E. Täubler, <u>Biblische Studien: Die</u> <u>Epoche der Richter</u> (1958), pp. 22ff., as cited by Bartlett, "Land of Seir," p. 18, n. 5, appears to have combined the second and third definitions by seeing in the word a reference to the goat-demons of the wilderness.

⁴Weippert, "Edom," p. 391, "bewachsenes, bewaldetes Land;" G. A. Cooke, <u>A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel</u>, ICC (Edinburgh: 1936), p. 382, "Se^Cir (lit. <u>hairy</u>, i.e. covered with brushwood)."

⁵W. F. Albright, <u>The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic</u> <u>Orthography</u> (New Haven: 1934), p. 38. Cf. also his review of <u>Geographie</u> <u>de la Palestine</u>, F. M. Abel, in <u>JPOS</u>, 15 (1935), pp. 187-88. Cf. Bartlett, <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 18, who suggests the term is best applied to the scrub brush of the region west of the ^CArabah rather than the wooded region of Edom. For a discussion of the various forms of the name in the ancient writings, see Weippert, "Edom," p. 391. The implications of this etymology for the use of Seir as a personal name are not clear. The original Seir may have received his name because of his physical appearance at Whatever its etymology, in Hebrew, Akkadian and Egyptian usage, Seir like Edom is used primarily as a geographic designation. Indeed in the poetic texts, the names frequently occur as a parallel pair.¹ This identification reaches its climax in Ezek. 25:8, where Seir (i.e., Edom), along with Moab, is said to express contempt for Judah. Equally remarkable is the replacement of Edom with <u>bny</u> Seir in 2 Chron. 25:11, 14. However, this does not mean that the two are absolutely identical in significance. Seir, which appears to have come into use first, tends to be used in the restricted geographic sense. With the waxing of Edom's fortunes in the late second millennium, however, Edom gains prominence as a political term, becoming the actual name of the nation.²

birth. Significantly, the naming of Esau follows upon the observation of his hairy (אדרת שער) appearance. Did the narrator of the account recognize in Esau a second Seir? Cf. the historical displacement of the Horites on Mount Seir by the bny Esau.

¹Num. 24:18 (שעיר//אדום); Judg. 5:4 (שעיר); Ezek. 35:15 (אדום//הר שעיר); Ob. 8 (אדום//הר שעיר). Cf. also Isa. 21:11 (אדום//הר שעיר): הר שעיר); is frequently emended to אדום with LXX. So <u>BHS</u>. But Dumah is to be identified with Akkadian Adummatu, an important North Arabian power in the 7th century. Cf. F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed, <u>Ancient Records from North Arabia</u>, Near and Middle East Series, 6 (Toronto: 1970), pp. 71-73.

²According to the etymologies for Moab suggested by several scholars, a discussion of this name should also be included here. K. Vollers, "Der Name Moab," ZA, 21 (1908), pp. 237-40, relates Moab to Arabic wa'ba/ wa'iba, used primarily of waterholes and cisterns. Accordingly Moab is seen as a well-watered place. G. R. Driver in a review of The Moabites, by A. H. Van Zyl, in JTS, 12 (1961), pp. 64-66, associating Moab with Arabic wa'aba, "to be contracted at the edges", from which then wa'bu, "capacious drinking bowl", and wa'batu, "depression hollowed out in the rock and holding water", sees in the name a reflection of the large "bowl" or depression at the south-east end of the Dead Sea, inhabited by the Moabites. Cf. Ps. 60:10. E. Lipinski, "Etymological and Exegetical Notes on the Mesa^C Inscription," Or, 40 (1971), p. 327, derives the name from Arabic root wa'b, "large, inclusive, great". Moab is, therefore, "the broad land", almost synonymous with the Hebrew appellation, מישור, which has reference to the tableland of Moab. F. Zimmermann, "Folk Etymology of Biblical Names," VTS, 15 (1966), p. 320, relates

Indeed, the three names by which the nation was known may each be seen to correspond to one of the general terms for "nation", i.e., <u>bny</u> Esau = 0y, Edom = '1 λ , Seir = YTK. These however, are only general distinctions in usage and should not be pressed.

the name to <u>w'b</u>, "desire", which to the Moabites will have meant "pleasant place". As these explanations indicate, there is no consensus on the origins of the name, and in the absence of convincing alternatives, we should see Gen. 19:37 as the clearest hint of how the Hebrews interpreted it.

The Nature of the Territorial Association

The role of the land in the nation-territory association was viewed as essentially passive in nature. Terms representing the land seldom appear as the subjects of verbs. Occasionally, however, in characteristic Semitic fashion, activities or emotions normally viewed as human are ascribed to the land. The latter in effect functions as a designation for its inhabitants, indicating the intimacy of the tie between the two.¹ Elsewhere, in highly figurative fashion, the land may "disgorge" (N'P),² or consume (DON) its inhabitants,³ or cause its 'NA to stumble (DON).⁴ Two different expressions describe a land as resting: UPW, if it is free from external interference and war;⁵ nDW, if its cultivation has ceased.⁶ On the other hand, a land that suffers from drought "languishes" (NCG),⁷ or "mourns" (NCC).

L.g., the land "trades" (סור), Gen. 42:34; (לכל), Ezek. 17:17; "commits harlotry" (גנה) by forsaking Yahweh, Hos. 1:2; "weeps" (בכה), 2 Sam. 15:23; cannot "endure" (לכל) the words of a prophet, Amos 7:10. Cf. also the references to "shepherding (רעה) the land of Assyria/Nimrod", Mic. 5:5; the "captivity of the land" (רעה), Judg. 18:30; the land "entering" (גלות הארץ) the forest, 1 Sam. 14:25. This usage was common in Akkadian writings as well. E.g., "If he (the king) does not heed his adviser, his land will rebel against him (<u>mat-su</u> <u>ibbalakit</u> [bal]-<u>su</u>)." "Advice to a Prince," line 5, BWL, p. 112-13.

²Lev. 18:25,28; 20:22, a figure for the exile of the people.

³Num. 13:32; Ezek. 36:13,14. Cf. Lev. 26:38, a foreign land will consume the Israelites.

⁴Ezek. 36:13,14,15.

⁵Josh. 11:23; 14:15; Judg. 3:11,30; 5:31; 8:28; Isa. 14:7; 1 Chron. 4:40 (// שלו /) 2 Chron. 13:23; 14:5.

⁶Lev. 25:2; 26:34,35; 2 Chron. 36:21. Cf. also תרצה את שבתתיה, Lev. 26:34,43; 2 Chron. 36:21.

⁷Gen. 47:13.

⁸Isa. 24:4; 33:9; Jer. 4:28; 12:4,11; 23:10; Hos. 4:3; Joel 1:10; Cf. also Jer. 14:2 (Judah); Amos 1:2 (pastures). Cf. Ezek. 19:7, the land is "appalled" (שמט). general desolation. Furthermore, like a tree, a productive land "yields" (1)) its produce.¹ In Jer. 22:29, YN is used vocatively, being called upon to hear the word of Yahweh concerning its king Coniah. Ezek. 14:13 speaks of an YN sinning (NON) against Yahweh by committing unfaithfulness (dawd awd), thus bringing upon itself divine judgment which includes famine and the elimination of its inhabitants, both man and beast.²

Apart from these texts, the land is usually depicted as the recipient, rather than the agent of an action, existing not for its own sake, but for the sake of its inhabitants. Although the role of the territory in providing a nation with a place to live is obvious,³ in order for a people to develop into a nation, more was required than mere existence. The land provided the context in which fulness of life,⁴ prosperity,⁵

Lev. 25:19 (פרי); 26:4,20; Deut. 11:17; Ezek. 34:27; Hag. 1: 10; Zech. 8:12; Ps. 67:7; 85:13 (all יבולה); Isa. 55:10 (זרע). Cf. the mountains of Israel yielding פריכם in Ezek. 36:8.

²In addition, not to be overlooked is the more natural use of ארץ as the subject of "to quake". Jer. 8:16; 51:29 (רעש); Amos 8:8 (רגז).

ארץ מושב (Gen. 24:37; 34:21, etc.; הארץ קארץ, Gen. 36:20, and many more; מושב, "dwelling place", Gen. 27:39; 36: 43; Ezek. 6:14; 34:13; 1 Chron. 4:33; 6:39; ארץ מושב, Num. 15:2. שי is also used in Qal with "land" or a geographic name as the subject with the sense, "to be inhabited". Isa. 13:20 (// שר); Jer. 17:6,25; 50: 13,39; Ezek. 26:20; 29:11; 36:35; Zech. 2:8; 9:5; 14:11. Cf. Niphal, "be inhabited", Exod. 16:35; Jer. 6:8. Note also the Phoenician usage, KAI 26A I:17,20; II:1,7,13,18; III:8; 26C IV:8; Neo-Punic, KAI 145:3 (און ארשת ארשת ארשת); Moabite, KAI 181:8,10,13,31; לעמא ישב ארשת Alternatively, Jumay also be used: Gen. 26:2; 35:22; Ps. 37:3,29; Prov. 2:21; 10:30; 1 Chron. 17:9. Cf. Piel, Num. 14:30; Jer. 7:3,7.

⁴Note especially the expression, האריך ימים על האדמה, Deut. 4:26, 40; 5:16,30 (בארץ); 6:2; 11:9; 17:20; 22:7; 25:15; 30:18,20. Cf. רבו ירבו, Deut. 11:21. For discussion see Plöger, pp. 85f. Cf. also כל האדמה ל האדמה, Deut. 4:10; 12:1; 32:13; 1 Kings 8: 40 = 2 Chron. 6:31. Also ארץ החים אדר, Isa. 38:11; 53:8; etc.

⁵This is implied in expressions like, "a land flowing with milk and honey," Exod. 3:8,17 + 18x. But note especially Deut. 8:7-10; and security,¹ could be found.² Not to have one's own territory was to be sentenced to a perpetual life of wandering, always at the mercy of others.³ Nomadic tribes did not develop into strong nations.⁴ For this reason, when the promise was first made to Abraham that his descendants would become a $\lambda 1$, the promise of land represented a natural and

11:9-12; 33:28 (Cf. Rabshakeh's invitation to come to Assyria, a land described in similar terms in 2 Kings 18:31f = Isa. 36:17f.). But this prosperity was contingent upon Yahweh's blessing his people and his land. Deut. 7:13-15; 11:14,15; 26:15; 28:4-6,11-12; 30:9. Cf. the inscription of Azitawadda of Adana, <u>ANET</u>, p. 654, "May this city possess plenty to eat and wine (to drink), and may this people that dwells in it possess oxen and small cattle and plenty to eat and wine (to drink)! May they have many children, may they be strong numerically, may they serve Azitawadda and the house of Mupsh in large numbers, by virtue of Ba^C1 and the gods (E1)!"

Several different expressions are used to denote peace and security. 1) Yahweh gives rest ($\hbar\iota\iotan$) to the people, usually in association with the land: Exod. 33:14; Deut. 3:20; Josh. 1:13,15; 22:4; Isa. 63: 14; 1 Chron. 23:25. The land is called a "resting place," ($\hbar\iotann$) in Deut. 12:9. This rest is described as freedom from enemy oppression, Deut. 12:10; 25:19; Josh. 21:44; 23:1; 2 Sam. 7:1,11; 1 Kings 5:18; Isa. 28:12; 1 Chron. 22:9,18; 2 Chron. 14:5,6; 15:15; 20:30; 32:22. 2) The land/kingdom has rest ($\hbar\iotann$) cf. above, p. 389, n. 6. 3) The people live securely ($\hbar\iotann$), Lev. 25:18,19; 26:5; Deut. 12:20; 33:28; Judg. 18:7; 1 Kings 5:5; Isa. 14:30; Jer. 23:6; 32:37; 33:16; esp. Ezek. 34:25-28; 38:8-14; 39:26; Hos. 2:20; Zech. 14:11. 4) Yahweh gives peace (ιnnn) in the land, Lev. 26:6. Cf. Jer. 12:5. Also Isa. 32:16f.

²These also are necessary for the growth of a nation. Note the pregnant use of "to plant" (yu) of securing the people in the land. 2 Sam. 7:10 = 1 Chron. 17:9; Amos 9:15; etc. Cf. <u>infra</u> p. 458, n. 1. Also Isa. 66:8, "Can a land be born in a day? Can a nation be brought forth all at once?"

³Cf. Deut. 26:5ff.

⁴This does not mean that nomadic tribes did not develop associations with specific territories. In modern times tribal territories (dirah) are well defined. Cf. G. A. Lipsky, <u>Saudi Arabia: Its People</u>, <u>Its Society, Its Culture</u> (New Haven: 1959), pp. 71ff., 106ff.; C. M. Doughty, <u>Travels in Arabia Deserta</u>, new and definitive ed., 2 vols. (London: 1936), vol. I, pp. 55, 303; II, p. 266, <u>et passim</u>.

necessary

Acorollary.¹ This is precisely what happened historically. Once Israel had established itself in the land, her emergence as the dominant force in Syria awaited only the development of more sophisticated political institutions.²

This perception of the nation-territory tie lies at the heart of the common ancient Near Eastern practice of guaranteeing the submission of vassal states by the wholesale deportation of populations from their native lands. Since the biblical texts describe the experiences of exile primarily from the perspective of those on the receiving end of the misfortune, they provide only limited data concerning the foundations upon which the policy was based. For the latter the extra-biblical sources must be consulted. The practice of deporting conquered peoples to another location has been attested from the second millennium Egyptian,³

²On the relationship between nationality and kingship cf. <u>infra</u>, pp. 493ff.

³E.g., S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, Traces d'établissements asiatiques en Moyenne-Égypte sous Ramses II," <u>Revue d'Egyptologie</u>, 7 (1950), p. 70, "He who removed the Shasu-Asiatics in the Westland (= Libya), and established the Libyans on the (E) hills . . ." as translated by K. A. Kitchen, "Ancient Orient, 'Deuteronomism,' and the Old Testament," in <u>New Perspectives on the Old Testament</u>, ed. by J. B. Payne (Waco: 1970), p. 6. Also Kamid el-Loz tablet 1, "Send me the Hapiru-people . . . on whose account I have written you as follows, 'I shall deliver them to the towns of Cush, that they may live in them in place of those whom I have deported.'" D. O. Edzard, "Die Tontafeln aus Kamid el-Loz," in <u>Kamid el-Loz-Kumidi:</u> <u>Schriftdokumente aus Kamid el-Loz</u>, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 7 (Bonn: 1970), p. 56. Cf. Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden," p. 430.

J. Hoftijzer, <u>Die Verheissung an die drei Erzväter</u> (Leiden: 1956), p. 13, comments, "Die Verheissung des Landes ist das Fundament für die Entstehung des Volkes Israel, und dazu gehört auch das Fundament der Verhältnisse des Volkes zu seinem Gott." For a study of the promise of the land cf. C. Westermann, <u>The Promises to the Fathers:</u> <u>Studies in the</u> <u>Patriarchal Narratives</u>, trans. by D. E. Green (Philadelphia: 1980), pp. 143-49.

Hittite¹ and Mesopotamian sources.² Among other objectives,³ the policy was designed to destroy the main pillars upon which nationalistic feelings were based, one of these being the territorial association. Not only were the populations removed, but alien peoples were brought in, resulting in an eventual blending of ethnic groups, thus diffusing further perceptions of national self-consciousness.⁴ This synthesis seems to have been a deliberate policy, especially with the neo-Assyrians. When Sargon II built Dur-Sharrukin he claims to have "unified the people." Part of his strategy had been to send in Assyrian officials, expert in teaching, to instruct the newcomers "how to fear god and the king."⁵ The effect of these policies upon the international political scene was devastating. Whereas up to the end of the eighth century, the Syrian arena had been dominated by a series of medium-sized states, by the time the Achaemenid empire emerges in the sixth century, few vestiges of the old

¹<u>ANET</u>, pp. 319,530. A. Goetze, <u>Die Annalen des Mursilis</u> (Darmstadt: 1967), pp. 21ff., 136ff. Cf. Kitchen, <u>loc. cit</u>.

²I. J. Gelb, "Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia," <u>JNES</u>, 32 (1973), pp. 70-98. For a comprehensive study of the Neo-Assyrian period see B. Oded, <u>Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire</u> (Wiesbaden: 1979). H. Tadmor, "Assyria and the West: The Ninth Century and its Aftermath," in <u>Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East</u>, ed. by H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (Baltimore: 1975), pp. 40ff. Resettlement programs were also carried out on a smaller scale by the Syrian kingdoms. Cf. KAI 215: 14 (Panammuwa); 26A I:21 (Azitawadda, = ANET, p. 654).

³For a detailed discussion of neo-Assyrian motives, see Oded, pp. 41-74.

⁴The Assyrian population, especially, seems to have become one massive conglomerate. Note the variations of the recurring phrase, "And they were regarded as people of his land." Tiglath-Pileser I, <u>ARI</u>, II, #12,18; Shalmaneser III, <u>ARAB</u>, I, #617,621; Tiglath-Pileser III, <u>ARAB</u>, I, #763,772; Sargon II, <u>ARAB</u>, II, #30; etc.

⁵<u>ARAB</u>, II, #86,108,122. The last text speaks of unifying them by "making them one mouth." Cf. also 2 Kings 17:24ff.

structures remained.¹ The territorial basis for nationalistic sensitivities had been eliminated for many groups.²

In conclusion, it is difficult to determine the role played by natural features in the landscape in the development of national selfconsciousness. The problem is complicated by the inevitable influence of other factors which served to unite a people. Nevertheless, given borders which were easily defensible, on the one hand, and significant enough to provide a measure of isolation, on the other, existing bonds would certainly be further cemented. This would apply especially if the region, encompassed within those boundaries, did not exceed the range of easy communication, a necessary ingredient in the development of a corporate spirit. No clear illustrations of such circumstances can be cited. The close association of the Danunites with the Plain of Adana (**Try**) in the Karatepe Inscription might be one. Although the borders on which Azitawadda constructed his defences may have been more political than physical, the reverse may not be excluded. The possibility gains support

¹The Persian satrapies were generally much larger units than these independent states had been. The fifth satrapy, Abar-Nahara, for example, encompassed all of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus. For further discussion of the Persian imperial administration see G. B. Gray and M. Cary, "The Reign of Darius," <u>CAH</u>, IV: <u>The Persian Empire</u> and the West, ed. by J. B. Bury, et al (Cambridge: 1926), pp. 194-201; O. Leuze, <u>Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromland von</u> <u>520-320</u> (Halle: 1935); P. Junge, "Satrapie und Natio," <u>Klio</u>, 34/19 (1941), pp. 1-55; G. Widengren, "The Persians," <u>POTT</u>, p. 336f.

²It is clear, however, that throughout this period ethnic selfconsciousness was maintained on the parts of many peoples. Note the use of the expressions אל מדינה ומדינה ככתבה ואל עם ועם כלשונו , in Est. 1:22. Cf. 3:12; 8:9. On the status of the exiles in Babylonia, see I. Ephal, "The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.: Maintenance and Cohesion," Or, 47 (1978), pp. 74-89. if the name of the people, the Danunites, is actually derived from the valley Adana (which may itself have originated in the name of a city in the valley).¹

Given the readily identifiable borders of the land of Canaan (i.e., the Mediterranean, the Jordan, the Negeb and the Lebanon), it is not surprising that during the Bronze Age, the people of the entire region were identified by a single name, Canaanite. However, even if there was a recognition of general cohesion, this did not prevent the maintenance of tribal distinctions, nor the growth of a host of autonomous or semiautonomous city-states. With the arrival of the Israelites, the territory was given new significance; to be a part of the nation required residence within its territory; to live outside the land signified separation from the nation.²

The city states of northern Syria represent a special form of development. The more amorphous character of the landscape, combined with the relative ease of communication across the entire region, encouraged centrifugal tendencies which would otherwise have been neutralized by physical barriers. Consequently, in the absence of geographical bases of cohesion, other forces, especially political and economic, played a more significant role, resulting in a landscape dotted by city-states. In each of these the capital provided the focal point, a basis of

¹For a discussion of the relationship between the name of the people and the plain see Donner and Röllig, <u>KAI</u>, II, p. 39; Landsberger, <u>Sam'al</u>, pp. 57ff.

²Josh. 22 illustrates this point dramatically. It should be recognized, however, that the significance of the territory for the Israelites rested primarily on theological grounds, on which see the following chapter.

community feeling, as the hub of a wheel brings unity to the spokes. In such cases, national self-consciousness developed in spite of, rather than because of geographical conditions.