

CHAPTER VII

THE THEOLOGICAL FACTOR

Introduction

According to the religious conceptions of the ancient Near East, the affairs of the world in general and men in particular were subject to the wills and actions of the gods. The sphere of influence of these divinities varied greatly, ranging from the limited authority of household deities¹ to the universal sovereignty exercised by the cosmic gods, most notably the heads of the pantheons.² Between these two extremes a host of intermediate gods were recognized. One group of these, defined by functional considerations, included divinities such as the storm god and the god/goddess of war. The authority of others, such as the god of the sea³ or the gods of the mountains⁴ were subject to

¹E.g., the teraphim of Gen. 31:34f, on which see Speiser, Genesis, p. 250, C. H. Gordon, "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets," BA, 3 (1940), pp. 1-12; A. E. Draffkorn, "ILANI/ELOHIM," JBL, 76 (1957), pp. 216-24.

²E.g., El at Ugarit, Enlil in Sumer and Akkad, Zeus in Greece.

³E.g. Yamm at Ugarit, on which see M. H. Pope and W. Röllig, "Die Mythologie der Ugaritier and Phönizier," in Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient, vol. I of Wörterbuch der Mythologie, ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart: 1965), pp. 289-91 (hereafter cited as WM); H. Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens," in Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer, vol. X/2 of Die Religionen der Menschheit, ed. by C. M. Schröder (Stuttgart: 1970), pp. 134f. (hereafter cited as "Religionen").

⁴Such perceptions are dramatically illustrated by the strategy of the Aramaeans at the battle of Aphek, 1 Kings 20:22ff.

geographic qualifications. A third category was especially concerned with a particular group of people, be this a tribe, the inhabitants of a city or an entire nation.¹

The gods which were thought to enjoy this special relationship with a specific group of people have been variously designated as patron, titular or national deities, terms which are frequently interchanged. However, this freedom of usage may be questioned. The aim of the present study is to subject this notion to closer scrutiny, and to examine the role of theological beliefs in national self-consciousness. It seems that the validity of the notion of "national deities" depends upon several minimal conditions, especially, 1) a popular acceptance of the god as a national divinity; 2) an awareness on the part of the deity of this special relationship.

¹Individual deities frequently exercised authority over more than one sphere. Many of the local gods of the ancient Near East were essentially functional divinities which received particular veneration among specific groups of people. E.g., Hadad, the storm god, revered as Rimmōn/Rammān in Damascus.

The Expression of the Deity-Nation Association

The nature of popular religion in ancient Syria (outside of Israel) is difficult to determine.¹ Because of the official nature of much of the preserved evidence, the extent to which popular sentiments are represented is unclear. What are presented as patron deities may have been nothing more than the favourite gods of individual kings or dynasties. Kilamuwa's ninth century B.C. inscription from Zenjirli identifies the deities of two of his predecessors, "Ba^c1-Ṣamad who belongs to Gabbar,"² and "Ba^c1 Hamman who belongs to בַּמָּה."³ The text concludes with an invocation to "Rakkab-el, lord of the dynasty."⁴ Similarly, Ben-Hadad of Damascus identifies Melqart as "his lord" on the Melqart Stela.⁵ Unfortunately, since most of the inscriptions of antiquity were produced by or at the request of monarchs, little data concerning popular piety may be extracted. Nevertheless, hints of the religious sensitivities of the common people may be gleaned from other sources.

Personal Names

The study of onomastics has made important contributions to our understanding of the religious beliefs of the Semites. If personal names

¹For a recent attempt see J. Teixidor, The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East (Princeton: 1977), especially pp. 3-61.

²KAI 24:15, בעל צמד אש לגבר. Cf. ANET, p. 655.

³KAI 24:16, בעל חמן אש לבמה.

⁴KAI 24:16, רכבאל בעל בה. An eighth century successor of Kilamuwa, Barrakab, also speaks of Rakkab-el as his lord (מראי רכבאל), KAI 216:5. Cf. ANET, ibid.

⁵KAI 201:3, למראה למלקרת. Cf. ANET, ibid. Line 2 remains problematic. Cf. A. R. Millard in a review of Lipinski, SAIO, in JSS, 21(1976), pp. 74ff.

bearing theophoric elements may be identified as those of ordinary people, as opposed to royal and religious officials, we might have an indication of the extent of popular devotion to reputed national deities.

Israel

The onomastic evidence for popular devotion to Yahweh in Israel is both abundant and clear. The Old Testament data indicate that names bearing the theophoric element, Yah, are to be found in all periods of Israel's history, beginning with the Exodus traditions¹ and extending to the end of the biblical period and beyond.² These names derive from all regions of the nation,³ and represent a broad economic and social spectrum. We need here to cite only a few examples.⁴ No fewer than thirteen individuals bear the name Johanan (יִוְחָנָן). These include, apart from religious officials, two of David's mighty men (a Benjamite, 1 Chron. 12:5, and a Gadite, 1 Chron. 12:13), a porter in David's time (1 Chron. 26:3), a Judaite captain (2 Chron. 17:15), an Ephraimite (2 Chron. 29:12),

¹e.g., יְהוֹשׁוּעַ, Exod. 17:9ff, etc. (Contra S. Norin, "Jo-Namen und J^eho-Namen," VI, 19 [1979], 87-97, who argues that יהו at the beginning of a personal name is an innovation of a late "Deuteronomistic" editor. But O. Eissfeldt, "Renaming in the Old Testament," in Words and Meanings: Essays presented to David Winton Thomas, ed. by P. R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars [Cambridge: 1968], p. 77, notes that יְהוֹשׁוּעַ is always used in the older strands of the Pentateuch, whereas הוֹשַׁע occurs only in "P".); יוֹכָבֵד, Exod. 6:20; יוֹאָשׁ, Judg. 6:11f.; יוֹחָם, Judg. 9:5ff.; יְהוֹנָתָן, Judg. 18:30.

²For a recent discussion of Yahwistic names found in the fifth century Achaemenid Nippur, see M. W. Stolper, "A Note on Yahwistic Personal Names in the Murašū Texts," BASOR, 222 (1976), pp. 25-28. Additional bibliography is provided.

³On the basis of extra-biblical evidence, D. Diringer and S. P. Brock, "Words and Meanings in Early Hebrew Inscriptions," in Words and Meanings, p. 41, suggest that Yahwistic names ending in יו rather than יהו is a Northern feature.

⁴For further examples see Noth, IPN, s.v., BDB, pp. 220ff.

a Jewish captain after the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kings 25:23), a returning exile (Ezra 8:12), an Israelite of Ezra's time (Ezra 10:28), and a son of Tobiah (Neh. 6:18). Similar frequencies and distributions are found for names like Jonathan, Joshua, Jehoshaphat, Joel, Abijah, Obadiah, Azariah, and many more. Yahwistic names also occur with great frequency in the extra-biblical inscriptions, seals and stamps.¹ Judging by the popularity of names bearing Yahweh as the theophoric element, there can be little doubt that his devotees were to be found in all regions and strata of Israel.

Edom

Although no deities worshipped by the Edomites are named in the Old Testament, it is commonly agreed that the chief deity of this people was Qaus.³ Qaus appears as the theophoric element of two of the three known Edomite royal names from the period 840-582 B.C.⁴ Due to the

¹The pre-exilic examples are conveniently assembled by A. R. Millard, "YW and YHW Names," VT, 30 (1980), p. 210.

²The only reference to Edomite gods occurs in 2 Chron. 25:20, where a vague reference is made to אלהי אדום.

³See most recently, M. Du Buit, "Qos," DBS, fascicle 50B (1977), pp. 674-78; also T. H. Vriezen, "The Edomite Deity Qaus," OTS, 14 (1965), pp. 330-53; J. R. Bartlett, "Yahweh and Qaus: A Response to Martin Rose," JSOT, 4 (1977), p. 30. For a dissenting view see M. Rose, "Yahweh in Israel-Qaus in Edom?" JSOT, 4 (1977), pp. 28-34. A recently discovered vase fragment inscribed with a clearly recognizable קוס has been tentatively explained as deriving from a vessel from a temple of that deity. So E. Puech, "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," Levant, 9 (1977), pp. 14-15.

⁴Qa-us-ma-la-ka (ANET, p. 282, in an inscription by Tiglath-Pileser III), and Qa-us-gab-ri (ANET, p. 291, Esarhaddon text). The latter has been identified on an Edomite seal bearing the inscription, מלכא . . . לקוס, dated in the first half of the seventh century B.C. C. M. Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm El-Biyara: Rapport Preliminaire,"

scarcity of historical documents from Edom, examples of personal names of common people bearing the theophoric element are extremely rare. Although the actual meaning of קוסענל is still open to question, the identification of the person on a seal as ענד מלך suggests a lay status.¹ Little can be made of קוסא which appears on a late seventh century seal.² Albright has also identified [נה]קוסב, קוסני, and פגעקוס.³ It is also possible that the biblical names Barkos (Ezra 2:53) and Kushaiah (1 Chron. 15:17) are of a similar type.⁴ Evidence of the persistence of the cult into Nabataean times is to be found in Kosnatanos, Kosbanos and Kosados.⁵ This is in agreement with Josephus, who notes that Herod the Great's ancestry was to be traced back to Kostabaros, a member of the priestly family in the service of Qoze.⁶ Since all of this data is relatively late, it is not clear how early Qaus had been adopted as the primary Edomite

RB, 73 (1966), pp. 399f.; L. G. Herr, The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals, Harvard Semitic Monographs, 18 (Missoula: 1978), s.v. E 1. (Hereafter seals discussed by Herr will be identified as follows: E = Edomite; A = Ammonite; Aram - Aramaic; Ph = Phoenician; M = Moabite; H = Hebrew. The number following is his number).

¹N. Glueck, The Other Side of the Jordan (New Haven: 1940), p. 110; cf. Herr, E 4.

²Cf. A. N. Goring-Moriss and E. Mintz, "Archaeology: Excavation Surveys in Southern Sinai," IEJ, 26 (1976), p. 139.

³W. F. Albright, "Ostrakon No. 6043 from Ezion-Geber," BASOR, 82 (1941), pp. 11f.

⁴So Bartlett, POTT, p. 245.

⁵Vriezen, p. 333. Cf. also J. T. Milik, "Nouvelles inscriptions Nabatéennes," Syria, 35 (1958), pp. 236f. The name קוסידע has also appeared on a fourth-third century ostrakon from Khirbet el-Köm. See L. T. Geraty, "The Khirbet el-Köm Bilingual Ostrakon," BASOR, 220 (1975), pp. 56ff.

⁶Ant. 15. 7. 8ff. Another Kostabaros is mentioned in 20. 9. 4.

deity. The possible presence of theophorous names prefixed by קוס in a topographical list of Rameses II at Karnak may yet indicate an early date for the cult. Oded has argued that the five names mentioned are the names of Edomite chiefs or clans.¹

This evidence is not complete enough to be conclusive. However, since a relatively high proportion of confirmed Edomite names have Qaus as the theophoric element, and in view of the absence of other similarly attested deities, it appears that the worship of this god was quite widespread, probably general enough for him to be considered a "national deity".

Moab

Information on Chemosh, the most prominent divine name appearing in Moabite personal names is sketchy. Although the names of seven Moabite kings are known, only two indicate an association with this deity.² The discovery of several Moabite seals with inscriptions containing personal names having כמש as the theophoric element has yielded little additional information. Avigad has listed these as follows: כמשצדק, כמשיחי, כמשעם/כמשאל הספר, כמשנתן, and כמשאש.³ The fact that כמשעם and כמשאל were scribes and כמשנתן derives from Mesopotamia indicates a

¹B. Oded, "Egyptian References to the Edomite Deity Qaus," AUSS, 9 (1971), p. 47-50.

²Ka-am-mu-su-na-ad-bi (ANET, p. 287), כמשיח, KAI 181:1. As restored by Gibson, HMI, p. 77, on the basis of the El-Kerak inscription. The other kings known to have ruled in Moab are Mesha, Shalman (Akkad. Salamanu), Eglon, Balak, and Muṣuri. For references see Van Zyl, pp. 180ff.

³N. Avigad, "Ammonite and Moabite Seals," in Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, ed. by J. A. Sanders (Garden City: 1970), pp. 291-92. The seals are discussed by Herr as M 5, M 7, M 4, M 3, M 2, respectively.

measure of popularity of the cult. Although the nationality of the persons in question is not specified, the theophoric element occurs in three names from Egyptian sources,¹ as well as two non-royal names from Akkadian texts.² The presence of the element suggests that these were Moabites;³ however, this cannot be confirmed. The most that can be said is that Chemosh was recognized as a deity from Egypt to Mesopotamia.

Ammon

Although the Old Testament evidence suggests that Milkom/Malkam was the name of the deity commonly associated with the Ammonites, the extent of popular devotion to this deity on the basis of onomastic evidence is impossible to determine. To date no certain personal names bearing מלכם as the theophoric element have been discovered. Bordreuil and Lemaire claim that a seal inscription, CIS II 94, originally reconstructed as לתמכאל בר מלכם,⁴ should be reread as לתמכאל (ע) בדמלכם, thus producing a name closely paralleling עבדמלקרת, עבדאל and עבדיהו.⁵ Others, however, argue for a division of the name resulting in עבד מלכם,

¹ כמשיחיל, כמשצדק, כמשפלט. See further Van Zyl, p. 40; KB, p. 441.

² Ka-mu-šū-šar-ušur, KAT³ 472; Ka-mu-šū-i-lu, TCL 13, 193,33.

³ Perhaps exiles. So N. Avigad, "Seals of Exiles," IEJ, 15 (1965), pp. 222-32. For a recently published seal inscribed simply כמש, see R. Hestrin and M. Dayagi-Mendels, Inscribed Seals: First Temple Period (Jerusalem: 1979), No. 114. Cf. N. Avigad, "New Moabite and Ammonite Seals in the Israel Museum," EI, 13 (1977), p. 109, (Hebrew).

⁴ The reading is retained by Herr (Aram. #10), who identifies the seal as Aramaic instead of Ammonite.

⁵ P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux sceaux hébreux, araméens et ammonites," Semitica, 26 (1976), p. 57.

an epithet of a devotee, or perhaps even a priest of the deity Milkom.¹
If this reading is correct the only onomastic evidence for the popular
worship of this god has been eliminated.²

Aram

Although our overall understanding of the religion of the
Aramaeans and the Phoenicians is more complete than it is for the Ammon-
ites and Edomites, the onomastic evidence is even less helpful for
determining the nature of popular religion. The worship of a host
of different deities is reflected in Aram by the multiplicity of
theophores appearing in personal names, among these El,³ Rakkab,⁴
Adān,⁵ Hadad,⁶ Rammān,⁷ and Ba^calat.⁸ It is clear from other sources

¹So F. M. Cross, "Heshbon Ostrakon II," AUSS, 11 (1973), p. 128,
n. 6; G. Garbini, "Ammonite Inscriptions," JSS, 19 (1974), p. 162.

²S. Horn, "The Ammān Citadel Inscription," BASOR, 193 (1969),
pp. 9ff., claims to have found a name of this type in the Amman Citadel
Inscription. His reconstruction of ללכמ as Matan-milkom, however, is
purely hypothetical.

³E.g., Hazael (חזאל), KAI 202 A:4; 232; Mati^cel (מתעאל), KAI
222 A:1ff.; 223 C:14.

⁴Bar-Rakkab (בררכב), KAI 215:1,19; 216:1; 218; 221:2. This god
is identified as רכבאל in KAI 24:16; 25:4,5/6; 214:2,3,11,18; 215:22;
216:5; 217:7/8. He is probably to be identified with ^aBe-'-li ra-kab-
bi ša ^{URU}sa-ma-al-la, ABL, 633:7.

⁵Adan-lu-ram (אדנלרם), KAI 203.

⁶Bar-Hadad (ברהדד), KAI 201:1/2; 202 A:4,5 (= Ben Hadad [בנהדד]
1 Kings 15:18; 20:1ff.; 2 Kings 13:14-19); Hadadezer (הדדעזר), 2 Sam.
10:16-19 (= Assy. Adad-'idri, ANET, p. 278).

⁷Sidqi-Rammān (צדקראמן), CIS II, 97 (= Herr, Aram. 87); Tabrimmon
(טברמן), 1 Kings 15:18.

⁸עבדנעלת, KAI 204. On the cult of Ba^calat at Hamath see B. Hrozny,
"L'inscription 'Hittite'-hiéroglyphique d'Apamée," Syria, 20 (1939), pp.
134f.

that the most important of these was the weather god Hadad. One of his more important cult centres was located in Aleppo.¹ However, he was worshipped in many different localities in various manifestations. The onomastic evidence suggests that he received special veneration from the kings of Damascus,² where he was known as Hadad-Rimmōn/Rammān.³ Evidence for popular devotion to this deity in Damascus, however, is lacking. Although Greenfield has assembled about a dozen names bearing Rammān as the theophoric element, little more may be concluded than that this form of the god enjoyed fairly widespread recognition. The extent to which the citizenry of the state of Damascus accepted this deity as the state god cannot be determined.⁴

¹Shalmaneser III offers special sacrifices to Adad of Aleppo. ANET, p. 278. Cf. also E. F. Weidner, "Der Staatsvertrag Assurnirāris VI von Assyrien mit Mati'ilu von Bit-Agusi," AfO, 8 (1932-33), p. 22, line 18: adad sa al-hal-la-ba. On the worship of Hadad at Aleppo see Gese, "Religionen," pp. 121, 218. On the cult of Hadad in general see Gese, ibid., pp. 120ff.; Pope, WM, pp. 253ff.; J. Teixidor, The Pagan God, pp. 53ff.

²Both kings named on p. 407, n. 7 above were from Damascus. It might also be noted here that the onomastic evidence suggests that Adad was a very popular deity centuries earlier at Mari. Cf. Huffmon, APNM, p. 156.

³For a full discussion of this deity see J. C. Greenfield, "The Aramaean God Rammān/Rimmōn," IEJ, 26 (1976), pp. 195-98. Cf. also B. Mazar, "The Aramaean Empire and its Relations with Israel," in The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, Vol. II, ed. by E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman (Garden City: 1964), pp. 139, n. 23, and 140, n. 26 (reprinted from BA, 25 (1962), pp. 97-120).

⁴Although we are nowhere informed that Tabrimmon was ever king in Damascus, it has been suggested that his father Hezion was the founder of the dynasty. Cf. Malamat, POTT, p. 143. If this is correct, this name too tells us nothing more than that this deity was special to the members of the royal house. In any case, according to the evidence produced by Greenfield loc. cit., the statement by Mazar, loc. cit., p. 140, that Rimmon was a common name among the Aramaeans especially after Damascus became the metropolis of Aram, appears too optimistic. His conclusion may well be correct, but at the present cannot be confirmed.

Phoenicia

It is apparent from the personal names of the ancient Phoenicians that no single deity commanded the devotion of all of the people. Theophores employed include Ba^cal,¹ El,² Eshmun,³ Melqart,⁴ and Milk.⁵ However, their usage does not always correspond to what we know from other sources of the primary deities of some of the major cities. Ba^calat seems to have been the dominant deity in Byblos,⁶ yet her name is not found in any personal names so far discovered from that place.⁷ Although the worship of Melqart was widespread,⁸ he appears to have been the favourite god in Tyre. The name itself, a conflation of מלך קרה, "King of the city",⁹ suggests some type of patron status, but the extent of popular adherence to his cult in that city is impossible to detect from onomastic evidence. If anything, this evidence is negative. Few

¹See F. L. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions, Studia Pohl, 8 (Rome: 1972), pp. 90ff., 288ff. (hereafter referred to as PNPPI).

²E.g., ibid, pp. 266f.

³Ibid., pp. 70ff., 278f.

⁴Ibid., pp. 347f.

⁵Ibid., pp. 344f.

⁶Note the references to גבול גבול in KAI 4:3/4; 5:2(?); 6:2; 7:3-4 10:2,3,7,8,10,15. The expression ^{URU} ḡbultu ša Gubla occurs frequently in the Amarna letters. Cf. J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, VAB 2 (Leipzig: 1915), p. 1583. On this deity see Gese, "Religionen," pp. 188f.; Teixidor, loc. cit., pp. 47f.

⁷Cf. supra, p. 483.

⁸See Benz, PNPPI, pp. 347f.; Gese, "Religionen," pp. 193ff.; Röllig, WM, pp. 297f.; Teixidor, pp. 34f.

⁹So unless קרה refers to the underworld. Cf. Albright, FSAC, p. 307; idem, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p. 79.

Phoenician names bearing this element have been identified.¹ In Sidon Eshmun enjoyed considerable attention, especially from the ruling dynasty. At least two kings near the middle of the first millennium B.C. bore the names Eshmun^cazar.² Numerous foundation stones of Bod^castart, another member of the royal house, have been found identifying the building as "the Temple of his god 'Eshmun, the holy prince."³ However, it should be observed that Tabnit, the son of the first Eshmun^cazar, identifies both himself and his father as priests of Astart.⁴ Furthermore, all of these inscriptions are royal; they tell us nothing of the beliefs of the populace.

As a gauge of the extent of popular recognition of national deities, the evidence provided by onomastica is of unequal value. It is quite clear that in Israel, from which a vast number of personal names are known, apart from occasional apostate aberrations, Yahweh was almost universally acknowledged as the patron god. The data from the surrounding nations are extremely limited, by comparison. Nevertheless, the names from Edom and Moab seem to point in a similar direction with Qaus and Chemosh being favoured in these countries, respectively. With regard to Ammon relevant information is lacking entirely. The data available from the Aramaeans and Phoenicians suffers because of the complex nature of recognized pantheons and the tendency of functional deities to be worshipped in widely

¹But cf. בדמלקרת, RES, 1204.4,7. Most of the rest are from Cyprus, or Punic.

²KAI 13:2; 14:1,2,13,14,15; 16. KAI 35:5 is from Cyprus. On the relationship of these two kings see Donner and Röllig, KAI, II, p. 22.

³
KAI 15; 16.

⁴KAI 13.

separated regions, albeit as local manifestations. It seems that the weather god Hadad was especially important among the Aramaeans. Although Baal was popular throughout the Phoenician world, in specific localities other deities seemed to come to the fore. If one speaks in primarily ethnic terms, it is doubtful that either group acknowledged one patron deity; at best one may speak of favourite deities associated with specific sites rather than patron gods of the nations.

Genitival Constructions

Bound forms

The relationship between a nation and its god(s) was commonly expressed by means of genitive constructions. Bound forms employing the name of a specific people in a genitive relationship with a designation for deity are common in the Old Testament. Yahweh is identified as אלהי ישראל on one hundred occasions.¹ Similarly Ashtoreth is identified as עשתרת אלהי צדננים, Chemosh as כמוש אלהי מואב, Milkom as מלכם אלהי בני עמון.² Although this grammatical construction is applied only to Adramelech and Anammelech, defined as אלהי ספרוים, the last member in a series in 2 Kings 17:29-32,³ it is evident from the context that the relationships between the previously mentioned peoples and their gods follow along the same lines. Thus Succoth-benoth is identified as the god of Babylon,

¹Cf. also the identification of Yahweh as אלהי העבריים in Exod. 3:18; 5:3; 7:16; 9:1,13; 10:3.

²1 Kings 11:33. Cf. also the polemical replacement of אלהי with שקץ in 1 Kings 11:5,7 and 2 Kings 23:13.

³So Qere; cf. Kethib, אלה ספרוים.

Nergal of Cuthah, Ashima of Hamath, and Nibhaz and Tartak of the Avvites.¹ In 2 Kings 1:2 Beelzebub is similarly described as אלהי עקרון. In more general terms, the same notion is expressed by Rabshakeh when he defies Yahweh to deliver his people from the Assyrian monarch, a feat none of the other אלהי הגוים has been able to accomplish.² This association could also be expressed by reversing the nomen rectum and regens. Thus Israel is referred to as עם יהוה 349 times;³ Moab as עם כמוש in Num. 21:29 and Jer. 48:46.⁴

A limited number of similar extra-biblical expressions may also be cited. Nearest the biblical text, chronologically and linguistically, are the references to כל אל חחפנחס in the sixth century B.C., Saqqara papyrus,⁵ אל גבל in the Yehawmilk inscription,⁶ אלהי כתך ואלהי ארפד in the Sefire Treaty,⁷ and אלהי יאדי (כל) in the Panammu inscription from

¹On these place names and deities see now R. Zadok, "Geographical and Onomastic Notes," JANES, 8 (1976), pp. 113-26. Note the replacement of אלהי with מלך in 2 Kings 19:13.

²2 Kings 18:33f.

³For a tabulation and discussion of these occurrences see N. Lohfink, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks עם יהוה," in Probleme biblischer Theologie, G. von Rad Festschrift, ed. by H. W. Wolff (Munich: 1971), pp. 275-305. This common usage contrasts sharply with עם אלהים, which occurs only in Judg. 20:2 and 2 Sam. 14:13.

⁴The texts appear to be two recensions of a widely circulating poem commemorating the defeat of Moab by Sihon the Amorite shortly before the arrival of the Israelites.

⁵KAI 50:3 (Phoen.).

⁶KAI 4:4,7.

⁷KAI 222 B:5-6. Cf. כל אלהי רחבה ואדמה, KAI 222 A:10, translated by Fitzmyer, Sefire, p. 13, as "all the gods of Raḥbah and 'Adam." For his defence of this interpretation see p. 35. K. Euler interprets these, as well as אלהי יאדי as "Volksgötter," "Königtum und Götterwelt in den altaramäischen Inschriften Nordsyriens," ZAW, 56 (1938), p. 304.

Zenjirli.¹ Two later texts in Imperial Aramaic speak of אלהי מצרין² and אלהי תימא,³ respectively.⁴ This manner of writing was also common in neo-Assyrian texts. The prologue to the Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon invokes a long list of gods as guarantors of the pact. After listing more than a dozen by name, all the gods of the city Assur, Nineveh, Calah, Arbela, Kalzi, Harran, Assyria, Babylon, Borsippa and Nippur, Sumer and Akkad are adjured. To emphasize the universal scope of the treaty final appeal is made to "all the gods of every land" and the gods of heaven and earth.⁵ This statement reflects a fundamental difference between all of the Northwest Semitic and Akkadian texts on the one hand, and the Hebrew usage on the other. Whereas expressions like אלהי העברים and אלהי ישראל stress the association between the gentile group and the deity, in each of these the divinity is associated primarily with a locality.⁶ Furthermore, in keeping with the polytheistic nature of the religions of these peoples, as noted in our examination of the onomastic evidence, all of

¹KAI 215:22. Cf. the defectively written אלה יאדי in line 2.

²A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford: 1923), text #71:8,26.

³KAI 228:3,10,13,17.

⁴To these examples we should also add the numerous occurrences of b^c1-GN, in which בעל designates a specific manifestation of the weather god: בעל לבנון, KAI 31:1,2; בעל צדון, KAI 14:18; בעל צפון, KAI 50:213; 69:1, cf. בעל גז, Josh. 11:17; בעל חצור, 2 Sam. 13:23; בעל חרמון, Judg. 3:3; בעל פעור, Num. 25:3,5; בעל פרצים, 2 Sam. 5:20.

⁵ANET, pp. 534f. Cf. the appeal to "the great gods of heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria, the gods of Akkad, and the gods of Eber-nāri" in Esarhaddon's treaty with Baal of Tyre. Ibid., p. 534. Cf. also the reference to Be-i-li-ra-kab-bi sa Sa-ma-al-la, ABL, 633:7.

⁶Cf. כל אלן קרת, "all the gods of the city." KAI 26 A III:5 (Phoen.).

these employ the plural form of אלה.¹

Expressions in which the nomen regens and rectum are reversed are so far unattested in extra-biblical Northwest Semitic and relatively rare in Akkadian. The Assyrians are occasionally identified as the subjects of the old primary deity of the Sumerians with phrases like ṣab(e) Anim Enlil/Dagan, ba'ulat Enlil, and tēnešēt Enlil.² An instructive comment is made in CT 4 1:5, "(you know that) PN sent messengers to his brothers, his sons and to those who belong to the 'people of his god' (DUMU.MEŠ ni-šī DINGIR-su)."³ The expression awēl/amīl-GN occurs only in the singular and in personal names.⁴

Pronominal suffixes

The deity-nation association is also expressed by attaching pronominal suffixes to either term. The Israelites refer to Yahweh as אלהינו on more than one hundred occasions in the Old Testament. To these should be added those texts in which he is identified as אלהיך or אלהיכם.⁵ Other peoples are associated with their gods in the same way. The narrator identifies Dagon as אלהיהם, i.e., the god of the Philistine lords, in Judg. 16:23. In 1 Sam. 5:7 the people of Ashdod claim him as אלהינו.

¹But note the defective form referred to above, p. 411, n. 1.

²Cf. R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien, AfO, 9 (1956), p. 2. Further, s.v. ba'ūlātu, CAD, 2, p. 183; AHw, p. 117, "die Beherrschten"; ṣābu, CAD, 16, p. 31; AHw, p. 1072; tenēšū, AHw, p. 1347.

³CAD, 7, p. 97. cf. also AbB 2 88:5, where mārē ni-šī ilī-su is translated by Frankena as "seinen Glaubensgenossen." Cf. AHw, p. 797, "Angehörige".

⁴CAD, 1/2, p. 57; AHw, p. 90.

⁵Cf. Mandelkern, s.v.

Special note should be taken of Ruth's resolution in Ruth 1:16, עמך עמי, ואלהיך אלהי. This Moabitess recognized that to alter her ethnic ties implied also the transference of allegiance to a different deity.¹

These specific cases all illustrate the principles reflected in several prophetic texts on the relationship between a people and its god. Isaiah in 8:19 admonishes his audience that an עם should consult אלהיו for help. Speaking for the nation, Micah resolves:

כי כל העמים ילכו איש בשם אלהיו	"Though all the peoples walk each ² in the name of its god,
ואנחנו נלך בשם יהוה אלהינו לעולם ועד	We will walk in the name of Yahweh our God forever and ever." (4:5)

Jeremiah, appearing to draw on a well-known maxim, stresses rhetorically the importance of fidelity to one's national god:

ההימיר גוי אלהים	"Has a nation changed gods,
והמה לא אלהים	When they were not gods?" ³ (2:11)

Conversely, the perspective of the divinity is frequently reflected in the Old Testament by Yahweh referring to Israel as עמי. In the presence of Yahweh the Israelites in turn identify themselves as עמך, or to each other as עמו.⁴ Similar relationships are assumed for other peoples. Jer. 49:1 speaks of the Ammonites as עמו, i.e., Malkam's people. In 2 Chron. 32:14,15,17, the Assyrian official boasts that none of the האלהים הגויים has been able to deliver עמו from the power of the Assyrians; neither will Yahweh be able to rescue עמו, Israel.

¹Cf. 2:12.

²On the distributive use of איש see GK 139b,c.

³For an illustration of one such occurrence see Judg. 10:13, ואחם עזבתם אותי תעבדו אלהים אחרים. Cf. v. 14, אשר בחרתם בם, האלהים. These gods are called אלהי הנכר in v. 16.

⁴For references to all of these see Mandelkern, s.v.

This usage of pronominal suffixes is not as common in the cognate languages. In Aramaic and Phoenician texts, where a suffix is used it is always singular and refers to the deity of a person rather than the group.¹ Ilu appears with a suffix rather frequently in Akkadian texts. Usually the reference is to the god of a person.² Of the references to deities belonging to groups of people cited by CAD, none is associated with a nation or state.³ This lack of evidence should probably not be interpreted as evidence of absence. If reference could be made to "the gods of a city" it is to be expected that they could also be identified as "its gods".⁴

¹Cf. לאלי לאשמך, KAI 15, 16; לאלי, KAI 38:1 (all Phoen.); אלהיך, KAI 196:12 (Heb.); אלהי, KAI 214:4,12 (Ya'udic); אלהה, KAI 257:2 (Aram.).

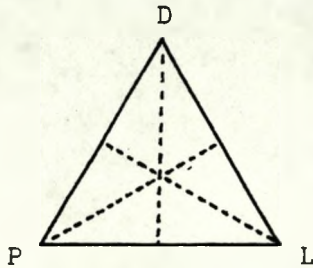
²See CAD, 7, pp. 95f. Cf. the expressions, il amēli, il abi, ibid., p. 95.

³Ibid., p. 97.

⁴Note a rare Akkadian counterpart of עמך in Esarhaddon's Gottesbrief"; iq-ga-bi šá-lal nišē meš -ka, translated by Borger, Asarhaddon, p. 105, as "die Wegführung deiner Untertanen is ausgesprochen."

The Origin of the Deity-Nation Association

Although the previous chapter treated the relationship between a nation and its territory in isolation from other factors, it was hinted that this association was influenced by a third factor, the divine.¹ The three-dimensional nature of the ancient Near Eastern perspective may be illustrated by a triangle in which each of the members represents one point:



D = Deity

P = People

L = Land

In this structure, each element is vital, not only because it is related to both of the others, but also because it has a bearing on the bond that unites the opposite members. So intertwined are their connections that it is often difficult to determine which bilateral association is to be considered most important. This observation has a direct bearing on one's understanding of the origin of the tie between a nation and its god. On the one hand, the orientals may have recognized as primary the relationship between a divinity and his land, in which case, the ties between the god and the nation occupying that territory, as well as the tie between the nation and the land, would have been viewed as secondary. On the other hand, the relationship between the deity and his people may have been primary. Then the connections between the god and the land, and the land and the people, would have been treated as secondary. Evidence for the two possibilities will be considered separately.

¹Cf. supra, p. 299, n. 2.

The Primacy of the Deity-Territory Tie

Confirmation of the primacy of the relationship of a deity to its land depends upon the fulfillment of several minimal conditions: 1) the association originated prior to and independent of the association of deity and people; 2) historically, the deity's concern for the land is more obvious than his concern for its inhabitants; 3) the relationship between deity and land was sustained irrespective of the identity of the inhabitants.

The chronological priority of the deity-territory tie

Although no ancient Semitic text has provided a detailed account of how certain gods came to be associated with specific lands, hints of the circumstances under which this was perceived to have transpired may be gleaned from several widely separated sources. Two ancient Greek traditions deserve notice. Homer wrote,

. . . we are three brothers born by Rhea to Kronos, Zeus and I (i.e. Poseidon), and the third is Hades, lord of the dead men. All was divided among us three ways, each given his domain. I, when the lots were shaken, drew the grey sea to live in forever; Hades drew the lot of the mists and the darkness, and Zeus was allotted the wide sky, in the cloud and the bright air. But earth and high Olympus are common to all three.¹

Although the text does not deal specifically with the division of the lands among the gods, three observations may be made; 1) this distribution appears to have been presided over by Kronos, the highest deity; 2) the lot was the means whereby the allocations were made; 3) the spheres apportioned to the gods are described in geographical rather than human

¹Iliad 15. 189ff., as translated by R. Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer (Chicago: 1951), p. 314. For the Greek text see W. Leaf, ed., The Iliad, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: 1971), Vol. II, pp. 117f.

terms.¹

The seventh century B.C. author, Pindar, described the division of the earth among immortals as follows:

But the tale is told in ancient story that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing the earth among them, and the isle of Rhodes was not yet to be seen in the open main, but was hidden in the briny depths of the sea; and that, as the Sun-god was absent, no one put forth a lot on his behalf, and so they left him without any allotment of land, though the god himself was pure from blame. But when that god made mention of it, Zeus was about to order a new casting of the lot, but the Sun-god would not suffer it. For, as he said, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom of the foaming main, a plot that was destined to prove rich in substance for men, and kindly for pasture; and he urged that Lachesis of the golden snood should forthwith lift up her hands and take, not in vain, the great oath of the gods, but consent with the son of Cronos, that the island, when it had risen forth into the light of day, should forever be a boon granted to himself alone. And all these several words were fulfilled.

The text goes on to describe the marriage of the Sun-god to the nymph of the island, a marriage which produced seven sons. Eventually three grandsons were also born, each having his own cities and calling his dwelling place after his own name.² Again we note the presence of a presiding officer, in this instance Zeus, and the use of the lot as the means of distribution. Even more important, however, is the concern again with lands rather than peoples.

¹In spite of the epithet for Hades, "lord of the dead men", his domain is designated as the netherworld, not the dead.

²Olympian Odes 7. 55-76. For Greek text and translation see J. Sandys, trans., The Odes of Pindar, Loeb Classical Library (London: 1924), pp. 76ff. This text has been overlooked by H. O. Forshey in his study of extra-biblical parallels to Deut. 32:8-9. "The Hebrew Root NHL and its Semitic Cognates" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1973), pp. 89ff. (hereafter cited as "NHL"). Forshey does, however, mention Hesiod's Theogony 880ff. in this context. But this text is of considerably less significance to the discussion than he suggests, since it deals, not with the allocation of the lands to the various gods, but the exaltation of Zeus and the distribution of honours among other members of the pantheon. For the Greek text see R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, eds., Hesiodi: Theogonia Opera et Dies Scvtyvm, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: 1970), pp. 42f.

Nearer to our geographical area of concern, we note a Sumerian tradition according to which "Enlil, the king of all the lands, the father of all the gods, marked off the boundary for Ningursu and Shara by his steadfast word . . .," the latter two being the patron deities of Lagash and Umma respectively.¹ An important Old Babylonian text, CT 46:1-18, provides an early Semitic account of the division of realms among the gods:

When the gods like men
 Bore the work and suffered the toil-
 The toil of the gods was great,
 The work was heavy, the distress was much-
 The seven great Anunnaki
 Were making the Igigi suffer the work.
 Anu, their father, was the king;
 Their counsellor was the warrior Enlil;
 Their chamberlain was Ninurta;
 And their sheriff Ennugi.
 The gods had clasped hands together,
 Had cast lots and had divided.
 Anu had gone up to heaven,
 [..]... the earth to his subjects.
 [The bolt], the bar of the sea,
 [They had given] to Enki, the prince.
 [After Anu] had gone up to heaven
 [And Enki] had gone down to the Apsu.²

The text resembles the Homeric citation in two respects: 1) It appears to be concerned, not with the actual distribution of the various lands

¹S. N. Kramer comments, "The sentence states the current belief that after the creation of the world, the two cities were allotted to the gods as their personal possession and property and that Enlil himself as the head of the gods had drawn the boundary line between them." "Sumerian Historiography," *IEJ*, 3 (1953), p. 224, n. 11.

²For the Akkadian text and translation see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, pp. 42f. For a slightly different reading cf. W. von Soden, "Die erste Tafel des altbabylonischen Atramhasis-Mythus. 'Haupttext' und Parallelversionen," *ZA*, 68 (1978), pp. 54f.

among the gods, but with the cosmic spheres of the high deities, Anu, Enlil and Enki, to whom are allocated the heavens, the earth, and the waters beneath the earth, respectively.¹ 2) The allotments are once more decided by the casting of lots (is-qum).

Although the passage does not deal specifically with the allocation of their respective lands to the gods, some such event seems to be presupposed by the second millennium B.C. text from Ugarit, Cnt VI:12-17:

<u>idk</u> . <u>al</u> . <u>ttn</u>	"Then you shall surely set
<u>pnm tk</u> . <u>hqkpt</u>	(your) face toward Memphis ²
<u>il</u> . <u>klh</u> . <u>kptr</u>	god of it all, for Caphtor ³
<u>ksu</u> . <u>tbth</u> . <u>hkpt</u>	is the throne on which he sits; Memphis
<u>ars</u> . <u>nhlth</u>	the land of his possession. ⁴

Egypt and Caphtor are here portrayed as the domains of ktr whss, the craftsman god, who has been identified with Ptaḥ, the Egyptian counterpart.

The most important extra-biblical source for the origins of the

¹So Lambert and Millard, loc. cit., p. 8. The text does not state specifically that this was the purpose of the lots, but the context generally appears to suggest this.

²Egypt is referred to here by the native name for Memphis, a name found also in the Amarna correspondence, and later employed by the Greeks to refer to the Nile valley. Cf. Albright, FSAC, p. 216; idem, "Recent Progress in North Canaanite Research," BASOR, 70 (1938), p. 22; H. L. Ginsburg, "Two Religious Borrowings in Ugaritic Literature," Part II: "The Egyptian God Ptaḥ in Ugaritic Mythology," Or, 9 (1940), pp. 39-44. G. R. Driver, CML, p. 90, inserts cm . ktr . whss after this line. But Gibson, CML, p. 55, n. 1, prefers the text as it stands, interpreting the phrase literally, "Memphis of El, all of it."

³Gibson, ibid, n. 2, rejects the common identification of kpkr with Crete.

⁴On the significance of nhlth see infra, pp. 423ff.

⁵Cf. Albright, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, p. 193; idem, FSAC, p. 216; J. Gray, LC, p. 137.

territorial claims of the gods is provided by Eusebius.¹ Although the written text originated in the Christian era, it is based upon the accounts of Sanchuniathon, a Phoenician historian probably from the seventh century B.C.² In his reproduction of Sanchuniathon's account, Eusebius notes that after visiting the various regions of the habitable world,³ Kronos granted to Athena, Baaltis, Poseidon, and Taautos the territories of Attica, Byblos, Berytus and Egypt respectively. Although the circumstances of the first three allotments are not indicated, the last named follows Taautos' designing of the royal ensign of Kronos and may have represented a reward for services rendered.⁴

Several common features emerge from these texts. 1) In none is the territory received depicted as having been wrested from another deity, i.e., gained by military victory. On the contrary, in each instance the allotment appears to have proceeded under peaceful circumstances. Where the procedure is noted the allocations were made either by lot,⁵ or as

¹Praeparatio Evangelica 1. 10. 31-38. For the Greek text and a French translation see J. Sirinelli and E. des Places, La préparation évangélique, Sources chrétiennes, 206 (Paris: 1974), p. 200.

²So O. Eissfeldt, Ras Shamra und Sanchuniathon (Halle: 1939), pp. 67-71. Albright, FSAC, p. 317, n. 57, although personally favouring the seventh century date, indicates that the sixth century is also possible. Eusebius did not receive his information from Sanchuniathon directly, but through the mediation of Philo of Byblos. The historical fragments of Philo are conveniently collected by F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Dritter Teil, C (Leiden: 1958, reprint 1969), no. 790, pp. 802-24. For a helpful study of Philo's history and the nature of its transmission see J. Barr, "Philo of Byblos and his 'Phoenician History'," BJRL, 57 (1974), pp. 17-68.

³Οἰκουμένη, rendered "terre habitée" by Sirinelli and des Places, p. 200.

⁴Cf. Barr, loc. cit., p. 29. Although how this relationship began is not indicated, according to Praep. Evang. 1. 10. 31 Tyre appears similarly to belong to Astarte.

⁵CT 46:11-12; Homer Iliad 15. 189ff.; Pindar Olympian Odes 7.55-76.

outright grants.¹ 2) In several the leading role is played by the highest deity.² 3) Most importantly, for our purposes, in each case the relationships established are between deities and lands, without respect to the latter's inhabitants. It is the lands which are portrayed as the realm of the gods.

The historical primacy of the deity-territory tie

The recognition of a territory as the realm of its god was expressed in various ways. Hints of this may be detected in the use of genitive expressions to describe the relationship. The general expression, אלהי ארצות, occurs only once in the Old Testament, in 2 Kings 18:35,³ where the Assyrian official speaks of "the gods of the lands" not having been able to deliver their lands (ארצם) from the Assyrians. However, the form finds specific application with the insertion of place names, as opposed to national names or gentilics, in the genitive.⁴ In most instances, though, the genitive expression follows the reverse order; the land is said to belong to the god rather than vice versa. Thus in the Old Testament the territory of Israel could be identified as ארץ יהוה⁵ or ארמת יהוה.⁶ More commonly, pronominal suffixes were attached to

¹Sanchuniathon.

²Homer, Pindar, Sanchuniathon.

³In this verse אלהי הארצות appears to have replaced אלהי הגוים; cf. v. 33. Note also the parallels, Isa. 36:20; 2 Chron. 32:13. The latter has אלהי גוי הארצות.

⁴Cf. supra, p. 163, n.

⁵Hos. 9:3.

⁶Isa. 14:2.

a term representing the land, so that Israel could be spoken of as ארצי,¹ ארצך,² or ארצו.³ Neither of these forms was distinctively Hebrew^{qic}. In the Mesha Inscription Chemosh is declared to have been angry with ארצה ("his land").⁴ Eshmunazar of Sidon speaks of Dor and Joppa as ארצת דגן ("the mighty lands of Dagon").⁵

Several additional genitival expressions are used to designate the deity-territory association in the Old Testament. One of these, נחלה יהוה, occurs eleven times.⁶ In the earliest reference, Exod. 15:17, the sacred nature of the land as the נחלה of the deity is obvious:

תבאמו ותטעמו בהר נחלתך	"You will bring them and plant them in the mountain of your inheritance;
מכון לשבתך פעלת יהוה	The place which you have made for your dwelling, O Yahweh;
מקדש אדני כוננו ידיך	The sanctuary, O Lord, which your hands have established."

¹Isa. 14:25(//הרי); Jer. 2:7(//נחלתי); 16:18(//נחלתי); Ezek. 36:5; 38:16; Joel 1:6; 4:2. Cf. אדמתי, 2 Chron. 7:20.

²Ps. 85:2 (in complementary parallelism with יעקב); 2 Sam. 7:23.

³Deut. 33:13; Ezek. 36:20; Joel 2:18(//עמו); Ps. 10:16. Cf. אדמתו, Zech. 9:16; Deut. 32:43 (MT //עמו). Cf. here LXX, Sam. Vg. and a fragment from Qumran cave 4, אדמת עמו. On the textual problems see R. Meyer, "Die Bedeutung von Deuteronomium 32:8f.43(4Q) für die Auslegung des Moseliedes," in Verbannung und Heimkehr, Rudolf Festschrift, ed. by A. Kuschke (Tübingen: 1961), pp. 199f.; P. Skehan, "A Fragment of the 'Song of Moses' (Deut. 32) from Qumran," BASOR, 136 (1954), pp. 12-15; F. M. Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran & Modern Biblical Studies, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: 1961), pp. 181ff. See further, infra, pp. 435ff.

⁴KAI 181:5.

⁵ANET, p. 662. Cf. Donner & Röllig, KAI, II, s.v. 14:19, who translate "Kornländer." Reference should also be made here to the designation of the territory of Assyria as mi-sir^{mat} assur^{KI}. See A. R. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Ashurbanipal," Iraq, 30 (1968), p. 109, lines 22', 25', 26'; R. C. Thompson, "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-32," Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 20 (1933), pp. 88-89, line 148.

⁶On the use of the same phrase to refer to the people of Yahweh see infra, pp. 436f.

Here Yahweh's נחלה is his dwelling place, his sanctuary, and has reference to the mountains of Israel. In later usage of the Song, the imagery would quite naturally have been applied to Jerusalem Zion and the temple.¹ נחלה bears a similar significance in Ps. 79:1:

אלהים באו גוים בנחלתך	"O God, the nations have entered your possession;
טמאו את היכל קדשך	They have defiled your holy temple;
שמו את ירושלם לעינים	They have laid Jerusalem in ruins."

The paralleling of נחלה with היכל קדשך and Jerusalem recalls the Ugaritic text, C^cnt III:25-28:

. . . <u>átm</u> . <u>wánk</u>	". . . Thou and I
<u>ibgyh</u> . <u>btk</u> . <u>gry</u> . <u>il</u> . <u>spn</u>	will search it out amid the rocks of El Sapon,
<u>bqds</u> . <u>bgr</u> . <u>ahlyt</u>	in the holy place, on the rock of my possession,
<u>bn^c m</u> . <u>bgb^c</u> . <u>tlyt</u>	in the pleasant place, on the moun- tain of my victory." ²

Ps. 68 shares with the Song of Miriam the motif of the entry of Yahweh into Canaan as a conquering divine warrior.³ However, in verse

¹So F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry, SBL Dissertation Series, 21 (Missoula: 1975), p. 65. These authors date the Song of Miriam in the period of the Judges. See pp. 45f.; idem, "The Song of Miriam," JNES, 14 (1955), pp. 237-50.

²Although their order is altered, each of the elements paralleled in Ps. 79:1 has its counterpart in this text.

³On the motif see F. M. Cross, "The Divine Warrior," ch. 5 in Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic (Cambridge, Mass.: 1973), pp. 91ff.; P. D. Miller, The Divine Warrior in Early Israel, Harvard Semitic Monographs, 5 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1973). W. F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems," HUCA, 23 (1950-51), pp. 1-39, ascribed the poem to the Solomonic era. So also Dahood, Psalms II, p. 133. H. J. Kraus, Psalmen, BAT, 15/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1960), pp. 469f., suggests an origin for the psalm in the cult at Mount Tabor. Cf. G. Wanke, "נחלה^a nah^a la Besitzanteil," THAT, II, p. 58, who, without defence, dates the psalm as post-exilic.

10 נחלה applies not to the sanctuary alone, but to the entire land of Israel, as the land of abundance for the people of Yahweh. This broader application of the term to the land of Israel is rare, occurring elsewhere only in Jeremiah.¹ In several Jeremianic contexts the sacred quality of the נחלה remains in the forefront. This is true of 2:7, where the ארץ is said to have been defiled by the population, and the נחלה to have been made an abomination (תועבה). According to 16:18 the sin and iniquity of Judah will be repaid because they have polluted (חלל) the ארץ and filled Yahweh's נחלה with the carcasses of detestible idols (שקוצים) and abominations (תועבות). This nuance is not so apparent in 10:16 = 51:19 and 12:7-9.²

Therefore, when used in a geographic sense, נחלה יהוה reflects two divergent lines of thought: it may refer to the sacred area associated with the residence of the deity; or it may apply to the entire land of Israel. The precise significance of the phrase depends upon the value assigned to the root נחל. Traditionally, נחלה has been translated with inheritance terminology. Von Rad, for example, interpreted it as denoting the hereditary possession of a tribe or clan.³ But after examining

¹So also F. Horst, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz): נחלה und ארץ," in Verbannung und Heimkehr, p. 141. On Forshey's unconvincing thesis that the territorial use of the expression is primary, and its application to the people secondary, see infra, p. 436ff.

²J. A. Soggin, "Jeremias XII 10a: Eine Parallelstelle zu Deut. XXXII 8/LXX?" VT, 8 (1958), pp. 304-5, after defending the originality of חלקה in verse 10, suggests that both this term here, as well as נחלה found in 20 mss, 1ms LXX, Syriac Hexapla margin, presuppose an allotment in which Yahweh retained Palestine or Judah as his portion, which in turn presupposes that other gods had received their own territories, a thought quite similar to Deut. 32:8 LXX.

³"The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," in The Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays, trans. by E. W. Trueman

the use of the root in Hebrew as well as in the cognate languages, Forshey has recently rejected this view, associating the word rather with landed property. He argues that the term points to "the practice of giving loyal servants the utilization of land as a reward for past service -- fundamentally military service is involved -- and in expectation of future service."¹ Although there can be no question of Yahweh being perceived as a vassal who had received his נחלה from an overlord, the military association of the term might suggest that, as his נחלה, the land of Israel represented the land which Yahweh had gained by conquest, in this case from the Canaanites. The significance of the term appears, therefore, to be quite similar to that of ארצה and ירשה, discussed below, and helps to explain the occasional association of נחלה with the former.²

On one occasion, 2 Chron. 20:11, the land of Judah is designated as the ירשת יהוה. The expression is surprising because in every other occurrence of ירשה, the term refers to the land as Israel's possession.³ In view of the presence of הוריש in the following clause, the selection

Dicken (London: 1966), p. 80 (originally published in German as "Verheissenes Land und Yahwes Land im Hexateuch," ZDPV, 66 (1943), pp. 191-204). Cf. H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," EvT, 16 (1956), p. 407, "Erbbesitz"; so also idem, Jahwes Eigentumsvoik, ATNT, 37 (Zurich: 1960), p. 78; F. Dreyfus, "Le theme de l'heritage dans l'Ancien Testament," RSPT, 42 (1958), p. 8, "posseder a titre de patrimoine." Dreyfus correctly asserts that the object concerned is always of a durable rather than perishable nature. So also Horst, p. 152.

¹"NHL," p. 233. See also the abstract of the dissertation, "The Hebrew Root NHL and its Semitic Cognates," HTR, 66 (1973), pp. 505-6; idem, "Segulah and Nachalah as Designations of the Covenant Community," Hebrew Abstracts, 15 (1974), pp. 85-86.

²See esp. Ezek. 44:28. Cf. Horst, pp. 154f.

³LXX eliminates that anomaly by translating ἀπο τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν, which assumes מִירֶשְׁתּוֹנוֹ. Cf. also Syriac. Cf. Deut. 2:5,9,19; 3:20; Josh. 1:15; Judg. 21:17; Jer. 32:8; Ps. 61:5.

of *ירשה* instead of *נחלה* or *אחזה*, may have been dictated by assonantal considerations. It is not likely that the word is to be interpreted as an abstraction, "what has been dispossessed", i.e., from the previous owners, even though both Qal,¹ and Hiphil² stems are capable of bearing this sense,³ Yahweh never appears as the subject of the Qal form. Furthermore, whenever the expression is used in the sense "to dispossess", the previous owners are always identified as the occupants of the land, not deities. It seems best, therefore, to translate *מירשתך* here as "the possession of Yahweh", and to recognize a military nuance. This is supported quite clearly by the context.

A third expression used to describe the relationship between Yahweh and the land, *אחזת יהוה*, occurs only in Josh. 22:19. Being derived from the common Semitic root *אחז*, "to seize, grasp",⁴ the present form appears to

¹Deut. 2:12,21,22; 9:1; 11:23; 12:2,29; 19:1; 31:3; Isa. 54:3.

²Judg. 1:27,29,30,31,33; etc. Yahweh is the subject in Judg. 11:24; 1 Kings 14:24; 21:26; 2 Kings 16:3; 17:8; 21:2; 28:3; 33:2.

³The term *ירש* refers fundamentally to "the transfer of property". As such it may signify "to possess", or, alternatively, "to dispossess". According to Dreyfus, pp. 5-8, in its theological usage in Deuteronomy it refers especially to the transfer of land from its ancient proprietors to the new owners. J. G. Plöger, *Literarische, formgeschichtliche und stil-kritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium* (Bonn: 1967), p. 83, has designated *ירש* as technical war terminology, representing the human activity, i.e., the taking possession, involved in the transfer of territory, as opposed to the divine activity, that is the granting (*נתן*) of the land. This usage is confirmed in the Mesha Inscription, KAI 181:7. However, the inheritance connotations of the term should not be overlooked. See esp. Gen. 15:3,4; 21:10; 2 Sam. 14:7; Jer. 49:1. Cf. also Old Aramaic KAI 222 C:24f., "to possess, inherit"; Ugaritic *yrt*, *Krt* 25 (//*sph*, on which see W. Johnstone, *Ugaritica*, 6 [1969], pp. 313f.); late Babylonian *yāritu*, "heir" (AHw, p. 412a).

⁴For Northwest Semitic, cf. *DISO*, pp. 9f.; Akkadian, AHw, pp. 18f.; Ugaritic, Gordon, *UT*, p. 355. On the Hebrew usage of the term see esp. Horst, pp. 153-56; H. H. Schmid, *THAT*, I, pp. 107-10. Cf. also Johnstone, *loc. cit.*, pp. 314f.

signify in general "possession".¹ The context here is instructive for the theological significance of the term, insofar as *אחזת יהוה* applies only to Canaan proper, i.e., the west side of the Jordan. The Trans-jordan, by contrast, is described as an unclean land (*טמאה ארץ אחזתכם*).² If the nuance of seizure is to be reflected in the expression, again the previous owners should be understood as the Canaanites, rather than other deities.³

Although all of these genitival constructions reflect Yahweh's ownership of the land of Israel, the most explicit statement is found in Lev. 25:23, *והארץ לא תמכר לצמחת כי לי הארץ כי גרים ותושבים אתם עמדי*, "The land shall not be permanently sold, for the land is mine; for you are but aliens and sojourners with me." The requirements for Israel's treatment of the land and the law concerning the year of Jubilee are based squarely upon the deity's ownership of the same.

The Old Testament is consistent in its identification of the land of Canaan as the territory belonging to Yahweh. Any associations with Edom,⁴ the Kenites,⁵ or the Midianites,⁶ fall far short of designating these as

¹See further Horst, pp. 153ff. (who notes that *אחזת* is more general and juristic than *נחלה*); Dreyfus, p. 15; Schmid, *loc. cit.* In Ezek. 44:28 *אחזה//נחלה*.

²Cf. von Rad, *loc. cit.*, p. 87. On this restricted use of Canaan as referring only to the west side of the Jordan, cf. *supra*, pp. 362ff.

³The vague reference to "the gods of the Amorites in whose land you dwell" (Josh. 24:15), could conceivably be treating the land as the possession of the deities, but this is unlikely. Cf. the use of *ירשה*, *supra*.

⁴Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4; Hab. 3:3.

⁵Gen. 4:15, Cain, who is supposed to have given his name to the Kenites (de Vaux, *EHI*, p. 333), bore the mark of Yahweh. The Rechabites, fervent devotees of Yahweh (2 Kings 10:15-27; Jer. 35:1-11) were, according to 1 Chron. 2:55, of Kenite descent.

⁶Exod. 18. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses and priest of Midian

distinctively his. The traditional support for the so-called Kenite hypothesis for the origins of Yahwism, derived from the reference to Yhw in Egyptian inscriptions¹ has been shown to be without foundation. Astour has demonstrated that the toponym is not to be located to the south of Palestine but in the region of the Lebanon!² An association between this place and the Israelite deity is incapable of proof.³

Historiography

The importance of the deity-territory tie is reflected prominently in the historiography of the ancient Semites. In Mesopotamia, when a king met Moses at the "mountain of God" (v. 5). In v. 11 he acknowledges Yahweh as the greatest of all gods.

¹Weippert, Settlement, pp. 105ff.; Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 86; R. Givon, "The Cities of our God (2 Sam. 10:12)," JBL, 83 (1964), pp. 415-16; B. Grdseloff, "Edom, d'apres les sources égyptiennes," Revue de l'histoire juive d'Egypte, 1 (1947), pp. 81f. But note the caution expressed by de Vaux, EHI, p. 334.

²M. C. Astour, "Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists," in Festschrift Elmar Edel, ed. by M. Görg and E. Pusch (Bamberg: 1979), pp. 17-34.

³In view of the geographical and chronological proximity to Ugarit, an association with the Ugaritic deity Yw, mentioned in Cnt pl. x:IV:14, or Ieuw, the Byblite divinity referred to by Eusebius (Praep. Evan. 1. 9. 21) and whose priest, Hierombalos, was Eusebius' authority on Sanchuniathon, is more likely. So also J. C. de Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba^clu: According to the Version of Ilimilku, AOAT, 16 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1971), pp. 118f.; A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, A. Herdner, eds., Textes Ougaritiques, Tome I: Mythes et legendes, les éditions du Cerf (Paris: 1974), p. 309, n. De Moor provides an extensive bibliography of discussions of the issue.

The prominence of the territorial tie in Mesopotamian thought is reflected by 1) some personal names, e.g., Bēl-ana-māti-šū (interpreted by CAD, 10, p. 419, as "Bel [has returned] to his country" ; cf. "Bel [has shown favour] to his country" , as suggested by A. R. Millard in private communication); ^dSin-māti-ka-ušur ("Sin protect your country", CAD, 10, p. 416); 2) explicit statements like ul tīdī kima mātum kaluša ša DN ú RN LUGAL (TCL 17 55:6), translated by CAD 10, p. 416, "Do you now know that the entire country belongs to Marduk and to King Samsuiluna?"; 3) less explicit statements like "Sin who loved Ur" (ANET, p. 617); "Ningal whose land is perished" (ANET, p. 461); "Ninlil who resides in Nineveh" (ANET, p. 534).

gained control over additional territory often he viewed himself as extending the land of his god.¹ This is not to say that the gods were disinterested in the general citizenry,² but if a god should become angry with his land and go into exile, the precondition for the return to normalcy was the reconstruction of the city and the temple.³ Even then the reconciliation was often expressed primarily in terms of the deity's relationship to the land, city and temple, rather than the people.⁴

Syrian documentation of the nature of the relationship between deity and territory is limited. The most helpful text is the Mesha Inscription, in which the interests of the Moabite deity are represented in

¹See e.g., Winckler, *Sargon*, p. 178, lines 12-13: eli gi-mir māti-su rapaštim ^{tim} ú niše ^{-meš} -šu šam-ḥa-a-ti amēlu su-ut-reš-ia a-na amēlu bēl piḥati ^{ti} aš-kun-ma ša ilu aššur šar ilāni [meš] u-rap-pi-ša ki-sur-ru-us, "Over his entire broad land and his numerous population I installed my nobles as officials, and thus extended the territory of Assur, king of the gods." On this topic see M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.*, SBL Monograph Series, 19 (Missoula: 1974). On the broader topic of the role of the gods in history, see B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods*, Coniectanea Biblica OT Series, 1 (Lund: 1967), esp. pp. 42ff.; W. G. Lambert, "Destiny and Divine Intervention in Babylon and Israel," *OTS*, 17 (1972), pp. 70ff.; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Encounter with the Divine/Mesopotamia and Israel*, Jordan Lectures, 1976 (London: 1978), pp. 81ff. Note also Azitawadda's repeated comment, בעל ואלם בטל ואלם, "by virtue of Baal and the gods," KAI 26 I:8; II:6,12; III:11; IV:12.

²Note the popular nature of the moral disintegration, and the general contempt for the cult that leads to the exile of Marduk from Babylon, Borger, *Asarhaddon*, pp. 12-13. Cf. also L. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, SANE I/3 (Malibu: 1977), pp. 30f., esp. lines 120ff. See further, *infra*, pp. 450ff.

³*Asarhaddon*, p. 18, episode 15.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 15ff., episode 10. Cf. also R. Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Sulgi als Propheten zwei prophetische Texte," *BiOr*, 28 (1971), pp. 16f. In the "Prophetic Speech of Marduk" the god's primary concern is the land of Babylon, whose fortunes he promotes even while he is in exile (I:13-21). The resolution of the crisis awaits the appearance of a king who will reconstruct Babylon and Esagila (I:19ff.).

purely territorial terms, and are closely attached to the achievements of Chemosh-yat.¹ The text refers to four regions which were viewed as legitimate parts of Moab, but which Omri of Israel and the Gadites had occupied: Madeba, Ataroth, Nebo, Jahaz. The Israelite oppression is portrayed as an expression of the anger of Chemosh against his land.² Nevertheless, Mesha had been able to reconquer all of this territory. Significantly, Chemosh is involved in each stage of the reconquest. After Madeba had been taken, Chemosh took up residence there.³ In Ataroth the inhabitants were all slain as a spectacle for Chemosh and Moab. Furthermore, the lion figure of David, a prized object of booty, was presented to the god at Kerioth.⁴ The invasion of Nebo was undertaken in response to the specific command of Chemosh.⁵ Since the city had been devoted⁶ to Ashtar-Chemosh,⁷ the entire population was annihilated. The vessels of Yahweh were seized and presented to the Moabite deity, symbolic of the mastery of the latter over the former. With respect to Jahaz, Chemosh is supposed to have driven out the inhabitants himself.⁸ All of these regions were annexed to the land of Moab. The text, or as much of it as has been recovered, concludes

¹This reconstruction of the name is based on the El-Kerak inscription. Cf. KAI, II, p. 170; Gibson, HMI, p. 77.

²KAI 181:1,5, כִּי יֵאָנֶף כֶּמֶשׁ בְּאַרְצָה.

³Lines 7-8.

⁴Lines 11-13.

⁵Line 14.

⁶Note the use of חָרַם. For Hebrew parallels to the Hiphil usage, cf. Lev. 27:28; Mic. 4:13. On the use of the term see C. Brekelmans, THAT, I, pp. 635-39.

⁷Probably a fusion of the two deities. So KAI, II, p. 176.

⁸Line 19.

with a final command by Chemosh to take Horonaim. The command was obeyed enabling the deity to establish his residence there for the duration of Mesha's reign.¹

Two features of the inscription are of special interest. First, it is silent on the relationship between Chemosh and the people of Moab; his concerns appear to be exclusively territorial. Second, the residence of the deity is not restricted to the central shrine in the capital city, or even to the heartland of the nation. His dwelling extends as far as the political borders of Mesha's kingdom.

Old Testament narrative support for the primacy of Yahweh's association with his land is relatively rare. Ezekiel 36, with its attention to the *הרי ישראל*, and the sacrilege involved in the Edomites' attempt to appropriate Yahweh's land for themselves (v.5), and the insults from the nations endured by the land of Israel, appears to be of this nature. However, the language is highly figurative, and, in any case, the divine concern for the land arises from his commitment to the people, not *vice versa*. Nevertheless, faint echoes of the extra-biblical perceptions may be heard occasionally. The most dramatic illustration occurs in Josh. 22.² Keenly aware of the importance of the Jordan as a territorial boundary,³ the two and one-half tribes constructed an altar of witness on the banks of this river. They feared that in the future the border could be used as a weapon against them by the residents of the western side to exclude them

¹Lines 32-33.

²For a review of recent studies on the chapter see J. G. Vink, "The Date and Origin of the Priestly code in the Old Testament," *OTS*, 15 (1969), pp. 73-77.

³Cf. *supra*, p. 395.

from the service of Yahweh, hence also the covenant. The purpose of the altar was to serve as a reminder of their association with the nation of Israel, and their title to a portion of Yahweh.¹ The memory of a common heritage with the rest of the people of Israel would not be sufficient guarantee for their continued acceptance in the community.

Two later events illustrate the contrast between Israelite and Aramaean perceptions of the divine-territorial association. According to 1 Kings 20, Aramaean military strategy was based upon the theological presupposition that the god of the Israelites was territorially bound. After an initial fiasco, assuming that Yahweh was a god of the mountains, the generals advised the king to conduct the battle in the plain, out of the deity's reach.² Their subsequent defeat demonstrated the error of their hypothesis. In a later account, following his miraculous healing, Naaman confessed that there was no god in all the earth, except in Israel.³ Sensing some mystical relationship between the deity and the land in which he was revered, he desired to take two loads of Israelite soil back with him to Damascus. His expectation was that, even if he must attend the worship of Rimmon, out of duty to his master, Yahweh would pardon him because of the connection provided by the soil in his possession.

A hint of similar notions may be detected in Jonah 1:8f. Concerned to establish the prophet's identity, the sailors inquired concerning his country (ארץ) and his people (עם). However, when he identified himself as a worshipper of Yahweh, "God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land,"

¹ חלק ביהוה, 22:25.

² Verse 23, cf. 28.

³ 2 Kings 5:15ff.

they were terrified. They now realized that the deity with whom they were contending was not the god of the sea, nor a god of some insignificant land, but the god of the universe.

The continuity of the deity-territory tie

A third indicator of a primary association between a deity and his land is the persistence of the recognition of the deity in the land irrespective of ethnic identity of the inhabitant. This is most clearly illustrated in the history of Babylon, where Marduk was revered successively by Old Babylonians,¹ Assyrians,² Chaldaeans,³ Persians,⁴ and Greeks.⁵ Syrian conceptions are more difficult to determine because of the lack of continuous documentation. Although Weippert's comment, that the only evidence for the cult of Qaus in Edom derives from Nabataean times,⁶ now requires revision,⁷ the deity is unattested, even in personal names, prior to the eighth century.⁸ However, from the seventh century B.C. the worship

¹Prologue to the Code of Hammurabi, ii:4-6, ANET, p. 164.

²See especially the references to Esarhaddon's reconstruction of the temple, supra, p. 429.

³E.g., by Nebuchadnezzar, ANET, p. 307.

⁴Cyrus cylinder, ANET, p. 315.

⁵E.g., Antiochus Soter (280-62 B.C.), ANET, p. 317.

⁶Weippert, "Edom," p. 465. Cf. J. Starcky, "Le temple Nabatéen de Khirbet Tannur," RB, 75 (1968), pp. 208ff.

⁷See Puech, Levant, 9 (1977), pp. 14-15, where a fragment of a vase, suggested to be a temple vessel, dating from the early seventh century B.C. (?) contains a clear inscription with the name of Qaus.

⁸Absence of evidence is not, however, to be construed as evidence of absence. Our information on all aspects of Edomite society prior to this time is scanty.

of Qaus maintained itself through several population shifts. Not only the Nabataeans,¹ but the Idumaeans inhabiting the western side of the Arabah venerated this deity.² Concerning the continuity of the worship of Milkom and Chemosh³ after the disappearance of the Ammonites and the Moabites respectively, evidence is entirely lacking. The exile of the gods predicted by Jeremiah⁴ appears to have been permanent.

The continuation of the association of Yahweh with the land of Israel, even after the deportation of the nation is clearly reflected in 2 Kings 17:24ff. After the destruction of Samaria, the threat to the inhabitants posed by the rapidly increasing lion population was officially attributed to the newcomers' ignorance of the customs of the god of the land. To appease the anger of the deity, Israelite priests were brought back to teach the foreigners in the custom and fear of Yahweh.⁵

¹Cf. J. T. Milik, "Nouvelles inscriptions Nabatéennes," *Syria*, 35 (1958), pp. 236ff. On other aspects of continuity between Edomite and Nabataean culture see J. R. Bartlett, "From Edomites to Nabataeans: A Study in Continuity," *PEQ*, 111 (1979), pp. 52-66.

²Josephus *Ant.* 15. 7. 9. Cf. Milik, *loc. cit.*, pp. 239f.

³Chemosh was recognized as the god of the Moabites as early as the twelfth century B.C. (cf. Num. 21:29) and as long as the nation existed.

⁴49:3 (Milkom); 48:7 (Chemosh).

⁵The narrator is not oblivious to the dilemma created by two conflicting theological positions. On the one hand, the people were anxious to pay due respect to the god of the land, but on the other, they were unable to give up their national deities. The result was a syncretistic compromise. On the practice of re-educating deportees cf. *ARAB*, II, #86, 108,122, according to which Sargon II appointed officials to instruct the newcomers to Dur-Sharrukin "how to fear god and the king."

The Primacy of the Deity-Nation Tie

As in the preceding section, the defence of a primary association between a deity and his people, as opposed to the god and his land, depends upon the satisfaction of several requirements: 1) the relationship between deity and people existed prior to and independent of the former's association with a specific territory; 2) historically, the deity's concern for the people took precedence over his interest in the land; 3) the relationship continued regardless of the presence of the people in the land otherwise associated with the deity.

The chronological priority of the deity-nation tie

The only available evidence for a prior association of deity and people derives from the Old Testament and writings based thereon. Undoubtedly the most important witness to this view is Deut. 32:8-9. However, the textual problems here are acute, and before an interpretation of the passage is given, these difficulties require explanation. The problems arise out of a discrepancy between the Masoretic reading, on the one hand, and the LXX and Vulgate renderings on the other. The discrepancies may be highlighted by juxtaposing MT with the hypothetical Vorlage of LXX:

<u>MT</u>	<u>LXX</u> ¹
בהנחל עליון גוים	בהנחל עליון גוים
בהפרידו בני אדם	בהפרידו בני אדם
יצב גבלת עמים	יצב גבלת עמים
למספר בני ישראל	למספר בני אלהים

¹The Greek text reads as follows: ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη, ὡς διέσπειρεν υἱοὺς Ἀδάμ, ἔστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ, καὶ ἐγένηθη μερὶς κυρίου λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, σχοῖνισμα κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ Ἰσραηλ.

כי חלק יהוה ¹עמו כי חלק יהוה ¹עמו יעקב
יעקב חבל נחלתו חבל נחלתו ישראל

The first three lines, describing the actions of Elyon, are in perfect agreement, and their meaning is clear. Yahweh, identified by the lofty title, Elyon,² not only separated the בני אדם into their various עמים; he also apportioned for each, as a politically identifiable entity,³ a territorial possession,⁴ specifically establishing the boundaries (גבלת)

¹עמו is commonly deleted for metrical reasons. E.g., P. Skehan, "The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy (Deut. 32:1-43)," CBQ, 13 (1951), p. 154, n. 6, who sees in עמו "a (purposeful ?) duplication from verse 8; the disappearance of Yisra'el from v. 9 (where LXX has it) is a reflex of its substitution for 'El in verse 8. The place of the caesura in verse 9 is clearly dictated by considerations of metre and parallelism, once these points are recognized." Cf. Forshey, "NHL," p. 137.

²Eissfeldt has argued that עליון be understood as a personal name of the highest deity, the one who apportioned the nations to the members of the pantheon, including Yahweh. "El and Yahweh," JSS, 1 (1956), pp. 25-27; idem., Das Lied Moses, Deuteronomium 32 1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes (Berlin: 1958), p. 9, n.1. However, it is preferable to understand the two names as parallel designations of the same deity. So also W. F. Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII," VT, 9 (1959), p. 343; M. Tsevat, "God and the Gods in Assembly: An Interpretation of Psalm 82," HUCA, 40-41 (1969-70), p. 132, n. 28; Forshey, p. 139, n. 78.

³On the political nature of גוי, cf. supra, pp. 84ff., and infra, pp. 493ff.

⁴Forshey has argued, contra Dreyfus, Horst, Wanke, that the notion of Israel as the נחלת יהוה dates to exilic times, after the territorial link with Yahweh had been severed. "NHL," chs. III, V; idem., "Segulah and Nachalah as Designations of the Covenant Community," Hebrew Abstracts, 15 (1974), p. 86; idem., "The Construct Chain nah^alat YHWH/'elohim," BASOR, 220 (1975), pp. 51-53. To defend this thesis Forshey must treat each reference to the people as נחלת יהוה in one of two ways: either the text is dated late, or the expression applies to the land rather than the people. Although he dates Deut. 32 during the time of the Assyrian crisis (contra Eissfeldt, loc. cit. and Albright, loc. cit., who defend an eleventh century B.C. date, but drawing support from G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32," in Israel's Prophetic Heritage, Muilenburg Festschrift, ed. by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson [London: 1962], p.67, who dates the poem in the ninth century) this text is treated in the latter way. "NHL,"

thereof.¹ The sense is clear: whatever territorial ties the nations enjoyed, these were attributed to Yahweh. This is in keeping with earlier notices in the book concerning the inviolability of Mount Seir as the territory of the bny Esau,² Ar as the territory of the Moabites,³ and the region occupied by the Ammonites.⁴ These were all given by Yahweh to their respective inhabitants as their ירשה, "possession".⁵

pp. 136ff. This interpretation suffers, however, because: 1) The retention of עמו in 9a may be defended on metrical grounds. As it stands, MT consists of two perfectly balanced seven-syllable stichoi arranged in common chiasmic parallelism. To delete עמו, then shift יעקב to the end of the first line and insert ישראל at the end of the second to restore metrical balance (so also Skehan, cf. *supra*, p. 436, n. 1; Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 199f.) is unnecessary. 2) Although גבלה, חלק, חבל, and נחלב are all associated with landed terminology, the allocation of lands is not the only subject treated in these verses. They also deal with the prior division of peoples and nations. The allocation of lands is a secondary development. 3) Jacob, as an independent name, is never employed as a territorial designation (cf. the study of the name, *supra*, pp. 254ff.). 4) The succeeding verses (vs. 10f.) are clearly concerned with the community rather than the land of Israel. But cf. P. Winter, "Der Begriff 'Söhne Gottes' im Moselied Dtn. 32:1-43," *ZAW*, 67 (1955), pp. 40-48, who isolates v. 9 from the succeeding verses on internal grounds. 5) The related texts, Deut. 4:20; 9:26-29; 1 Kings 8:51,53, are acknowledged by Forshey, "*NHL*," pp. 178f. as unambiguous references to the community (these, however, are all ascribed to Dtr² and dated in the exile, *ibid.*, pp. 174ff.). Deut. 32:8-9 presents an intentional contrast: whereas the lands were assigned to their respective nations (not *vice versa*) and indirectly to their patrons, Yahweh reserved Israel, the people, for himself as his own possession.

¹On the significance of גבל, see *supra*, pp. 319ff.

²Deut. 2:5.

³Deut. 2:9.

⁴Deut. 2:19.

⁵On the significance of ירשה, cf. *supra*, pp. 425f. It should be noted, however, that Yahweh's authority over international boundaries was not limited to this original occasion; they continued to be subject to his control (Isa. 10:13), as is witness^{ed} by his action of "cutting off" from the land of Israel (2 Kings 10:32), and in transferring entire groups of people from one region to another. See here Amos 9:7. Cf. Acts 17:26.

So far MT and LXX are agreed. However, in the statement concerning the principle on which the division of the nations and the allocation of their territories was based (v. 8d), the two recensions diverge. According to MT the number of nations isolated was determined by the number of the sons of Israel. In view of the prominence of the sons of Jacob in the patriarchal traditions, the association with the number twelve is natural.¹ Indeed this is the figure adopted by the shorter paraphrase of the passage in Targum Yerushalmi I:

"When the Highest divided": When the Highest divided the nations, when he separated the languages of the sons of men, then he determined the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the tribes of Israel.

"For the possession": For they are the possession of the Lord, his people, the sons of Israel, Jacob is his inheritance.²

More commonly, however, the figure has been related to the number of Jacob's descendants who accompanied him into Egypt.³ Thus the second, more expanded paraphrase of our text in Targum Yerushalmi I reads:

When the Highest apportioned the world to the nations, who were descended from Noah's sons, when he distinguished scripts and languages of the sons of men from one another at the time of the dispersion, at the time he cast the lot with the seventy angels, the princes of the nations, with whom he had appeared, in order to view the city (Babylon). And at the time he determined the borders of the nations according to the total number of seventy souls of Israel, who went down to Egypt.⁴

This text conflates ideas derived from the Table of Nations (Gen. 10), the account of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1ff.), and the references to the

¹Gen. 35:22ff.; 49:28; Num. 1:44; 17:17,21, etc.

²Cf. Meyer, p. 206.

³Gen. 46:27; Exod. 1:5. Cf. LXX which has 75 in both instances. For a discussion of these texts see D. Barthélemy, "Les tiqquné sopherim et la critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament," *VTS*, 9 (1962), pp. 300f.

⁴Cf. Meyer, p. 206.

number of Jacob's household. It also appears to incorporate notions from both variants of Deut. 32:8. However, insofar as both paraphrases refer to the sons of Israel they seem to be based upon the same tradition as MT.¹

In 1951 Skehan argued forcefully for the priority of LXX, claiming that MT was the product of a pious Jew, living in a polytheistic world, to whom the existence of supernatural beings alongside God presented serious theological difficulties.² A fragment of Deut. 32 from the fourth cave at Qumran, published in 1954 by the same author, has provided strong support for this view,³ and most scholars are now convinced that LXX preserves the original reading. According to this recension the בני אלהים, whose number provided the basis for the division of the nations, should be seen as the members of God's heavenly court, i.e., the angels.⁴

¹Cf. also Rashi's commentary, s.v. "למספר בני ישראל" ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL - i.e., because of the number of the children of Israel that were in the future to descend from Shem's sons, and in accordance with the number of the seventy souls of the children of Israel who went down to Egypt he firmly established גבלה עמים . . ." Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtorah and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary, ed. by A. M. Silbermann (London: 1934), Vol. V, p. 160.

²CBQ, 13 (1951), p. 154. O. Loretz, "Die Vorgeschichte von Deuteronomium 32,8f.43," UF, 9 (1977), pp. 355-57, suggests this alteration was made in Hasmonaean times. So also Barthélemy, p. 297, where a detailed discussion is offered. For another defence of this position on internal grounds see Winter, loc. cit., pp. 40-48.

³BASOR, 136 (1954), pp. 12-15. Where MT has בני ישראל, the fragment has בני אל. This reading has been filled out by subsequent discoveries. Idem, "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Studies: The Masoretic Text," JBL, 78 (1959), p. 21.

⁴On which see F. M. Cross, "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," JNES, 12 (1953), pp. 274-77; Miller, The Divine Warrior, pp. 12-23. Albright, FSAC, p. 297, suggested that these בני אלהים were the stars. Cf. Job 38:7. Later, however, VT, 9 (1959), p. 343, n. 1, he noted that the emphasis was not on the stars as such, but on the angels who function as members of the heavenly assembly. The expression בן אלם has surfaced

Consequently each nation was perceived to have its own patron angel. According to verse 9, however, Israel's status was special; she was not to be supervised by an intermediary being as were the rest - Yahweh had selected her for his own personal care.

Support for this perspective, if not this reading of the text, is both ancient and widespread. In the prose texts of Deuteronomy mention is made of the sun, the moon and the stars being apportioned for all the peoples; Israel on the other hand, is not to be deluded into worshipping these.¹ It appears that some correlation should be made between the בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים in 32:8 and these heavenly bodies.² Dan. 10:13, speaking explicitly of the "prince (שָׂר) of the kingdom of Persia" who succeeded in delaying the arrival of the heavenly messenger for Daniel's assistance, seems to be based on related notions.³ In the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings these ideas appear repeatedly. Ben Sirah comments,

in a recently discovered Ammonite text. See most recently, V. Sasson, "The ^CAmmān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle Promising Divine Protection: Philological and Literary Comments," *PEQ*, 111 (1979), p. 123. For a different interpretation see A. van Selms, "Some Remarks on the ^CAmmān Citadel Inscriptions," *BiOr*, 32 (1975), p. 6.

¹4:19-20. Cf. also 29:24-25.

²Note the use of חֶלֶק in both contexts. In 4:19-20 the heavenly bodies are allotted (חֶלֶק) to the peoples, while Yahweh takes Israel out of Egypt to be his own נַחֲלָה; in 32:8-9 the term חֶלֶק is applied to Israel as the allotment of Yahweh. Skehan, *CBQ*, 13 (1951), p. 155, observes that the former text does not imply an endorsement on the part of the writer of the worship of the heavenly bodies. Rather the language is to be recognized as mythological and poetic.

³The reference to Michael as the prince who guards the sons of Israel (Dan. 10:13; 12:1) appears to contradict the Deuteronomic statement. However, Yahweh's role as their patron need not preclude the employment of other spiritual beings to care for his own.

"For every nation he appointed a ruler; but Israel is the Lord's portion!"¹

Jubilees 15:30ff. is even more specific:

" . . . but he chose Israel to be His people. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children of men; for there are many nations and many peoples and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler and He will preserve them."²

In the New Testament, Paul represents traditional Hebrew thought when he emphasizes to the Athenians the determining role played by Yahweh in the establishment of all national-territorial associations: " . . . and he made from one every nation of mankind to live on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed times, and the boundaries of their habitation."³

If the fragment from 4Q and LXX do indeed preserve the original reading of Deut. 32:8-9, the persistence in the later writings of the number seventy as the number of angelic beings and nations remains a problem.⁴ Whereas those who followed the Masoretic tradition had a ready answer in the seventy descendants of Jacob, this solution is now precluded.

¹ Ecclus. 17:17.

² A late Hebrew version of the Testament of Naphtali 8:3-10:5 has each of the nations choosing its own deity, rather than Yahweh appointing the former to the latter. Abraham alone is said to have chosen Yahweh. It was after this matter had been taken care of that the territorial allotments were made, this time, however, by Yahweh. For the text see R. H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Vol. II: Pseudepigrapha (Oxford: 1913), p. 363. The Old Testament does occasionally refer to Israel as having chosen its deity(ies). In each case, however, they have apostasized from their nationality. Cf. Judg. 10:14; cf. Isa. 41:24. deity

³ Acts 17:26.

⁴ For citations and discussion see Meyer, pp. 230f.; Barthélemy, pp. 295ff.

The text itself provides no clue. Some have suggested a Canaanite background to the tradition, associating the בני אלהים with the seventy banu 'Athirat of the Ugaritic texts.¹ This interpretation, however, is highly speculative. Although the biblical authors never speak specifically of seventy nations, it is more likely that Deut. 32:8 is to be associated with the tradition underlying the Table of Nations in Gen. 10. With a limited amount of adjustment the list may be made to consist of seventy nations.² That this association was made in later times is clear from the late version of the Testament of Naphtali, in which Nimrod is specifically associated with Cush,³ as well as the longer paraphrase of Deut. 32:8-9 in Targum Yerushalmi I.⁴ In view of the use of the verb, פָּרַד, in both texts, this connection may also be defended on internal grounds.⁵

Assuming the originality of the tradition reflected by LXX and the 4Q fragment renderings of Deut. 32:8-9, the chronological sequence of

¹UT 51 VI:46. So R. Tournay, "Les Psaumes Complexes," Part I, RB, 56 (1949), p. 53; Albright, VT, 9 (1959), pp. 343f.; Barthélemy, pp. 295ff.

²Nimrod is to be excluded, since he is clearly presented as an individual, rather than a national figure; perhaps also the Philistines, seeing they are mentioned only in an appended note. On the other hand, it is doubtful that an exact figure of seventy in the Table should be demanded; one more or less is of little consequence. So also U. Cassuto, From Noah to Abraham, Vol. II of A Commentary on the Book of Genesis, trans. by I. Abrahams (Jerusalem: 1964), pp. 175f. Cassuto sees in the number seventy a perfect figure, reflective of an ideal creation. But Barthélemy, p. 296, n. 5, insists the number of "begetters" and "sons" in the Table is exactly 70.

³9:1ff. Cf. supra, p. 441, n. 2. Apart from the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:8,9; 1 Chron. 1:10) Nimrod's name appears only in Mic. 5:5.

⁴Cf. supra, p. 438.

⁵Deut. 32:8 uses the Hiphil stem with Elyon as subject; Gen. 10:5 and 32 both have Niphal forms. Skehan's suggestion that the number may be

events appears to have run as follows: 1) Originally the heavenly court, consisted of Yahweh, the presiding deity, and a host of lesser beings identified variously as "the sons of God", princes, or angels. 2) The "sons of men" were divided into a series of peoples/nations whose total corresponded to the number of members in the heavenly court. One of the latter was designated as patron and guardian over one of each of the former. 3) Israel, however, received special treatment in that Yahweh selected her for his own direct care; she would need no intermediary patron. 4) For each of the nations Yahweh allocated a specific geographical region to be possessed and occupied. According to this interpretation, the priority of the deity-people over the deity-land association is confirmed.¹

The historical primacy of the deity-nation tie

Extra biblical evidence for a prior or primary interest of the gods in their respective peoples is scarce. The statement by Azitawadda, "Ba^c1 made me a father and a mother to the Danunites,"² may hint at this.

derived from the analogy of Moses and the seventy elders, similar to the size of the Jewish Sanhedrin, is without objective support. Cf. CBQ, 13 (1951), p. 162. Cf. also the reference to the seventy shepherds of Israel in Enoch 89:59.

¹So also Dreyfus, pp. 30f., 32f. It might be observed, however, that none of the Hebrew texts speak of the heavenly beings, who stand over the nations, as gods of the respective countries. How the transition from minor spiritual being to fully divine status was made is beyond the scope of this investigation. Nonetheless, if the Hebrew ideas and those of the surrounding nations derive from a common source, it may be supposed that, what the Hebrews perceived as reality, they also viewed the nations to have corrupted. The latter ascribed higher status to the patron spirits than they had originally possessed. Additional hints of such deity-national relationships may be faintly recognized in Isa. 24:21; Zeph. 2:11; Ps. 82:7.

²ANET, p. 653. Cf. KAI 26 I:3, פעלו בעל לדנונים לאב ולאם.

It appears that the appointment of Azitawadda as king had arisen out of concern for the people. Furthermore, throughout the inscription the interest in the Danunites takes precedence over the land itself.¹ But this evidence is too vague to be definitive, and we are left with the Old Testament as our primary source for conceptions of this nature.

In addition to the data already collected on the nature of Yahweh's relationship with Israel, it is clear that from the beginning it was not dependent upon the nation's connection with the land. This conception is recognized also in the variety of stock phrases which describe the process whereby Yahweh delivers the land into Israel's hands: he promises it,² swears to give it,³ prepares it,⁴ brings Israel to it,⁵

¹KAI 26 I:3,6-7,17; II:1-8,16.

²דבר, Deut. 1:21; 9:28; 19:8; 27:3; Josh. 23:5. Cf. also Deut. 12:20, Yahweh promises to extend the border/territory (הרביח את גבולך) of Israel. Plöger has accurately noted that in each case the perspective is retrojective. Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium, p. 64.

³נשבע, Gen. 24:7; 26:3; 50:24. Retrospective references to the oath occur in Exod. 6:8; 13:5,11; 32:13; 33:1; Num. 11:12; 14:16,23; 32:11; Deut. 1:8,35; 6:10,18,23; 7:13; 8:1; 9:5; 10:11; 11:9,21; 19:8; 26:3,15; 28:11; 30:20; 31:7,21,23.

⁴הכין, Exod. 23:20.

⁵הביא, Exod. 6:8; 13:5,11; 23:23; Lev. 18:3; 20:22; Num. 14:3, 8,16,24,31; 15:18; 16:14 (neg.); Deut. 4:38; 6:10,23; 7:1; 8:7; 9:28 (neg.); 11:29; 26:9; 30:5; 31:20,21; Josh. 24:8; Judg. 2:1. Cf. also Exod. 23:20, Yahweh sends his מלאך to bring them to the land. For the exilic usage see Ezek. 20:15 (neg.),28,42; 34:13; 36:24; 37:12,21.

delivers it over to them,¹ grants it to them,² and causes them to possess it.³ All of these expressions imply that Yahweh's association with the nation was primary, and that any involvement with the territory existed

¹נתן לפני, Deut. 1:21; 2:31,36. Plöger, *ibid.*, pp. 62f., has rightly argued that in view of the military nature of most of the contexts in which the expression is used "to place before" is inadequate as a translation. He renders it "preisgeben." The use of a geographical direct object is rare, however. Normally it is people, armies, nations, that are delivered over. Cf. Deut. 2:33; 7:2,23; 28:7,25; 31:5; Josh. 10:12; 11:6; Judg. 11:9; 1 Kings 8:46; Isa. 41:2. Deut. 23:15 speaks of delivering over a slave who has escaped from his master. It is Yahweh's delivering over of the land and/or its inhabitants which is the precondition to victory.

²נתן, Gen. 15:18; 17:8; 26:4; Exod. 6:8; Deut. 1:20,25,36,39; 2:29; 3:18,20; 4:1,21,40; 5:16,31; 11:17,31; 12:1; 15:4,7; 16:20; 17:14; 18:9; 19:2,8,10,14; 20:16; 21:1,23; 24:4; 25:15,19; 26:1,9; 27:2,3; 28:8; 34:4. Cf. also 7:16 and 19:1 which speak of Yahweh giving to Israel the עמים and גוים respectively, i.e., the inhabitants of the land. Note also that Yahweh has given to Edom (Deut. 2:5), Moab (2:9) and Ammon (2:19) their respective territories. Cf. also *Krt* 135-36, *udm . ytnt. fl . wšn ab . adm*, "Udm is the gift of El". However, because the passage does not indicate the identity of the recipient of the gift (in the context King Pabel, rather than the people as a whole, seems most likely), its value here is limited.

³ירש, Deut. 12:10; 19:3; Jer. 3:18; 12:14. (In Deut. 1:38; 3:28; 31:7; Josh. 1:6 the subject is human.) Cf. also Judg. 11:24, where the Ammonites are said to possess what Chemosh has caused them to possess. Jephthah's identification of Chemosh as the god of the Ammonites is problematic. Several explanations might be suggested. 1) Chemosh = Milkom, the god of both Moabites and Ammonites. P. Jensen, "Die Götter *קמוש* und *מלקה* und die Erscheinungsformen *Kammus* und *Malik* des assyrisch-babylonischen Gottes Nergal," *ZA*, 42 (1934), pp. 235-37. 2) Chemosh and Milkom were local forms of the one astral deity Athtar. J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, pp. 275f.; *idem*, "The Desert God Athtar in the Literature and Religion of Canaan," *JNES*, 8 (1949), pp. 27-34. 3) Chemosh is mentioned because the Moabites and Ammonites were allies. Van Zyl, p. 197. 4) Ammon is at the time occupying some Moabite territory which Chemosh has given over to them (perhaps as a temporary disciplinary measure, cf. Mesha Inscription, lines 5-8). 5) Jephthah, a foreigner, may have erred in his identification of the god of the Ammonites, not distinguishing between Chemosh and Milkom. 6) He may have deliberately used the name of the Moabite deity as a sign of contempt for the Ammonite delegation. No. 6 seems to us most likely.

for the benefit of the people. This agrees with the regular use of expressions like "the God of the fathers", or "the God of Israel", but the total absence of "the God of Canaan". The so-called Deuteronomic credo (26:5b-9) summarizes in a sentence the role of Yahweh in the nation's very existence. But the function of the land in her development is also placed within its proper perspective. Israel's ancestor had been a man without roots; in Aram he was a fugitive,¹ in Egypt a sojourner. The intervention of the deity proved the decisive point in the nation's history. He provided them with a land which not only guaranteed their development as a nation, but their security and prosperity as well.²

Hints that the relationship between the deity and his people was of primary importance to the Hebrews may be recognized in several additional forms of expression, the use of kinship terminology, and the motif of the divine covenant.

Since DN was originally a kinship term,³ expressions like C_m-DN seem to imply that some such relationship was perceived by the Israelites to exist between the people and the deity involved in the phrase. Thus it may not be coincidental that after identifying the Moabites as עם כמוש in Num. 21:29, the song should go on to speak of individual Moabites as

¹On the meaning of the expression ענר ארמי see now A. R. Millard, "A Wandering Aramean," JNES, 39 (1980), pp. 153-155, who interprets ענר as a term complementary to ענר, both of which correspond to munabtu and the C_{apiru} in the cuneiform sources. The terms refer to a social class without roots in the accepted social order.

²Note the context in which this confession was to be repeated; at the offering of the first fruits of the harvest, symbolic of the prosperity provided by the land. Cf. also Deut. 30:15ff.

³Cf. supra, pp. 38ff. and 43ff.

the sons and daughters of this deity.¹ This is reminiscent of the occasional Old Testament reference to Israel, in the collective sense, as the son of Yahweh.² However, individuals may also be so designated.³ But Isa. 43:6 contains the only reference to Israelites (in this case the returning exiles) being described as the sons and daughters of Yahweh.⁴

Several different implications of this sonship are implied in these texts. Exod. 4:22-23 emphasizes Israel's special status by designating the people as the firstborn (בכר) of Yahweh. In Hos. 11:1 the stress is on the protective care the son has received. In the context of Deut. 14:1, on the other hand, sonship involves special responsibilities.

Actually references to Yahweh as the father of Israel outnumber those dealing with Israel as his son. These widely scattered texts provide several important details concerning the role of the divine father in relation to his son. The responsibility of the father-deity for the existence of his people is expressed with several different metaphors: Yahweh has fashioned (יצר) Israel as a potter fashions a vessel;⁵ he has bought (קנה),

¹Cf. the Jeremianic recension of the poem (Jer. 48:46) in which they are designated as the sons and daughters of Moab instead of Chemosh.

²Exod. 4:22-23; Hos. 11:1. Perhaps also Ps. 80:16. So A. Weiser, The Psalms, OTL (Philadelphia: 1962), p. 550. But cf. Dahood, Psalms II, p. 260, who applies the expression to the king.

³Deut. 14:1, בנימ אתם ליהוה אלהיכם; Hos. 1:10.

⁴Cf. 2 Cor. 6:16-18, where the covenant formula is deliberately individualized to involve "sons and daughters". Note also Mal. 2:11, where a heathen woman is labelled בת אל נכר. This notion is not attested in Aramaic or Phoenician writings, but in several Old South Arabic texts the tribes of Himyarum are identified as wld^{Cm}, "the children of ^CAmm". For references and comments see A. Jamme, "On a Drastic Reduction of South-Arabian Chronology," BASOR, 145 (1957), p. 28; cf. ANET, p. 668, n. 2.

⁵Isa. 64:7.

made (עשה) and established (כונן) her;¹ he has redeemed (גאל) her.²

According to Mal. 2:10, by virtue of the covenant with the fathers, Yahweh is declared to be the father of all Israelites; divine sonship is not the preserve of the elite. Elsewhere the fatherhood of Yahweh is described in providential terms. Tenderly he leads and cares for his children;³ he also provides them with the land of Canaan as an inheritance.⁴ However, he also retains the right to withhold his compassion when disciplinary action is required.⁵

The Hebrew notion of divine sonship contrasts sharply with that reflected in Phoenician and Aramaic sources. Although Israel also knew of the notion of the king as a divine son,⁶ it is this idea which receives most of the emphasis in the cognate texts. Thus the kings of Damascus were called בן/בן הדיד, "son of Hadad",⁷ and those of Sam'al, בן רכב, "son of Rakkab(-el)".⁸ According to Vergil⁹ and Silius Italicus¹⁰ the royal

¹Deut. 32:6.

²Isa. 63:16. Cf. the satirical expression of this notion in Jer. 2:27: "Who say to a tree, 'You are my father,' and to a stone, 'You gave me birth.'"

³Jer. 31:9; cf. Deut. 32:6.

⁴Jer. 3:19.

⁵Isa. 63:15ff.; Jer. 3:1ff.

⁶See 2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 89:26ff.

⁷KAI 201:1/2; 202 A:4,5. Cf. 1 Kings 15:18ff.; 20:1ff.; 2 Kings 13:3,24f.

⁸KAI 215:1,19; 216:1; 217:1; 218:2.

⁹Aeneid 1. 729.

¹⁰Punica 1. 87.

family in Tyre was thought to have descended from the Tyrian Baal.¹ But the perception of national descent from the deity is unattested. Azita-wadda's statement, "Baal made me a father and a mother to the Danunites,"² while expressing a special concern on the part of the deity for his people, refuses to treat the latter as descendants of the god. They are rather to be viewed as the children of the king whom the deity has installed.

Probably nothing illustrates more clearly the difference between the Hebrew view of their relationship with their deity and those of the nations around than the concept of divine covenant. The frequent occurrence in the Old Testament of יְהוָה noted above³ suggests that the Israelites understood Yahweh also to be aware of the association.⁴ This perception is

¹For the late second millennium B.C. Canaanite view of the king as a son of the gods see J. Gray, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice," VT, 2 (1952), pp. 198f., 201ff. The idea has a long history in Mesopotamia, being attested in several third millennium B.C. royal epithets. See W. W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philological and Historical Analysis, AOS, 43 (New Haven: 1957), pp. 134ff. For a discussion of the notion see H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature (Chicago: 1948), pp. 299f. A fuller discussion of kingship follows infra, pp. 493ff.

²KAI 26 I:3. Cf. ANET, p. 653.

³Cf. supra, p. 413.

⁴Clear indications of the gods being aware of their special relationship to their people are difficult to find in extra-biblical documents, since few of these are portrayed as deriving directly from the gods themselves. However, as one example, in the oracle of Ishtar of Arbela (ANET, pp. 449-50), the goddess repeatedly identifies herself as Ishtar of Arbela. In l. 12 she calls herself bēlet Arbela. However, the value of this text for our purposes is limited because: 1) the cult of Ishtar was widespread, being prominent in Kish, Nineveh, Akkad, and Nuzi (Cf. WM, p. 82). (These local manifestations seem to have been viewed as distinct deities. Note the naming together of Ishtar of Arbela and Ishtar of Nineveh in the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon, ANET, p. 534. Cf. H. F. W. Saggs, The Greatness that was Babylon [London: 1962], p. 333). 2) The oracle itself is not concerned with Ishtar's relationship with the people of Arbela, but with Esarhaddon, who in fact lives elsewhere.

made explicit by the prominence given to the covenant motif, a motif which functions almost as a unifying thread in all of Israel's historical traditions. Throughout emphasis is placed on its monergistic nature: it is Yahweh who calls Abraham, and through him his descendants, to this special relationship with himself¹. He delivers Israel from Egypt² and invites them to the privileges of the covenant at Sinai;³ he determines the function of the covenant people;⁴ he defines its terms.⁵ Although many other details are involved, the essence of the covenant consists of Yahweh's offer of himself to be their deity, and his election of the nation to be his people, as reflected in the recurring phrase, "I will be your god, and you shall be my people."⁶

¹Gen. 17:1-8. Note especially v. 7, והקמתי את בריתי ביני ובינך . . . לברית עולם להיות לך לאלהים ולזרעך אחריך

²Exod. 19:4.

³Exod. 19:5b.

⁴Exod. 19:6a.

⁵Exod. 20:1-17.

⁶והייתי לכם לאלהים ואתם תהיו לי לעם. See Lev. 26:12; Jer. 31:33; 32:38; Ezek. 11:20; 36:28; 37:27b. This use of the covenant formula continues right into New Testament times. Cf. 2 Cor. 6:16f.; Rev. 21:3. The awareness of this covenant not only permeates the Old Testament, it also influences much of its form. The parallels between the book of Deuteronomy and Hittite suzerainty treaties have received a great deal of notice in recent years. See G. E. Mendenhall, "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law," *BA*, 172 (1954), pp. 26-46; *idem*, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *BA*, 173 (1954), pp. 50-76; K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Chicago: 1966), pp. 90ff.; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, *Analecta Biblica*, 21 (Rome: 1963). Cf. also R. Frankena, "The Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," *OTS*, 14 (1965), pp. 122-54. Several recent commentaries have drawn heavily on these discoveries: See J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC (London: 1974); P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: 1976). For a concise prophetic statement of Yahweh's relationship with Israel see Isa. 41:8-10:

The extra-biblical sources know of no comparable covenant between a deity and his people. The reference to El/Baal-berith in Judg. 8:33 and 9:4,46 seems to suggest a covenant between the widely venerated West Semitic deity El and the people of Shechem.¹ It is more likely, however, that the deity concerned is to be understood as the patron guardian of covenants between peoples.² In any case, the text provides no information on the nature of the relationship between this deity and the people of Shechem, apart from the fact that a temple dedicated to him was located here.

The continuity of the deity-nation tie

Evidence for the continuity of the tie between a deity and his people even after the territorial association had dissolved may be found

ואתה ישראל עבדי	"But you Israel are my servant,
יעקב אשר בחרתיך	Jacob whom I have chosen,
זרע אברהם אהבי	Seed of Abraham, my friend;
אשר החזקתיך מקצות הארץ	You whom I have taken from the ends of the earth,
ומאציליה קראתיך	And called from its remotest parts,
ואמר לך עבדי אתה	And I said to you, 'You are my servant,
בחרתיך ולא מאסתיך	I have chosen you, and not rejected you;
אל תירא כי עמך אני	Do not fear, for I am with you;
אל תשחע כי אני אלהיך	Do not be anxious, for I am your God!"

¹G. E. Wright, "Shechem," AOTS, p. 365, suggests this covenant represents a deviant form of Yahwism. LXX, in 8:33, appears to associate this event with the covenant formula, καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτοῖς τον Βααλβεριθ εἰς δααθηαηαυ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοῖς αὐτον εἰς θεόν.

²Gese, "Religionen," p. 119. H. H. Rowley, From Joseph to Joshua: Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archaeology (London: 1950), p. 127, suggests that the covenant perpetuated in the name may have been between Simeon and Levi, on the one hand, and Shechem and Hamor, on the other. Cf. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p. 113, who sees here an echo of an early Amorite confederacy. The expression אל/בעל ברית is semantically related עדיא אלהי, which appears several times in the Sefire Inscriptions. Cf. KAI 222 B:23,33; 223 B:9; C:13; 224:4,14,17,23.

only in the biblical sources. Several pentateuchal texts provide a picture of the effects of the exile of Yahweh's people from the land of Canaan. According to Lev. 26:40ff., in such circumstances if the people would confess their sin from their place of exile Yahweh would remember his covenant with the fathers. Though the text also adds, "I will remember the land," this is contingent upon the appropriate response of the people.¹ Similarly, after explaining the conditions under which such an exile might occur, namely for unfaithfulness to Yahweh, Deut. 30:1-10 indicates that if there will be a renewal of commitment to Yahweh, he will reverse the effects of the captivity. Again the stress is on the relationship between deity and nation; the restoration of the territorial tie is not dependent upon Yahweh's return to the land, but the people's return to him.²

¹Note especially vs. 44-45.

²Contrast this with the Esarhaddon texts, according to which the attention of Marduk to the citizens of Babylon represents the final stage in a series of events leading back to normalcy. In the description of the reconstruction of Esagila the following occurrences precede the mention of the return of the population: 1) Marduk graciously (although his action appears to be quite arbitrary) reverses the digits and reduces the duration of his own exile from 70 (𐎠𐎺) to eleven (𐎠𐎺) years (For a discussion of this aspect see D. D. Luckenbill, "The Black Stone of Esarhaddon," *AJSL*, 41 [1925], pp. 167f.; J. Nougayrol, "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne conservés au Musée du Louvre II," *RA*, 40 [1946], p. 65); the entire process seems dependent upon his temperamental emotional state. 2) Esarhaddon is appointed "shepherd" of the Assyrians for Marduk's sake. 3) The astrological signs indicate an alteration in the disposition of the "forces", as a result of which the angered gods are reconciled to Akkad. 4) An omen is given indicating the imminent return of Marduk to Esagila; hence the signal to commence reconstruction. 5) Esarhaddon is afraid to begin, but after paying homage to the god he receives confirmation of his commission. 6) The project is completed with the help of the citizens of the land who had previously been taken captive, but whom Esarhaddon had regathered. 7) The statues are redecorated and the ritual reinstated. 8) The state images which had been removed to other lands are returned. 9) Finally, the king restores the oppressed citizenry of

Equally descriptive is a segment of Solomon's dedicatory prayer, 1 Kings 8:46-53. The prayer acknowledges that the separation of the people will be the consequence of sin against the deity. On the other hand, if, having been taken captive, the people return to Yahweh, "in the land where they have been taken captive,"(v. 47) "in the land of their enemies,"(v. 48) Yahweh will again respond with compassion. The author's confidence in Yahweh's favourable response is based upon the latter's covenant with his people, and is expressed in two ways:

For they are your people and your possession (נחלה) which you have brought out from Egypt, from the midst of the iron furnace (v. 51).

For you have separated them from all the peoples of the earth as your possession (נחלה), as you spoke to Moses your servant when you brought our fathers out from Egypt, O Yahweh God (v. 53).

Nowhere is this taught more dramatically than in the exilic prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Any illusion by those who based their security on their residence in the land is forcefully exposed in Jeremiah's vision of the good and bad figs.¹ Paradoxically, the eyes of Yahweh are declared to be, not upon those remaining at home, but those exiled in Babylon.² According to 29:10ff., the restoration of a relationship between deity and people is not contingent upon the latter's return to the land;

Babylon to free and secure status. All of these actions, however, are the expressions of the king's piety; popular attitudes toward the deity are nowhere reflected. See Borger, Asarhaddon, pp. 15-26. Cf. also the description of Cyrus' rebuilding of the city, ANET, pp. 315f.

¹Jer. 24.

²Cf. the calamities for those who remain in the land (ch. 25), and the prosperity promised to those who submit to Babylon (27:11).

indeed the reverse is true.¹ The entire prophecy of Ezekiel contradicts the view that Yahweh's association with Israel was bound to his connection to the land. The prophet, himself an exile, was in constant communication with his god. In the critical chapters 8-11, in which the actual departure of the כבוד יהוה from Jerusalem is described,² the attitudes of the people toward the role of Yahweh and his relationship to the land are ambivalent. On the one hand, they accuse him of treachery in abandoning the land,³ hence the abandonment of their own religious restraint. But on the other, Yahweh's ties to the land are used as a pretext to confiscate the property of those who have been taken into captivity. After all, since the latter have gone far away from Yahweh (רחקי מעל יהוה), their land may now be treated as a possession (מורשה) given by Yahweh to those who remain. Yahweh, however, asserts that, although he had removed the captives and scattered them among the nations, he remained a sanctuary (מקדש) to them. Indeed he would eventually renew the covenant with them and bring them back to the land.⁴

In their emphasis on the continuity of the relationship between Yahweh and his people the Hebrews appear to have broken new trails. Among the neighboring peoples the associations with specific deities appear in general to have been territorially bound. The exile of a people from its

¹Cf. also 32:36ff. After the fall of Jerusalem, the situation was altered, however, and when the residents of Judah proposed to go down to Egypt, they were warned that to do so would incur Yahweh's wrath (42:7ff.).

²On which see *infra*, pp. 474ff.

³8:12, 9:9.

⁴11:15-21.

homeland signalled virtual isolation from the deity.¹

It has become apparent that two different views on the origin of the deity-nation association prevailed in the ancient Semitic world. On the one hand, represented by the Mesopotamians, the Aramaeans, and probably also the Phoenicians, the relationship was perceived to be rooted in a prior and primary connection between the deity and the land. A people related to a specific god by virtue of their residence in his territory. Consequently, to leave the land signified departure from that divinity's sphere of influence and to enter the region dominated by a different deity. According to Hebrew sensitivities, on the other hand, their own relationship with Yahweh antedated their presence in the land of Canaan. Their title to the land of Canaan derived from a prior commitment of the deity to them, and represented a land grant arising from the latter's concern for their health and prosperity. Although the Mesha Inscription suggests that the Moabites tended to follow Aramaean and Mesopotamian views, the Hebrew texts intimate that the Israelites may have perceived the Moabite association with Chemosh to parallel their own relationship with Yahweh. However, the data are too limited to be conclusive. Evidence for Ammonite and Edomite views is totally lacking.

¹This observation should, however, be tempered by the evidence of 2 Kings 17:24ff., according to which the new residents of Israel continued to worship their native deities. But the results were disastrous, and the worship of the local deity had to be reintroduced. Cf. supra, p. 434.

The Nature of the Deity-Land-Nation Association

Having established the perceived origins of the deity-nation association, and the important role played by the land in the process, the nature of the tri-partite relationship deserves closer scrutiny. This discussion will consist of three parts, in each of which the focus will be on the role of one of the members of the triad. Each segment will commence with a general thesis statement, to be followed by an examination of a series of corollary considerations.

The Role of the Deity in the Deity-
Land-Nation Complex

Thesis statement: The disposition of the deity determines the nature of the relationship between a nation and its land.

The dominance of the deity in the tri-partite association is expressed in a variety of ways.

1) The association of the deity with a particular land was viewed as the result of a divine, rather than human, decision. The principle applies whether his relationship originated with the people or with the land. With respect to the Israelites, their ties with Yahweh are consistently presented as a matter of the divinity electing the people.¹ In the extra-biblical sources, it was the gods who chose the lands rather than vice versa.² The relatively late Testament of Naphtali, which understands

¹Gen. 12:1f., and parallels; Exod. 19:3-6; Deut. 4:32f.; 7:6ff.; 2 Sam. 7:23; Isa. 41:8f.; 43:1ff.; Hos. 11:1ff.; Amos 3:1-2; etc.

²Cf. supra, pp. 416ff. But note Deut. 32:8-9, according to which Yahweh functions as the highest deity in apportioning the nations to their respective deities; but he also serves as Israel's national deity. (This is analogous to the role of Marduk in Enuma Elish, where he is

each nation to have selected its own god, runs counter to this general conception.¹

2) The deity brings the nation and the land together. The extra-biblical sources, with their primary focus on the land, are not clear in this regard. It appears that the nations are related to their deities simply because they happen to live in his land, unless one considers the bringing in of foreign peoples to his land as agents of judgment. However, wherever this occurs, the foreigners do not actually establish themselves in the land, nor do they begin to relate to the deity concerned.² This is in sharp contrast to the Hebrew notion that, having selected Israel to be his own people, Yahweh also reserved a specific piece of land for them, and that, centuries before they appeared as a nation on their own soil.³ Furthermore, the actual establishment of the relationship is seen as the result of a series of divine actions, including the supervision of the people in their migration from Egypt,⁴ the dispossession of the previous inhabitants of the land, and the granting of the land to the nation.⁵

presented as king of the gods as well as the god of Babylon. Cf. ANET, p. 68.) Cf. also Jer. 49:1, "Why has Malkam taken possession of Gad, and his people settled in its cities?"

¹See supra, p. 441.

²Cf. the Gutians who overrun Babylon, but are presented as barbarians, oppressive and ignorant of the ways of Marduk, Weidner Chronicle, ABC, No. 19:55ff. Also the Elamites in their devastation of Ur, ANET, pp. 616f.

³Gen. 12:1; 15:7; etc.

⁴But note also Yahweh's universal role in bringing up the Philistines from Caphtor and the Aramaeans from Kir. Amos 9:7.

⁵This seems to be the significance of the expression נחלת ישראל. Cf. Forshey, "NHL," ch. IV, pp. 145ff. Forshey correctly observes that the idea of the land gift by the deity was not unique to the Hebrews.

Elsewhere the establishment of the relationship is described in terms of planting (נט) the people in the land.¹ In any case, in no way is the people's presence in Canaan to be considered their own accomplishment.²

3) The deity maintains the relationship between the nation and the land. This principle has an internal as well as an external dimension. The internal factor is especially prominent in the Hebrew texts, according to which the relationship of the nation to the land was governed by a series of divinely given guidelines. These included specific regulations for the way in which the land itself was to be treated. To begin with, it was apportioned to the tribes, the clans and the families on the basis of the divine land grant principle. If the entire territory belonged to Israel as their נחלה which they had received from their sovereign, Yahweh, the same applied also to the individual parcels of land allotted to each family.³ The actual regulations for the treatment of the land, as spelled out in Leviticus 25-27, provided for the sabbatical rest for the land, the Year of Jubilee, at which time all lands were to be returned to

However, in every other instance cited, the land is portrayed as a gift to the king, rather than the nation. E.g., Enlil grants to Sargon the region of the Upper and Lower Seas, ANET, p. 267; Dagan gives to the same king the Upper Region, Mari, Iamutbal, Ibla, as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountain, ANET, p. 268; Udm is the gift of El to Pabel, Krt:135. Cf. supra, p. 373. Cf. also Judg. 11:24, "Do you not possess what Chemosh your God gives you to possess?"

¹Exod. 15:17; 2 Sam. 7:10 = 1 Chron. 17:9; Amos 9:15; Jer. 24:6; 32:41; 41:10 (cf. 45:4); Ezek. 36:36; Ps. 44:3.

²Josh. 24:13; Ps. 44:4. Cf. also Jer. 49:1, Malkam has taken possession of Gad, his people have settled therein.

³Josh. 13:21. Cf. Num. 26:52ff. That the procedure was extended to individual families is implied by Naboth's refusal to sell his land to Ahab. 1 Kings 21:3-4. For a full discussion see Forshey, "NHL," pp. 188ff.

the original owners, the consecration of portions of it to Yahweh, and the presentation of the tithe of its produce. In response to the faithful observance of these standards, the land, for its part, would guarantee prosperity (abundance of harvest), security (from wild beasts and enemies), and a numerous population,¹ all prerequisites for the development of the nation.²

But other aspects of life, though not as directly connected with the land were to have equally serious implications for the people's ties with the land. Indeed, the enjoyment of the benefits of the land was contingent upon the strict observance of all of Yahweh's moral and religious commands.³ Failure to do so would result in the severance of the association and the destruction of the nation.⁴ To adopt the moral practices of the Canaanites represented a defilement of the land itself.⁵ To engage in idolatry, especially the sacrificing of children to idols, was to pollute it.⁶

The external dimensions of the deity's maintenance of the people-territory association was represented by his definition and defence of the territorial boundaries. It is in this regard that a notable distinction

¹Lev. 26:1-12.

²At the annual presentation of the first fruits the people were to remind themselves of the role of Yahweh in meeting all three of these basic needs. Deut. 25:5ff.

³Deut. 28:1-4. Cf. also "Advice to a Prince," BWL, pp. 112f. where the status of a land and its citizenry depended upon the moral conduct of the king.

⁴Deut. 28:62-63 sounds like a deliberate reversal of 26:5ff.

⁵Lev. 18:25,27.

⁶Jer. 3:1; Ps. 106:38. Cf. Jer. 2:7; 16:18.

between the Hebrew perspective and that of the nations around may again be detected. Buccellati has asserted that one of the differences between the national and the territorial states was the tendency of the former to expand by incorporating whatever territory the population occupied, whereas the latter did not go beyond the city state itself.¹ Although in practice this may appear to have been the case, in theory at least, the borders of the territory which Israel, a national state, could legitimately claim, were strictly limited by her deity.² Even during the days of empire under David and Solomon, there is no hint of expanding the size of the actual state beyond the divinely sanctioned limits. Nor do the kings engage in conquest in order that they might extend the territory of Yahweh. This represents a sharp contrast to the Assyrian emperors whose drive for power led them to annex "to the boundaries of Assyria," territory after territory.³ Consequently, whereas in Israel, the deity defined the boundaries of the nation's land, in Assyria, the kings in effect determined the limits of the territory of the deity.⁴

¹Cities and Nations, pp. 108ff.

²Num. 34:1-12. Note also the actual borders of Edom, Moab and Ammon identified in Deut. 2.

³Note for example, Adad-Nirari II (934-912 B.C.), whose list of annexed lands included Kadmu, the region from the city of Lahiru to Ugarsallu, Arrapha, Lubdu, Idu, Zaqu and Hanigalbat. ARI, II, pp. 85ff. The conquest of the last named was achieved only after a series of attempts, the last of which is said to have been undertaken specifically at the command of Ashur. ARI, II, #433. In this way the land was not only incorporated into the Assyrian state, it was also brought under the authority of the Assyrian deity. ARI, II, #427. Under Ashurbanipal, even the Egyptian city of Memphis was "added to the territory of Assyria." ARAB, II, #770.

⁴This interpretation creates a discrepancy with statements made earlier. On the one hand, the Mesopotamians recognized the associations between the various lands and their respective deities to have been

In one other respect, however, the Hebrews and the nations were in perfect agreement: regardless of the size of the state, it was the duty of the deity to defend it from external threats. He was, in fact, the divine protector of the territorial tie. This is clearly reflected in the description of the war between Ahab and Ben-Hadad in 1 Kings 20: 22f., according to which the entire strategy of the Aramaeans is based upon the protective role of the deity. In a later context, the Assyrian official, Rabshakeh, appeals to the same belief when he challenges the people of Judah, "Has any of the gods of the nations delivered his land from the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad . . . ?"¹ Similar ideas may be attested from Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium B.C.,² and appear to have become the common legacy of subsequent cultures.³

4) The deity determines and effects the termination of the bond

initiated by the deity. Cf. above, p. 421ff. On the other hand, the kings appear to have determined the nature of the deity-land relationship. This apparent discrepancy may be explained in several ways. 1) The original land grants by the highest deity to the lesser deities concerned only the core area in which the worship of that deity was centered. Later annexations were not taken into consideration. 2) Where territories were added to "the land of Assyria," such conquests are consistently presented as being achieved at the command, in the strength, and for the glory of the deity. Consequently, the role of the deity is still to be viewed as primary.

¹2 Kings 18:33f.; 2 Chron. 32:13ff.; Isa. 36:18f. But note Yahweh's defence of the territorial integrity of Edom (Deut. 2:4f.), Moab (2:9), and Ammon (2:19).

²When Ush the ishakku of Umma violated the boundary of Lagash, Ningirsu came forward to defend the land in accordance with the word of Enlil. Kramer, IEJ, 3 (1953), p. 224.

³Frequently, however, the fate of the state is so identified with the fortunes of the king that the deity is actually described as the patron of the king. E.g., Be^celshamayn's defence of Zakkur against the ten-king confederacy, ANET, pp. 655-56. See further, infra, pp. 557f.

between nation and land. Notices of this nature are especially common in the Hebrew texts, two of which, Lev. 26:14-39 and Deut. 28:15-68, describe the process in great detail.¹ Both texts are contained in the "Blessing and Curses" section of larger documents that have been set out in treaty form.² Furthermore, both are preceded by statements of the blessings that ^{will} shall result from Israel's faithful observance of the divine stipulations, namely, the economic prosperity of the land,³ the numerical increase of the population,⁴ the security of the people in the face of internal and external threats,⁵ and the continuation of the relationship with the deity.⁶ In both descriptions of the termination of the association, the cancellation of the first three receives special prominence. The productivity of the land will be stifled by the withholding of rain,⁷

¹The exact relationship between the two texts is not clear. Noth, Leviticus, p. 196, suggests a common origin in an older tradition, but each has been given its own special character. What differences do exist may be attributed to the present context of each. The former, with its references to Yahweh as the speaker, and its relative brevity, appears to be a fundamental part of the treaty between divine suzerain and national vassal. The latter, on the other hand, is placed within the context of a sermonic address; hence the greater length, as well as the consistent reference to Yahweh in the third person. For a discussion of these texts see D. R. Hillers, Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets, *Biblica et Orientalia*, 16 (Rome: 1964), pp. 30ff.

²In addition to the studies of the relationship between these texts and ancient suzerainty treaties see M. Weinfeld, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School (Oxford: 1972), esp. Part II, pp. 59-157.

³Lev. 26:4-5; Deut. 28:8,11b-12.

⁴Lev. 26:9; Deut. 28:11a.

⁵Lev. 26:6-8; Deut. 28:7,13.

⁶Lev. 26:11-12; Deut. 28:9-10.

⁷Lev. 26:19; Deut. 28:22b,23-24. Compare, "Your heavens will be like bronze (נְחֹשֶׁת)," with ki-i ša TA ŠA AN[c ša] ZABAR ŠEG⁷la⁷i-za-nun-a-

disease among the crops,¹ and insect plagues.² All economic effort will be futile.³ Secondly, the population will be decimated by epidemics,⁴ insanity,⁵ and an increase in the number of wild beasts who will prey on the people.⁶ In sum, the population itself ~~shall~~^{will} be under the curse.⁷ However, foreign enemies will constitute the most serious threat to the territorial tie. They will come and destroy the nation by consuming the

ni, "Just as rain does not fall from a copper sky," "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," Iraq, 20 (1958), p. 69, line 530 (#64), cf. ANET, p. 539. Hereafter the text will be referred to as VTE, followed by the number of the paragraph.

¹Deut. 28:22c.

²Deut. 28:38-39,42.

³Lev. 16:16, "You shall sow your seed uselessly;" 26:20, "Your strength shall be spent uselessly, for your land shall not yield produce and the trees of the land shall not yield their fruit." Cf. Deut. 28:38-40; also the cursing of the livestock, 28:18. Similar curses are common in extra-biblical treaties, although in these the deity acts on behalf of a sovereign whose authority has been disregarded, rather than himself. Cf. the treaty between Ashurnirari V and Mati'ilu of Arpad, ANET, pp. 532f., esp. iv; VTE #47,63-64,85 (on which see Weinfield, pp. 116f.; R. Frankena, "The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," OTS, 14 (1965), 122-54.

⁴Lev. 26:16b; Deut. 28:22a,35,58-62. Cf. the treaty between Ashurnirari V and Mati'ilu, iv (leprosy), ANET, p. 533; VTE, #38-41,52.

⁵Deut. 28:28,34.

⁶Lev. 26:22. Cf. VTE #54; Sefire I A:30-31.

⁷Deut. 28:18. Cf. the curses of the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Kurtiwaza, ANET, p. 206, ". . . may you Kurtiwaza . . . and (you) the Hurri men with your wives, your sons and your country have no seed;" and the treaty between Ashurnirari V and Mati'ilu, ANET, p. 533, "May Mati'ilu's (seed) be that of a mule, his wives barren, may Ishtar, the goddess of men, the lady of women, take away their 'bow,' cause their sterility." Also note the general statement, "Let one thousand houses decrease to one house, let one thousand tents decrease to one tent, let one man be spared in the city to tell about my feats." Ibid., vi. Cf. also VTE, # 43-47,61,66,67,105.

resources,¹ laying waste the countryside,² enslaving the citizens,³ and leaving the corpses out in the fields for vultures and eagles to devour.⁴ Indeed, so desperate ~~shall~~^{will} the situation become that the people will resort to self-destruction, i.e., cannibalism.⁵

All of the above represent events which produce a divorce between land and nation from within, i.e., by the annihilation of the latter.⁶ But this separation may also be effected by external means, i.e., the physical removal of the population from the land. In both texts this event appears as the final climactic resort. Lev. 26:33 speaks initially in general terms of "scattering" (זרה) Israel among the nations.⁷ This will permit the land finally to enjoy an extended sabbatical rest, as compensation for the sabbatical years which had been missed because of Israel's disregard for the covenant stipulations.⁸ The purpose of the exile will be to cause the nation to perish (אבד) outside, among the nations,⁹ and to evoke remorse on the part of the people for their infidelity.¹⁰

¹Lev. 26:16; Deut. 28:29f.,33,44,51.

²Lev. 26:31-32.

³Deut. 28:48. Cf. VTE, #42,48.

⁴Deut. 28:26. Cf. VTE, #41,59.

⁵Lev. 26:29; Deut. 28:53-57. Cf. VTE, #69f.,75,76.

⁶Note the use of אבד, "to perish", Deut. 28:20,22 (both Qal), 51, 63 (Hiphil); השמיד, "to destroy", 28:45,48,51,61,63; כלה, "to consume, annihilate", 28:21.

⁷The expression, ואתכם אזרה בגוים is echoed repeatedly, especially in Jer. 31:10; Ezek. 5:10,12; 12:14,15; 20:23; 22:15; Zech. 2:2,4; 1 Kings 14:15; Ps. 44:12, 106:27.

⁸Cf. v. 43. Also 2 Chron. 36:21.

⁹26:36-39. Note the expression, ואכלה אתכם ארץ איביכם.

¹⁰26:40-45. In view of the eternal nature of Yahweh's covenant

Should the latter occur, the covenant would be renewed, as a result of which the territorial association would be restored.

Although the Deuteronomy text reserves its fullest treatment of the exile of Israel for the end, hints of the event have appeared earlier. Verses 36-37 have indicated that Yahweh would bring the people and its king to a nation which neither they nor their ancestors had known.¹ Here they could serve strange gods to their fill, but they would also become the object of incessant scorn. In 28:63 the verb, נסח, "to tear, pull away", is used to describe the severance of the territorial bond.² But the preceding verses have outlined the devastating effects of the exile.

with the people, he cannot destroy them absolutely.

¹אל גוי . . . יולך יהוה. (The same verb is used of the exile also in Jer. 32:5). Cf. the use of נהג, "to drive", in v. 37. In 4:27 נהג is paralleled with הפיץ.

²Cf. the use of פוץ (Hiphil), "to scatter", v. 64, instead of זרה. Echoes of this usage occur in Ezek. 11:17; 20:34,41; 28:25 (all Niphal); Deut. 4:27; Jer. 9:15; Ezek. 11:16; 12:15; 20:23; 22:15; 36:19; Neh. 1:8 (all Hiphil). Elsewhere the expulsion of Israel is described as Yahweh uprooting (נתש) the people from the land (Deut. 29:27; 1 Kings 14:15; Jer. 12:14; 45:4 [opposite נטע]; Amos 9:15 [opposite נטע]). Cf. Akkad. *nasāhum*, "ausreissen", also "to evacuate, deport", *AHw*, pp. 749f.), slinging them out (קלע [Jer. 10:18], טול [Jer. 16:13, to an unknown land; 22:26, to another land where you were not born; 22:28, to an unknown land]), casting out (שלך, Deut. 29:28 [to another land]), send off into exile (גלה [2 Kings 17:11; Jer. 29:4,7,14; Ezek. 39:28; Lam. 4:22; 1 Chron. 5:41. Elsewhere the subject of the verb is always human. On the development of its usage see D. E. Gowan, "The Beginnings of Exile-Theology and the Root *glh*," *ZAW*, 87 (1975), pp. 204-207. The root appears several times in Akkadian as *galū*, "in die Verbannung gehen", *AHw*, p. 275, but omitted in *CAD*. The noun forms, גלות and גולה, come to be used as technical terms for "exile" and collectives for "exiles"]). Cf. also the occasional use of שבה, "to take captive" (though never with Yahweh as subject), 2 Chron. 28:8, etc., and with cognate accusative שבני, Judg. 5:12; Ps. 68:19; 2 Chron. 28:5,11,17. Cf. Aramaic שבני שבה, "il a emmené des captifs", A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'ostracon Araméen d'Assour," *Syria*, 24 (1944-45), p. 45 (= KAI 233: 15-16), and שביא זי שביה, "The prisoners you have captured", Cowley, 71:14. Also הלך בשבני, "to go into captivity", Deut. 28:41; Jer. 20:6; Amos 9:4; etc.

Israel would be destined to perpetual restlessness, insecurity and despair; the slavery of Egypt would return.

Lev. 26 attributes this harsh treatment of Israel to the anger of Yahweh.¹ Deut. 28 displays much greater restraint, refusing to ascribe this emotion to the deity; the nearest the author comes is to use a positive verb, *שׂשׂ*, "to rejoice, exult", and apply it to his destructive acts. As Yahweh had formerly delighted in the nation's prosperity, so now he will delight in their annihilation.²

The motif of a deity's anger toward his people and the latter's annihilation and/or exile is paralleled in many extra-biblical sources. Chemosh's wrath toward "his land" was expressed in the Omride oppression of Moab.³ The reason for the anger is not stated. More illuminating, because of its completeness, is the account of Esarhaddon's reconstruction of Esagila. Although hints of an actual treaty between Marduk and the Babylonians are absent, the parallels to the Leviticus and Deuteronomy texts are remarkable. The crisis in Babylon had been brought on by "evil forces" (*idāti lemnēti^{mes}*), which were expressing themselves in ethical and cultic offences. These had provoked the wrath⁴ of Marduk, who

¹Several different expressions reflect this anger: *נתחתי פני בכם*, "I will set my face against them" (26:17); *הלכתי עמכם החמת קרי*, "I will express anger toward you" (26:28); *געלה נפשי אתכם*, "my soul will abhor you" (26:30).

²References to the anger of Yahweh against his people may also be found in Deut. 6:15; 7:4; 11:17; 29:26; Josh. 23:16; 2 Kings 23:26 (vs. Judah); Isa. 5:25; Ps. 106:40; cf. also 2 Kings 13:3 (all *חרה* ... *אנף*). 1 Kings 8:46 = 2 Chron. 6:36; Ps. 85:6; Ezra 9:14 (... *אנף*); 2 Kings 17:18 (Hithpael of *אנף*); Isa. 47:6; 64:4,8 (*קצף*). The anger of Yahweh is a particularly prominent motif in Lamentations. Cf. 1:12f.; 2:1ff.; 3:1ff.; 4:11f.; 5:19-22.

³KAI 181:5.

⁴Asarhaddon, Ep. 5A, p. 13 uses *i-gu-ug-ma*, "to be angry"; AHw, p.14,

summarily determined to annihilate land and people. As a result of his curse, the city was flooded, its residences and temples inundated, the town made into a desolate steppe, and the inhabitants removed from the land.¹ Only a change in the disposition of the god could effect a normalization of the relationship between land and people.

The Role of the Land in the Deity-
Land-Nation Complex

Thesis statement: The disposition of the land is determined by the relationship between a nation and its deity.

The essentially passive role of the land has already been referred to.² However, for the sake of completeness, two aspects of its function deserve brief notice in the present context.

1) The land functions as the domain and residence of the deity.

In Israel both notions antedated the monarchy as reflected in Exod. 15:17.³ From this text it is impossible to determine which specific mountain is identified by הר נחלתך;⁴ perhaps the entire land is intended.⁵ This is

"ergrimmen, zürnen". Variant C has e-zi-iz lib-ba-šū ka-bat-tuš iṣ-ša-ri-iḥ, "his heart became angry, his disposition was in turmoil."

¹Episode 9B speaks of flight to "another place" // "an unknown land" (a-šar šá-nam-ma // er-se-et la i-du-ú). Cf. variant D, which speaks of being bound and taken captive.

²Cf. supra, pp. 389f.

³On this text see supra, pp. 422f.

⁴Forshey, "NHL," ch. II, has argued convincingly that the notion of dominion is implicit in the term נחלה. He, following H. J. Kraus, "Gilgal: Ein Beitrag zur Kultusgeschichte Israels," VT, 1 (1951), pp. 181-99, suggests the expression here refers to Gilgal and its environs.

⁵Cf. the use of הרי ישראל in Ezek. 36:1,4,8; 37:22; 38:8; 39:2,4.

clearly the case in Ps. 68:8-11, where the territory is again identified as Yahweh's נחלה.¹ Later with the construction of the Temple, his residence was concentrated in one specific place, Mount Zion.² This did not mean, however, that his presence was not felt throughout the land; it signified simply that Zion represented the focal point of his presence, the point of contact between his true heavenly residence³ and his dwelling in the land. Consequently, the land provided the connecting link between Yahweh and his people.⁴

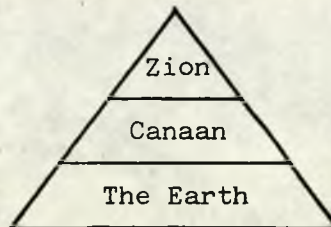
The concept of the land as the residence of the deity has its parallels also in extra-biblical texts. Cnt III:26-27 depicts Mount Şapon as the dwelling place of Ba^c1 in terms quite similar to Exod. 15:17.⁵ Usually, however, the temple receives the primary stress as the residence of the deity; it is from here that his influence emanates out

¹Cf. supra, pp. 423f.

²Cf. Deut. 12:5,11; 1 Kings 8:13,16ff.

³1 Kings 8:27,43, etc.

⁴This was true even when Israel was removed from the land. Cf. 1 Kings 8:46-53, and Daniel's practice, Dan. 6:10. In view of Yahweh's declared omnipresence elsewhere (e.g., Jer. 23:23-24; Amos 9:2-4; Ps. 139:7-12), the relationship between the earth, Canaan and Zion, as the loci of the divine presence may be illustrated diagrammatically thus:



⁵Cf. supra, p. 24.

over the land.¹ The Mesha Inscription is quite unique in portraying the land of Moab, indeed all the land which Mesha had been able to control, without any reference to a sanctuary, as the place where Chemosh dwelt.²

2) The land functions as the residence of the nation. As such, in Israel it was viewed as a gift of the deity which should provide the basis for the nation's well-being and security.³ The people would be blessed as Yahweh would cause the land to yield its produce in abundance.⁴

The Role of the People in the Deity- Land-Nation Complex

Thesis statement: The disposition of the people determines the nature of the relationship between the deity and the land.

Earlier it was emphasized that the tri-partite association was dominated by the deity. This does not mean, however, that his exercise of authority was arbitrary, or that he was insensitive to the state of the people. Indeed, none of the divinities of the ancient Near East is portrayed as so rigid that it will not respond to outside influences. Consequently, the absolute nature of our initial thesis statement requires

¹Cf. the entire dedicatory prayer of Solomon, 1 Kings 8:22f. According to vs. 41ff., the Temple in Jerusalem also provided access to the presence of Yahweh for the alien. For general discussions on the role of the temple as the residence of the deity in ancient Near Eastern thought, see E. Sollberger, "The Temple in Babylonia," in Le temple et le culte, RAI, 20 (1975), pp. 31-34; E. Dhorme, Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie (Paris: 1949), pp. 174ff.; J. Bottero, La religion babylonienne (Paris: 1952), pp. 108ff.

²KAI 181:9ff.

³Cf. supra, pp. 390ff.

⁴Cf. Deut. 28:1-14. Cf. Lev. 26:1-13.

some qualification.

1) The attitude of the people determines whether or not the land continues to function as the residence of the deity. Mesopotamian traditions of the abandonment of their cities by the gods date back to Sumerian times. Despite the inconsistency of these texts in citing the causes of such events, they help to explain the operation of this aspect of the tri-partite association.

In "The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur,"¹ Ur is portrayed as suffering from the effects of successive catastrophes, including political disintegration, Elamite invasions and famine. Because the plight of his city is more than the patron deity, Nanna, can bear, he appeals to Enlil on its behalf. Enlil, however, declares his own impotence in altering the situation. Although Ur had been granted kingship, this had not been an eternal decree. The assembly of the gods had decided that it must now pass from her; her days of glory are over. Consequently, so Enlil advises, Nanna should resign himself to reality and leave the city, which he with painful heart proceeds to do.² The underlying human causes for his departure cannot be determined. Enlil's decision to "destroy the righteous houses, to decimate the righteous of Sumer as a whole,"³ appears to be purely arbitrary; the kingship, and with it the well-being of the city must depart. Since Ur should have no role to play in the future government of the region, her deity has also become

¹ANET, pp. 611-17.

²Ibid., lines 357-79.

³Line 73.

redundant. This lament, by focusing on divine causes, has disregarded the human factor entirely, and in so doing appears to contradict our thesis.¹

Matters scarcely differ in "The Curse of Agade," another Sumerian poem.² Although no direct explanation is given for Inanna's abandonment of Ulmash, her sanctuary in the city, the penitential response of Naram-Sin suggests that he, at least, attributed the event to some human provocation.³ With these texts should be compared a second millennium B.C. "autobiography" of Marduk. This deity's successive journeys to Hattu, Assyrian and Elam were undertaken of his own volition, his desire to travel.⁴

Greater interaction with the human factor in the decision of gods to vacate their dwelling places may be recognized in later texts. The Poem of Erra, dated by von Soden in the eighth century B.C.,⁵ also deals with the departure of Marduk from Babylon. In contrast to the independence portrayed by this divinity in the prophetic text above, Marduk is presented as a weak-willed, if not senile personality.⁶ He is unaware

¹Even when Nanna returns to the city (lines 465ff.), there is no hint of human influences. It is simply that Enlil's disposition has changed.

²See ANET, pp. 646-51 for brief commentary and translation. For transliterated text see A. Falkenstein, "Fluch über Akkade," ZA, 57 (1965), pp. 43-124.

³Lines 91ff.

⁴Borger, "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Sulgi," pp. 5ff. On p. 20, Borger notes that this is the only extant divine autobiography from cuneiform sources.

⁵"Entemananki vor Asarhaddon nach der Erzählung vom Turmbau zu Babel und dem Erra-Mythos," UF, 3 (1971), pp. 255-56. But Note L. Cagni's caution, The Poem of Erra, SANE, 1 (Malibu: 1973), p. 21. For the transliterated text see L. Cagni, L'epopea di Erra, Studi Semitici, 34 (Rome: 1969).

⁶Cf. the discussion by Cagni, The Poem of Erra, p. 19.

of the state of his domain and powerless before Erra. It is the latter who must cause Marduk to become angry with his people, abdicate his throne and leave the city to his destructive fury. However, the catalyst for all these heavenly schemes was the rebellion of the inhabitants of Babylon,¹ a revolt expressed by contempt for Erra and slighting the word of Marduk.² Specifically, the Babylonians had failed to pay proper respect to the image of the patron god.³

The Esarhaddon text already referred to⁴ provides the most complete account of a deity abandoning his city.⁵ This text describes the reasons for Marduk's departure in no uncertain terms: the citizens of Babylon have offended him with moral crimes (dishonesty, falsehood, murder, exploitation of the weak, thievery, disrespect for parents and masters) and cultic misdemeanors (eating forbidden food, dispensing with the regular sacrifices, permitting laymen to enter the holy place, defiling Esagila by removing the treasures to buy peace with Elam).⁶ This so angers Marduk that he vacates Esagila and leaves the city, taking the rest of the gods with him. The relationship between the disposition of the people and the

¹This rebellion is reflected in the term, huburu, "noise", Erra I: 42,73,82. Cf. the noise which keeps Enlil from sleeping in Atra-Hasis I:359; II i:8.

²I:121-22.

³I:127-29.

⁴Cf. supra, p. 429.

⁵Borger, Asarhaddon, pp. 10ff. On this text see Cogan, Imperialism and Religion, pp. 12f. Cogan observes that the idea of the enemy's gods abandoning their faithful is a neo-Assyrian innovation to avoid "depicting foreign gods as taking the field in defense of their adherents, thus sparing these gods humiliating defeat at the hands of the superior Assyrian gods." Ibid., p. 21.

⁶Episodes 3,4, ibid., p. 12f.

association between deity and land here is incontrovertible.¹

In a final text, the Cyrus Cylinder,² the king's offences appear to have been the primary causes for Marduk's abandonment of Babylon. Although the first part of the text is incompletely preserved, the sins that can be identified once more included both cultic (inappropriate rituals, incorrect prayers, dispensing with the sacrifices, general sacrilege against Marduk) and moral crimes (oppression of the citizens).³

The Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28 texts discussed above do not contemplate Yahweh's departure from his land as one of the effects of Israel's infidelity to the covenant.⁴ It is perhaps a measure of the people-centredness of the Old Testament perspective that, although references to the departure of Yahweh from his people are common,⁵ only rarely is his abandonment of the land contemplated. The potential for such an event is hinted at in Jer. 14:8, "Why are you like a stranger (גַּל)

¹Contrariwise, when Marduk returns to the city, his decision apparently has nothing to do with human responses. He has simply had a change of year. Episode 10, *ibid.*, pp. 15f. Cf. *supra*, p. 452, n. 2. The account of Sin's departure from Harran by Nabonidus' mother parallels the Esarhaddon text in several respects. His action is an expression of his anger with his city and his temple (I:8-9). The specific crimes are not mentioned. His eventual return is brought about by the prayers of the mother of the king. For transliteration, translation and commentary see C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *AnSt*, 7 (1957), pp. 46ff. Cf. *ANET*, pp. 560f.

²*ANET*, pp. 315f. For the transliterated text see F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, VAB, 3 (Leipzig: 1911), p. 273.

³*ANET*, p. 315.

⁴Unless the reference to Yahweh remembering his land (Lev. 26:42) implies a previous exile, but this is doubtful.

⁵Deut. 31:17; Isa. 41:17; 49:14; 54:7; Jer. 12:7; 14:9; Ps. 9:11 + 10x in Psalms; Lam. 5:20; Ezra 9:9; Neh. 9:28; 2 Chron. 12:5.

in the land; or like a traveller (אֹרֵחַ) who has pitched his tent for the night?¹ However, it is left to Ezekiel, himself in exile in the land where the traditions discussed above originated, to develop the theme more fully. But even in this book actual declarations of the departure of Yahweh from the land come only from the lips of those whose religious ideas have been influenced by neighbouring peoples, and whose practices are categorized as abominations (תּוֹעֵבוֹת).² Nevertheless, the prophet develops this theme in considerable length in chs. 8-11. In contrast to the Mesopotamian cult, in which the deity was thought to indwell the image of himself, the presence of Yahweh is represented by his כְּבוֹד which, under normal circumstances rested above the ark of the covenant inside the most holy place of the temple in Jerusalem. Although all of the details of the vision need not concern us here, it is noteworthy that the departure of the deity is a staged withdrawal: 1) The כְּבוֹד יְהוָה rises from the cherub and moves over to the threshold of the temple, filling the entire court with its emanating brightness.³ 2) A magnificent vehicle with limitless manoeuverability, carrying an object resembling a throne, appears.⁴

¹Verse 7 acknowledges the iniquities (עוֹנוֹת), apostasies (מְשׁוּבָת) and sin (חַטָּא) of the people, no doubt as the cause.

²Ezek. 8:12; 9:9. Note the references to the carved images (8:12) and the ritual weeping for Tammuz (8:14), the Sumerian deity Dumuzi ("true son") whose legendary death caused Ishtar his wife to mourn for him and to call on others to do likewise. See further, D. O. Edzard, WM, pp. 51f.; T. Jacobsen, "Toward the Image of Tammuz," in Toward the Image of Tammuz and other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture, ed. by A. L. Moran (Cambridge, Mass.: 1970), pp. 73-103. The very idea that Yahweh should forsake his land is labelled as perversion (מַטָּה) in 9:9.

³9:3; 10:4.

⁴10:1ff.

- 3) The כבוד יהוה moves from the threshold and rests above the vehicle.¹
 4) The vehicle, bearing the כבוד יהוה rises from the earth and pauses at the entrance of the east gate of the temple (בית יהוה).² 5) The כבוד יהוה departs from the midst of the city and stands above the mountain to the east.³ At this point the vision breaks off.

For interpretations of the details of the vision, the reader is referred to the commentaries.⁴ However, several general observations are relevant to the present discussion. 1) The repeated references to the abominations being committed by the people make it clear that the departure of Yahweh from Jerusalem was provoked by his subjects. 2) His departure coincides with the destruction of the city and the temple by Nebuchadnezzar.⁵ 3) Yahweh leaves of his own volition. From the description of the vehicle, with its absolute freedom of movement and its throne, the message is clear: Yahweh will not be transported out of his dwelling place by any human monarch.⁶ 4) The vision holds out the possibility of a relationship between deity and people even apart from the territorial link. This is perhaps

¹10:18.

²10:19.

³11:23.

⁴See especially W. Zimmerli, Ezechiel, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1969), Vol. I, pp. 187ff. for bibliography and discussion.

⁵But note that those who had been taken captive in earlier deportations, Ezekiel among them, are already in Babylon. Yahweh is also active here, far from his special territory. Cf. Ezek. 1.

⁶Cf. the common motif of the spoliation of divine images in neo-Assyrian texts. This practice was intended to "portray the abandonment of the enemy by his gods in submission to the superior might of Assyria's god Ashur." Cogan, loc. cit., p. 40.

the most remarkable feature of the vision. Though he would scatter them, Yahweh would not forget his commitment to the nation; he would be a sanctuary (מקדש) for the people "in the lands" (בארצות) to which he would disperse them.¹ 5) The promise is made that at some future date, not only will the relationship between the deity and the nation be restored, but the complete tri-partite association will be normalized. As a result of Yahweh's renewed interest in his people the human disposition, which had provoked his exit, will be transformed.²

Whereas Ezekiel's portrayal of Yahweh's exit from Jerusalem displays some fundamental differences from the way the surrounding peoples viewed such events, the occasional references elsewhere to deities abandoning their lands seem to conform more to prevailing perceptions. The most lucid statement is provided in Isa. 46:1-2, a satirical attack on the impotence of Babylon's gods:

<p>כרע בל קרס נבו היו עצביהם לחיה ולבהמה נשאתיכם עמוסות משא לעיפה</p>	<p>"Bel bows down, Nebo stoops, their idols are on beasts and cattle; those things you carry are loaded as burdens on weary beasts.</p>
<p>קרסו כרעו יחדו לא יכלו מלט משא ונפשם בשבי הלכה</p>	<p>They stoop, they bow down together, They cannot save the burden, but themselves go into captivity."³</p>

Jeremiah expresses similar notions with his declaration;

<p>ויצא כמוש בגולה כהניו ושריו יחד</p>	<p>"And Chemosh will go into exile, Together with his priests and his princes."⁴</p>
--	---

¹11:14-16.

²11:17-21. The vision of the actual return of the כבוד יהוה is described in 43:1-9.

³So RSV. On the textual difficulties in the text see North, The Second Isaiah, pp. 162ff.

⁴Jer 48:1.

The same action is attributed to the Ammonite deity:

<p>כי מלכם בגולה ילך כהניו ושריו יחדיו</p>	<p>"For Malkam will go into exile, Together with his priests and his princes."¹</p>
--	--

None of these texts, however, touches on the fidelity of the respective deities' subjects.

2) The relationship between a nation and its territory affects the public reputation of a deity. This appears to be a rather natural corollary of the preceding idea. Although the signs and wonders that accompanied the exodus of Israel from Egypt were readily acknowledged as demonstrations of Yahweh's person,² the effecting of similar results through Israel's actual enjoyment of the prosperity of the land may be overlooked. Deut. 28:1-14 declares that when the nations see the prosperity of Israel in the land they will recognize them to be called by Yahweh's name.³ But statements like Isa. 26:15, in which the deity's reputation (כבוד) is attached to the multiplication of the population and the extensions of the nation's borders, are quite rare. With the approaching of the exile, however, the concept gains prominence.

The nature of the theological crisis created by the exile of Judah is expressed most succinctly by Ezek. 36:20:

When they came to the nations, wherever they came, they profaned my holy name in that it was said of them, "These are the people of Yahweh, yet they have had to leave his land."

¹49:3. Cf. also Amos 1:15, which E. Puech argues should be read *milkōm*, not *malkām*, "their king". "Milkom le dieu Ammonite, en Amos I 15," *VT*, 27 (1977), pp. 117-25.

²Josh. 9:9; 2 Sam. 7:23 = 1 Chron. 17:21; Isa. 63:12,14; Jer. 32:20; Dan. 9:15; Neh. 9:10.

³Note especially v. 10.

Joel found the misfortune of the nation especially critical because it caused the nations around to question the very existence of Israel's deity.¹ The resolution of the dilemma, as the prophet sees it, would come when Yahweh once again expressed his zeal for his land and had pity on his people. With the resulting destruction of the oppressors and the new prosperity of the nation, the disgrace of the people would be eliminated and the name of Yahweh publicly vindicated.² Ezekiel also acknowledged the dependence of the reputation upon the restoration of the territorial tie:

When I gather the house of Israel from the peoples among whom they are scattered, and shall manifest my holiness in them in the sight of all the nations, then they will live in their land which I gave to my servant Jacob. And they will live in it securely, when I execute judgment upon all who scorn them round about them. Then they will know that I am Yahweh their God.³

Equally instructive is 39:21-29. Out of jealousy for his holy name Yahweh will restore the fortunes of Israel and bring them back to their land. Not only will this cause the nations to acknowledge him as their God, they will recognize that even the exile of the nation and his withdrawal of his presence, were necessary expressions of his character.⁴

¹See 2:17,

חוסה יהוה על עמך
ואל תחן נחלתך לחרפה
למשל בם גוים
למה יאמרו בעמים
איה אלהיהם

"Spare your people, O Yahweh
Do not make your possession a reproach,
A byword among the nations.
Why should they say among the peoples,
"Where is their god?"

Cf. also Ps. 42:3; 79:10; 115:2; Mic. 7:10.

²2:18-27.

³28:25-26.

⁴Cf. also 36:22ff., according to which out of zeal for "the holiness of his great name" (v. 23) Yahweh restores the people to their land (v. 24), renews his relationship with them (25-28), blesses the land with fertility (29-31), restores the desolate land to Edenic beauty (33-36),

But such ideas did not apply only to the god of Israel. According to Jeremiah the punishment of Egypt implied also the punishment of her gods;¹ the destruction of Babylon would put Bel/Marduk to shame;² the defeat of Moab would cause even his own people to be ashamed of Chemosh.³

3) The attitude of the people determines whether or not the land continues to function as the basis of prosperity and security for the nation. The importance of this notion as reflected in the blessing and curses in the divine covenant has already been touched upon, and the conditional nature of Yahweh's blessing is clear.⁴ The practical outworking of this "Deuteronomic formula" (i.e., obedience brings blessing, disobedience the curse) represents one of the overriding motifs of the historical writings. Its positive aspect reaches its climax in the reign of Solomon, when all of the prerequisites for national development are

and multiplies the population (37-38). Also 37:15ff., which adds that the nation will be reunited in the land under one Davidic king. Furthermore, Yahweh will establish his residence among them; then the nations will know that he is the god of Israel.

¹46:25f.

²50:2. Cf. 51:44. As a result of Yahweh's punishing Bel in Babylon, the nations will cease streaming to him. Cf. the terminology of "The Prophetic Speech of Marduk," *BiOr*, 28 (1971), II:16-17, a-na-ku aqbi isâ bilâti-ki-[na] mâtâtu ana ^{uru}Babilim^{ki}, "I commanded, 'Bring your contributions, O lands, to Babylon.'" Cf. I:36-37; 16'-17'. On the fall of Babylon and the shattering of her gods see also Isa. 21:9.

³48:13. Cf. Cogan's observation on the significance of the spoliation of divine images by the neo-Assyrian kings. *Loc. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴Lev. 26:1-13; Deut. 28:1-14. Cf. also 7:13; chs. 29-30; 1 Kings 9:3-9.

present.¹ The negative aspect, however, is recognized more frequently. The failure of the land to fulfill its functions is attributed to various immediate causes, most of which are subsumed under two expressions, "the land devours its inhabitants,"² and "the land disgorges its inhabitants."³ In the prophets these notions gain special prominence. Amos 4:6ff. speaks of drought, plagues and pests, and military defeat as means used by Yahweh to alert Israel to its infidelity to his covenant. Hos. 2:6ff. attributes similar economic disaster to Israel's spiritual harlotry.⁴ Isa. 1 is most graphic in its description of the evils of the nation and the consequences for the land. According to Jer. 12:7-13, a text which also treats of the departure of Yahweh from his people, the land harbours wild beasts which are called upon by the deity to devour the people. Mention is also made of the destruction wrought by enemies, as well as the futility of all agricultural effort.⁵

This "deuteronomic" philosophy of history is not uniquely Israelite.⁶ Parallel references to the land refusing to fulfill its normal functions for its inhabitants are common in extra-biblical texts, especially

¹Numerical increase in the population (1 Kings 4:20); prosperity (5:1-3); security and peace (5:4-5).

²Ezek. 36:13.

³Lev. 18:25,28; 20:22. Cf. *supra*, p. 389, n. 2. For specific ways in which this occurs see *supra*, pp. 392f, 462. 2 Kings 17:7-18 especially, places the responsibility of the latter with the evil of the people.

⁴Cf. 4:1ff. On the other hand, in 2:20-22, Hosea does foresee the day when Yahweh will renew his covenant with Israel, the effects of which will be peace with the environment, as well as security from external enemies.

⁵Cf. also 14:1ff., similarly in the context of the possible departure of the deity.

⁶Cf. K. A. Kitchen, "Ancient Orient, 'Deuteronomism,' and the Old

in the treaty curses.¹ But these effects transpire especially when the deity abandons his residence, thereby causing the entire natural order to disintegrate.² Ultimately, however, such catastrophes are usually accepted as the consequences of human behaviour. Where moral and cultic infidelity occurs, the land ceases to provide the prosperity, and security essential to national development.

Testament," in New Perspectives on the Old Testament, ed. by J. B. Payne (Waco: 1970), pp. 16ff.

¹Sefire I A:21ff. speaks of the herds and crops failing, devastation in the land, vicious wild beasts devouring the population, Arpad becoming the habitat of gazelles, foxes, owls, etc. (For similar descriptions of desolated lands cf. Isa. 13:20ff. [Babylon]; 34:10ff. [Edom]; Zeph. 2:13f. [Nineveh]; Jer. 9:10f.; 10:22 [Jerusalem]; 49:33 [Hazor]; 51:37ff. [Babylon]. Note also the prism of Ashurbanipal AO 19.939, lines 66-71, published by J. M. Aynard, Le prisme du Louvre AO 19.939 [Paris: 1957], pp. 56ff. For a discussion of this motif and these texts, esp. Isa. 34:10ff. see D. Hillers, Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets [Rome: 1964], pp. 44-54.) Note also the Treaty of Ashurnirari V and Mati'ilu, ANET, pp. 532f.; VTE, ANET, pp. 536ff.

²See "Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," ANET, pp. 617f., lines 380ff.; Erra, I:133ff., 170ff. II:C:24ff., but through the agency of Erra; Asarhaddon, episodes 6-9, pp. 14f.; "The Prophetic Speech of Marduk," I:18'-II:11, though here the moral causes of the catastrophe are not in view.

Limitations to the Concept of
"National Deities"

Fundamental to much of the preceding discussion has been the idea that behind the state stands a patron deity who assumes special responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. Should the god become angry and/or leave the land chaos and disintegration would set in. This, however, raises one final question, that of the exclusiveness of the relationship between the deity and his people. Were there limitations to the concept of national deities which diluted the one-to-one association which the terminology implies? This question may be answered by determining whether 1) a "national deity" tolerated the worship of other gods by his subjects, and 2) the "national deity" accepted others, individuals or groups of people, besides his own into this special relationship with himself.

The Problem of Rival Deities

The data is most complete for Mesopotamia. In Babylon, for example, the presence of temples dedicated to Adad, Shamash, Ninurta and Ishtar demonstrates that Marduk did not have a monopoly on the devotion of the citizens.¹ Judging from the names of the most important neo-Babylonian rulers, it appears that Nabu may have been recognized as the patron god of the dynasty.² In their epithets, the Assyrian kings regularly expressed a relationship with several members of the Assyrian pantheon.³

¹Cf. the city plan of Nebuchadnezzar's time (605-582 B.C.), IBD, I, p. 159. On the religion of Babylon see W. G. Lambert, "The Babylonians and Chaldeans," POTT, pp. 184ff.; Saggs, Greatness, pp. 299ff.

²Cf. Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, Nabopolassar. So also North, Second Isaiah, p. 163.

³E.g., Ashurbanipal, who names Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Ishtar, Belit, Bel, Ninib, Nergal, and Nusku. Rassam Cylinder, Streck, I, pp. 2-5; ARAB, II, #766.

The same phenomenon may be observed in Syria. Temples dedicated to Baal and Dagan have been discovered in Ugarit, an important second millennium kingdom.¹ The Aramaeans of the first millennium also followed this pattern. At Y'DY Panammu acknowledged the assistance of Hadad, El, Resheph, Rakkab-el and Shemesh.² Zakkur of Hamath invoked the support of Baalshamayn, Ilwer, Shemesh and Sahar.³ Bar-Hadad of Damascus identified Melkarth as his lord, where Hadad-Ramman would have been anticipated.⁴ As witnesses to his treaty with Mati^c,el of Arpad, Barga'yah of KTK appealed to MLŠ, Marduk, ŠarpānĪtu, Nabu, Tashmet, Erra, Nusku, Nergal, Laš, Shamash, Nur, Sin and Nikkal, NKR, KD'H, Hadad, El, Elyon, and all the gods of the open country and the cultivated land.⁵ The Phoenician religious scene was equally complex. Each city seems to have acknowledged not one, but several major gods who received greater attention than the rest of the pantheon. Moscati has recognized the following typical groups: Byblos - El, Baalat, Adonis; Sidon - Baal, Astarte, Eshmun; Tyre - Melqart, Astarte.⁶

¹On these temples see J. C. Courtois, DBS, fasc. 52 (1979), pp. 1195ff. Similar polytheism characterized the religion of Ebla one thousand years earlier. See now G. Pettinato, "Polytheismus und Henotheismus in der Religion von Ebla," in Monotheismus im alten Israel und seiner Umwelt, Biblische Beiträge, 14, ed. by O. Keel (Fribourg: 1980), pp. 31-48.

²KAI 214:2-3.

³KAI 202:20ff.

⁴KAI 201:3.

⁵KAI 222 A:8ff.

⁶S. Moscati, The World of the Phoenicians, trans. by A. Hamilton (London: 1968), pp. 31ff.

It is obvious that in none of these regions does the prevailing religious perspective approach a form of monotheism. Since in each locality one deity tended to emerge as supreme, while other deities were simultaneously recognized, the situation could be more appropriately characterized as territorial henotheism.

The evidence for the simultaneous worship of different gods in the south Syrian transjordanian states is less clear. According to Judg. 10:6 the apostasy of the Israelites involved the worship of *הבעלים והעשתרות*. *ואלהי ארם ואלהי צידון ואלהי מואב ואלהי בני עמון ואלהי פלשתים*. Since the *בעלים* and the *עשתרות* probably refer to the variety of local manifestations of these deities, it is probable that in this context *אלהי* is also to be understood as plural in sense.¹

Although Chemosh was the god of the Moabites, in the Old Testament Baal is occasionally associated with this nation. In Num. 22:41 Balak the king, is said to have brought Balaam to the high place of Baal. Balak's sacrifice at the top of Peor² may well have been to the same deity as the one to which the Israelites apostasized in Num. 25:1ff.³ The place names Beth-Baal-Meon⁴ and Bamoth-Baal⁵ betray some association with the cult. Whether these are to be viewed as indicative of local manifestations

¹So also J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, NCB (London: 1967), pp. 329f., contra H. M. Orlinsky, "Nationalism-Universalism and Internationalism in Ancient Israel," *TUOT*, p. 217.

²Num. 23:28-30.

³Cf. Hos. 9:10, where the event is described as shameful.

⁴Josh. 13:17; KAI 181:30. The name has been abbreviated to Baal-Meon in Num. 32:38; Ezek. 25:9; 1 Chron. 5:8; KAI 181:9.

⁵Josh. 13:17.

of the deity Baal or of the worship of Chemosh under the epithet Baal is uncertain. That the Moabite cult had many features in common with the Baalism of Canaan has been established.¹ This ambivalent attitude toward the deities finds expression also in the Mesha Inscription in which Ash-tar-Chemosh is placed alongside Chemosh.²

Information regarding the pantheon of the Ammonites is equally unsatisfactory. Apart from Milkom, which like Baal³ may be an epithet rather than a formal name, only בל appears as the theophoric element in personal names⁴ so far identified. In Edom Qaus seems to have had some competition for the peoples' devotion. Amaziah is stated to have worshipped Edomite gods.⁵ Baal,⁶ El⁷ and Hadad⁸ occur as theophores in personal names. Glueck has published photographs of female figurines, suggesting

¹Cf. van Zyl, pp. 193ff.

²Opinion concerning the identity of this deity is divided. Gibson, HMI, p. 81, understands Ashtar as the male counterpart to the Canaanite Ashtoreth. J. Gray, "The Desert God ^cAttr in the Literature and Religion of Canaan," JNES, 8 (1949), pp. 72-83, and Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p. 81, equate him with the south Arabian ^ctr, god of the morning-star. W. Caskill, "Die alten Semitischen Gottheiten in Arabien," in Le Antiche Divinita Semitiche, ed. by W. Moscatti (Rome: 1958), p. 101, suggests he may have been an older deity of the land or befriended Aramaic (Arabic?) neighbours.

³Baalis (בעלים) occurs as the name of an Ammonite king, Jer. 40:14.

⁴E.g., Hiṣṣal-'el, Bod-'el, Hanan-'el, Nadab-'el, בידאל. See N. Avigad, "Two Ammonite Seals Depicting the Dea Nutrix," BASOR, 225 (1977), pp. 63-66. For others see R. Hestrin and M. Dayagi-Mendels, Inscribed Seals (Jerusalem: 1979), pp. 124ff.

⁵2 Chron. 25:14f. The singular interpretation of אלהים is precluded in view of the plural suffixes on להם and לפניהם.

⁶Baal-hanan, 1 Chron. 1:49.

⁷Mehatab-'el, 1 Chron. 1:50.

⁸Gen. 36:35; 1 Chron. 1:50 (spelled as Hadar in Gen. 36:39); 1 Kings 11:14f. Weippert, "Edom," p. 465, views the name as a hypocoristic. However, this explanation is not certain. First, the worship

the cult of the fertility goddess.¹

If the evidence from the transjordanian states points to the veneration of deities other than the patron gods, the Hebrew sources reflect an adamant opposition to any divinities that would compete with Yahweh. This does not mean that other gods were never worshipped;² indeed the religious history of Israel is characterized by the conflict between Yahweh and the fertility gods of Canaan.³ However, the tradition of the exclusive right of Yahweh to the devotion of his people dates back to the earliest history of the nation.⁴ The veneration of other divinities is treated as spiritual harlotry,⁵ an abomination,⁶ foolishness,⁷

of this deity so far south is unexpected. Second, the independent use of the divine name as a personal name is unusual. In hypocoristic names, this is the element normally deleted. A. R. Millard, in private communication, suggests that in view of the sequence הוֹד בֶּן בֹּדַד in Gen. 36:35, Hadad may not have been derived from a divine name, but formed on a geminated C₁C₂C₂ pattern. This explanation suggests a derivation from הוֹד, which as a noun means "splendour, majesty", (BDB, p. 217). Hadad might then be recognized as a hypocoristic for something like Hadad-El, "El is majestic".

¹The Other Side of the Jordan, pp. 150f.

²For extra-biblical evidence note the ninth to eighth century B.C. inscription from Kuntillet Ajrud: בִּרְכַת אֲתָכֶם לִיהוָה שֹׁמֵר וְלֹאֲשֶׁרֶתָּה, "I will bless you by Yahweh our keeper and by his Asherah." Cf. I. V. Fritz, "Kadesch in Geschichte und Überlieferung," Biblische Notizen, 9 (1979), p. 49.

³See W. F. Albright, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan (London: 1968) F. Stolz, "Monotheismus in Israel," in Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seine Umwelt, pp. 163ff.

⁴See Exod. 20:1-7; Deut. 5:1-11; 6:4ff.; 7:1-11. Stolz, ibid., traces it back to the time of the conquest.

⁵זָנוּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, Judg. 2:17; 8:27,33, and many more. Cf. BDB, pp. 275f.

⁶תּוֹעֵבָה, Deut. 13:15, and many more. Cf. BDB, pp. 1072f.

⁷Note the satirical attacks of the prophets in Isa. 40:18-20; 41:6-7; 44:9-20; 46:1-2; Jer. 10:1-10. Cf. also Ps. 115:1-8.

detestible,¹ and utterly disgusting.² To the orthodox Yahwist, his god would tolerate no rivals.³ In this respect the Hebrew view of their own patron deity differed fundamentally from those of all the nations around.⁴

The Acceptance of Outsiders

Examples of deities accepting the worship of "outsiders" may be produced from all parts of the fertile crescent. According to Esarhaddon, an Assyrian, Marduk had specifically called him to rebuild Babylon and to reinstate the proper practice of the cult.⁵ Cyrus, a Persian, expressed

¹ יָקָשׁ, Deut. 29:16, etc. Cf. BDB, pp. 1054f.

² גִּלּוּלִים, Ezek. 8:10 + 37x in Ezekiel. KB, p. 183, explains the meaning as "originally 'dung pellets'." Cf. BDB, p. 165, "dungy things".

³ In addition to the discussions of monotheism in Israel by Stolz and Albright cited above, see also Albright, FSAC, pp. 257ff.; H. Ringgren, "Monotheism," IDBS, pp. 602-604; D. Baly, "The Geography of Monotheism," TUOT, pp. 253-78; T. J. Meek, Hebrew Origins, rev. ed. (New York: 1950), pp. 184-228.

⁴ Related to this intolerance of the worship of other deities within Israel, is also the problem of the objective acceptance or rejection of special gods for the other nations. The Old Testament seems to reflect on the issue at several different levels. At the literary level, the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah speak freely of Chemosh, Milkom, Bel, Marduk and Nebo as the gods of their respective peoples. At another level, however, Deuteronomy is emphatic about the qualitative difference between the god of Israel and the gods of the other nations. Only Israel possessed a deity that was responsive to its prayers (4:7); only Israel had been blessed with such a righteous set of statutes from its god (4:8); only Israel had received such a revelation of its god (4:32-36); only Israel had experienced the mighty acts of its god in such a personal way. Yahweh had delivered them from the bondage of Egypt, driven out the enemies before them, and given them their land as an inheritance (4:34-38). At a third level, we note several strong denials of the objective reality of other national deities. See Ps. 96:5 (= 1 Chron. 16:26). No doubt the polemical statements on the folly of idolatry by Isaiah and Jeremiah also have implications for the idolatries perpetrated in other nations as well.

⁵ Borger, Asarhaddon, pp. 16f.

similar thoughts almost one and one-half centuries later.¹ In Syria and Phoenician, as well, ample evidence for the ready acceptance of aliens by deities normally associated with one locality may be cited. We note only Ben-Hadad of Damascus, who erected a stele in honour of Melqart, usually associated with Tyre.² With reference to the transjordanian gods, it has already been noted that personal names bearing the theophores Qaus³ and Chemosh⁴ have been identified as far away as Egypt and Mesopotamia. Although it has been suggested that these were probably exiles, the possibility that these were non-Edomites or non-Moabites cannot be ruled out. The assumption of the worship of Qaus by the Nabataeans after the demise of Edom may point in the same direction.

In this respect the universalism of Yahweh⁵ is equal to, if not more pronounced than that of the deities mentioned. The election of Abraham is placed within the context of the world, with the statement that he who is blessed of Yahweh will also become an agent of universal blessing.⁶ The signs and wonders accompanying the Exodus from Egypt are multiplied expressly for the benefit of the Egyptians⁷ and indeed the

¹ANET, pp. 315-16.

²ANET, p. 655.

³See supra, pp. 403f.

⁴See supra, pp. 403f. The worship of Chemosh outside Moab has been attested in the late third millennium in Ebla. Cf. Pettinato, loc. cit., pp. 35f.

⁵On which see R. Martin-Achard, A Light to the Nations, trans. by J. P. Smith (Edinburgh: 1962).

⁶Gen. 12:3 and parallels.

⁷Exod. 7:3f.

entire world,¹ that they may acknowledge the incomparability of Yahweh.² Hints of a mediatorial role for Israel in Yahweh's desire to relate to all the kingdoms of the earth may be recognized in his designation of his people as "a kingdom of priests, a holy nation."³ Many prophetic texts call attention to the universal recognition of Yahweh in very general terms.⁴ Others are quite specific. In Isa. 19:23-25 Yahweh speaks of Egypt as עמי and Assyria as מעשה ירי, while in the same breath referring to Israel as נחלתי. The psalmist in 87:4ff. speaks of Yahweh registering the עמים, mentioning by name Rahab (Egypt), Babylon, Philistia, Tyre and Ethiopia. And, lest the Israelites should use Yahweh's special favours as occasions for spiritual complacency, Amos in 9:7 reminds them that the migrations of the Philistines and Aramaeans have been directed by Yahweh as well. Nor are they the only ones who have received their land as a נחלה from Yahweh.⁵ Identified as Elyon, he is declared to have granted each of the גוים its נחלה.⁶ All of this is not to annul the special status

¹Exod. 9:13-16.

²On the topic see C. J. Labuschagne, The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament, Pretoria Oriental Series, 5 (Leiden: 1966).

³Exod. 19:4-6. On the expressions see H. Wildberger, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk: Eine Studie zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des Erwählungsgedankens (Zurich: 1960), pp. 80f.

⁴Isa. 2:1-4 // Mic. 4:1-3; Isa. 66:18ff.; Joel 2:28-32; Zech. 2:11; 8:20-23; 14:16f. Note especially the expression, כל הגוים אשר נקרא, שמי עליהם, Amos 9:12.

⁵The same applies to the Edomites (Deut. 2:4-5), Moabites (2:9) and Ammonites (2:19).

⁶Deut. 32:8. Cf. Acts 17:26.

of Israel as the unique object of Yahweh's election,¹ love,² and salvation;³ it is only to demonstrate that Yahweh's covenant relationship with his own people does not imply oblivion to the rest of mankind.

Although most of the texts above refer to other peoples joining Israel in the worship of her deity, specific provisions were made within the constitution of the nation for the acceptance into the community of any outsider who might seek to join the people of Yahweh. By the rite of circumcision the sojourner was admitted and entitled to participate in the commemorative celebrations of Yahweh's salvation of the nation.⁴ The cumulative weight of all of this evidence dispels any doubt concerning the openness of Israel's national deity to the devotion of non-Israelites. Yahweh is described not only as the God of Israel, but L אלהי כל בשר, "the god of all flesh";⁵ indeed he is אלהי כל הארץ.⁶ It was the heresy of the false prophets to limit Yahweh to the nation of Israel.⁷ But he was much more than that, he was the universal deity.

¹Exod. 19:4-5.

²Deut. 4:37; 7:7-8.

³Deut. 33:26-29.

⁴Gen. 17:9-14; Exod. 12:43ff.

⁵Jer. 32:27.

⁶Isa. 54:5.

⁷Cf. Labuschagne, pp. 149ff. on the comparison of Yahweh as a national deity and other national gods.

Summary and Conclusions

As a conclusion to this investigation the results may now be summarized.

- 1) In the ancient Near East it was common for many peoples as groups to identify one particular deity as their god in a special way. This relationship was also recognized by outsiders.
- 2) The evidence for reciprocal feelings on the parts of the deities is less clear. From the Old Testament, however, it is apparent that the Ammonites were known as the עם מלכם, the Moabites as עם כמוש and the Israelites as עם יהוה. Israel alone has preserved specific traditions of the attitude of its deity toward them.
- 3) Since the special relationship with a deity was not the exclusive preserve of nations, but was also true of tribal groups, and people identified with a specific place, the term "national deity" is misleading. If a general expression is required to account for all levels of socio-political development, a functional term like "patron gods" is more appropriate. In any case, it seems that it was difficult for an ancient Near Easterner to think of a politically unified people without recognizing a special protective deity for that people.
- 4) The deity-nation bond was inextricably associated with the territory occupied by the latter. Indeed it seems that the Phoenicians and Aramaeans, like the Mesopotamians, perceived the deity-territory tie to have been original and primary. A people related to a specific god by virtue of their residence in his land. Only the Hebrews of the south Syrian peoples have left records of their views. These differed fundamentally from those of their northern neighbours. They recognized their own

association with Yahweh to have been primary. The land represented his grant to them. They also acknowledged Yahweh as the source of the territorial claims of the other nations.

5) It was the patron deity's responsibility to maintain the welfare of his people by prospering them and protecting them from foreign aggression. The people, for their part, were charged with maintaining the cult of the god and conducting their lives in keeping with his expectations. Failure to do so could result in the departure of the deity and/or the expulsion of the people from the land. Uniquely in Israel, the deity-nation association was maintained even in the absence of the territorial tie.

6) The notion of "national deity" or "patron deity" is not an absolute concept, based upon an exclusive one-to-one relationship between a god and his people. Insofar as the gods of the nations outside Israel tolerated the worship of other divinities, even by their own people, their absolute status as "national divinities" is diminished. In Israel, on the other hand, Yahweh's position was unchallenged; his intolerance of rivals was total. The acceptance of the devotion of people from outside the national group on the part of all of the "national deities" represented a second limiting factor. While having established a special relationship with Israel, Yahweh was proclaimed by orthodox devotees to be the universal god at the same time.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POLITICAL FACTOR

Introduction

The modern definition of "nationality" is determined more by the political factor than any other.¹ Consequently, in common parlance the terms "nation" and "state" are frequently interchanged.² Our present task is to determine the role played by political factors in the ancient Near Eastern, specifically in the Levantine, perception of "nationality". This investigation will consist of three studies: 1) the political significance of the term גו; 2) The nature of the relationship that was perceived to exist between a ruler and the nation; 3) The role played by the ruler in the development of national self-consciousness.

The Political Significance of גו

In our initial investigation it became apparent that of the various terms used by the Northwestern Semites to represent "nation", גו, a uniquely Hebrew term, was the most political in connotation. These overtones were reflected especially by the frequent association, in poetic

¹Cf. The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: 1971), s.v. "nation."

²A certain ambiguity of modern usage should, however, be recognized, as is illustrated by the fact that Britain is allowed only one representative in the United Nations, but in international athletic competitions Wales, Scotland and England may compete separately.

parallelism and otherwise, of the expression with מלך/ממלכה.¹ This conclusion deserves closer scrutiny. This may be achieved in two ways: 1) By examining the political nature of those entities specifically identified as גוים; 2) By investigating specifically the Hebrew treatment of Israel as a גוי.

The Political Nature of the גוים

Earlier it had been tentatively concluded that a גוי was characteristically a ממלכה, and was ruled by a מלך.² The conclusive demonstration of this is complicated by the fact that גוים are actually identified as such by name in only a limited number of contexts. Nevertheless, an examination of these texts will assist us in determining the correctness of our original hypothesis.

Jeremiah 25:17ff.

Jer. 25:17ff. provides the most extensive list of גוים:

Then I took the cup from Yahweh's hand, and made all the גוים drink, to whom Yahweh had sent me: Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, and its מלכים, its שרים . . .; Pharaoh, מלך of Egypt, his servants, his שרים, and all his עם; and all the mixed multitude, and all the מלכים of the land of Uz; and all the מלכים of the land of the Philistines (i.e., Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod); Edom, Moab and bny Ammon; and all the מלכים of Tyre; all the מלכים of Sidon and the מלכים of the islands which are beyond the sea; and Dedan, and Tema', and Buz; and all who cut the corners (of their hair?); and all the מלכים of Arabia; and all the מלכים of the people who dwell in the desert; all the מלכים of Zimri; all the מלכים of Elam; all the מלכים of Media; and all the מלכים of the north, near and far, one with another; and all the מלכים of the earth which are upon the face of the ground, and the מלך of Shishak shall drink after them.³

¹Cf. supra, pp. 115f.

²See supra, p. 120.

³For a discussion of the geographical aspects of the text cf. Simons, GTTOT, pp. 444f.

It is apparent from this list that the term גוי was capable of great variation in scope; it could be applied to powerful nations like Egypt, on the one hand, or to desert tribes on the other. Equally significant is the prominence of the term מלך which here reflects the form of government for each of these entities. Within the list, the nature of the relationships between the מלכים and the גוים are not presented uniformly. The state of Judah is identified by its capital city along with the cities of the land to which the מלכים and שרים belong. For Egypt the roles are reversed. Here the primary focus appears to be on the Pharaoh, the מלך; the עבדים, שרים and עם are all his.¹ To all the rest, as to Judah, a plurality of מלכים is ascribed. In the cases of some, such as the Philistines and the Arabs, who were divided into separate political entities, this could imply the simultaneous rule of several מלכים; in others consecutive rulers are probably in mind. We shall examine each briefly, to determine what external evidence may be found for the presence of the institution of מלך for these גוים.

The land of Uz has yet to be positively identified.² Until this can be done, identifying the type of government operating there will be impossible. Outside of this text, the Old Testament never associates a מלך with the name. If the site is in fact the homeland of Job, the choice of this term here is surprising, and appears to contradict the general impression of the book. According to 29:1ff., Uz was governed by

¹This arrangement may have been intentional, to reflect the absolute role of the king in Egypt. Cf. H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature (Chicago: 1948), pp. 24ff.

²Uz is omitted by LXX. Simons questions its authenticity. GTTOT, p. 445. Cf. also B. D. Napier, "Uz," IDB, IV, p. 741.

a council consisting of שרים and נגידים, of which the patriarch himself appears to have been a member.

The first Old Testament reference to the Philistine administrative order occurs in Genesis 26:1,8. Abimelech is presented as מלך of the Philistines with Gerar as his main residence.¹ In later times the five Philistine cities were each ruled by a סרן,² although near the turn of the millennium at least one ruler, Achish of Gath, went by the title מלך.³ It is possible that סרנים continued to rule in the Philistine cities until much later, and that the מלכים referred to by Jeremiah appear only with the commencement of Assyrian domination, and their installation of puppet vassal kings.⁴ On the other hand, since the term never appears after the time of David, it is also reasonable to suppose that סרן fell out of use as the Philistines became assimilated to Canaanite culture and language,

¹This patriarchal reference to the Philistines is usually regarded as an anachronism. See, however, K. A. Kitchen, "The Philistines," POTT, p. 56.

²On the basis of the Akkadian vocalization, su-ra-nu, the term has been commonly associated with Greek τύραννος, "tyrant". So H. E. Kassis, "Gath and the Structure of the 'Philistine' Society," JBL, 84 (1965), p. 264, n. 36; W. F. Albright, "Syria, the Philistines and Phoenicia," CAH, 3rd ed., II, p. 516; T. C. Mitchell, "Philistia," AOTS, p. 413. This view is, however, rejected by M. Weippert, in a review of T. Dothan, Ha-Pēlistim we-tarbūtām ha-homrīt, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 223 (1971), p. 6. n. 22.

³1 Sam. 21:11ff. The nature of his relationship to the סרנים is not clear. Kassis loc. cit., pp. 259-71, argues that Achish was a Canaanite, from the indigenous population who was allowed to retain his title so long as he acknowledged the overlordship of the סרן of the city. So also G. E. Wright, "Fresh Evidence for the Philistine Story," BA, 29, (1966), pp. 81f. However, if Achish is a genuine Philistine (non-Semitic) name, this suggestion is unlikely. So Weippert, loc. cit., p. 6.

⁴For a study of the history of the Philistine-Assyrian relations see H. Tadmor, "Philistia under Assyrian Rule," BASOR, 29 (1966), pp. 86-102.

being replaced by the common Semitic term, מֶלֶךְ.¹ Whether in the present context each of these cities would have been considered a separate גֹּי is difficult to determine. In David's list of גֹּיִם in 2 Sam. 8:12, the Philistines are represented as one גֹּי only, alongside Aram, Moab, Ammon and Edom. The treatment of the land of the Philistines as one territory in Jer. 25:20, even though they are divided politically, is in harmony with neo-Assyrian texts.²

In the present context, מְלָכִים are not directly attributed to Edom, Ammon or Moab, but this is merely a stylistic variation. It is clear from other sources that this form of government existed in each of these states.³

Information on the political situation of the north-western Arabian tribes mentioned by Jeremiah is becoming more clear. At the time of the prophecy Dedan was a thriving commercial centre on the frankincense

¹Suggested by A. R. Millard in private communication.

²Note *ina na-ge-e māṭ Pi-liś-te*, "the entire district of the Philistines", Borger, *Asarhaddon*, No. 69 RS III:19, p. 108. Cf. *ANET*, p. 534. But note also the separate references to the *šarrū* Mitinti of Ashkelon (*ANET*, p. 282), Hanno of Gaza (*ANET*, p. 285), Iamani and Azuri of Ashdod (*ANET*, pp. 285, 286, respectively), Padi of Ekron (*ANET*, p. 287).

³On Edom, cf. Gen. 36:31; Num. 20:14; Judg. 11:17; 2 Kings 3:26; Jer. 27:3; Amos 2:1. The neo-Assyrian annals name Aiarammu (*ANET*, p. 287), Qausmalaku (*ANET*, p. 282), and Qausgabri (*ANET*, p. 291) as Edomite *šarrū*. The last named probably appears on a seal impression from Umm el-Biyara as מֶלֶךְ אֲדָם. Cf. C. M. Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm El-Biyara," *RB*, 73 (1966), pp. 399f. On Ammon, cf. Judg. 11:12 *et passim*; 1 Sam. 12:12; 2 Sam. 10:1; Jer. 23:7; 40:14. The Siran Inscription names Amminadab (II), Ḥiṣṣal-el and Amminadab (III) as מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵעַמָן. The neo-Assyrian annals add Ba'sa (*ANET*, p. 279), Sanipu (*ANET*, p. 282), Buduilu (*ANET*, p. 287, 291), Amminadab (I) (*ANET*, p. 294). For a reconstruction of the sequence of the Ammonite kings see F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sirān," *BASOR*, 212 (1973), pp. 14f. On Moab, cf. Num. 22:10; 23:7; Josh. 24:9; Judg. 3:12ff.; 11:17f.; 1 Sam. 12:9; 22:3f.; 2 Kings 3:4ff.; Jer. 27:3; Mic. 6:5. The Mesha and El-Kerak Inscriptions name Chemosh-yat and Mesha (KAI 181: Gibson, *HMI*, #17). Neo-Assyrian annals speak of Salamanu (*ANET*, p. 282), Kammusunadbi (*ANET*, p. 287), Musuri (*ANET*, p. 291) as Moabite *šarrū*.

trade route.¹ With the help of the inscriptions it is now possible to trace several generations of מלכים who ruled in this place.² Shortly after the prophecy, Tema' gained prominence as the favourite retreat of Nabonidus, who, having slain its malku, established his own residence there.³ Buz remains a mystery.

The following expression in the Jeremiah text, "all the מלכים of Arabia and all the מלכים of the people who dwell in the desert," is surprising, especially since ערב in biblical, neo-Assyrian and South Arabian usage describes a mode of life, i.e., that of the bedouin nomad, in contrast to the sedentary population.⁴ In view of Henninger's observation⁵ that, apart from the kingdoms of southern Arabia, the only pre-Islamic counterparts to the current notion of the state were the kingdoms/

¹F. V. Winnett, "The Arabian Genealogies in the Book of Genesis," in TUOT, p. 190.

²For a reconstruction of the dynastic sequence see W. F. Albright, "Dedan," in Geschichte und Gegenwart, A. Alt Festschrift (Tübingen: 1953) pp. 5-7. See also A. van den Branden, "Le chronologie de Dedan et de Lihyân," BiOr, 14 (1957), pp. 13-16.

³The expression ma-al-ku (ālu) Te-ma-', occurs in "A Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus," II:25. See S. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon (London: 1924), p. 84. The expression is translated "Fürsten von Tema" by B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, "Zu neuer veröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen der Zeit Asarhaddon bis Nabonid," ZA, 37 (1927), p. 91. Cf. ANET, pp. 306, 313, 562f. For a discussion of the circumstances of the event see C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," AnSt, 8 (1958), pp. 79-89. Cf. also Winnett and Reed, ARNA, pp. 88-93. From the context it appears that the lacuna of KAI 228:1 contained a reference to a king.

⁴I. Eph'al, "'Ishmael' and 'Arab(s)': A Transformation of Ethnological Terms," JNES, 35 (1976), p. 227.

⁵J. Henninger, "La société bédouine ancienne," in L'antica società bedouina, Studi Semitici, 2 (Rome: 1959), p. 77. Cf. A. K. Irvine, "The Arabs and Ethiopians," POTT, p. 290, "These peoples . . . felt cohesion only in family terms."

principalities of the Lahmides, with their capital at Hira,¹ the Gassanide/Gafnide kingdom in Syria,² and the Kinda kingdom of the eastern Nejd,³ the identification of the rulers of these desert folk as מלכים is remarkable. However, it is consistent with the neo-Assyrian texts in which the Arab rulers are designated as šarrū.⁴ Either the political structures of the Arabs were more sophisticated than is commonly thought, or the terms מלך in West Semitic, and šarru in Akkadian were employed with considerable flexibility. The latter is more likely.⁵

Apart from the enigmatic Zimri,⁶ the remaining entries in

¹Dated by Henninger, loc. cit., in the third to sixth centuries A.D.

²Dated in the sixth century A.D. by B. Lewis, The Arabs in History, 4th ed. (London: 1966), p. 32.

³Dated in the fifth century A.D. by J. Pirenne, "L'inscription 'Ryckmans 535' et la chronologie sud-Arab," Le Muséon, 69 (1956), p. 171ff.

⁴Note Hazail, king of the Arabs, ANET, p. 291 (Borger, Asarhaddon, p. 53); Uate', king of Arabia, ANET, p. 297 (Streck, II, p. 64, Rm vii:83, ¹u-a-a-te-' šar mātu a-ri-bi). In Streck, II, p. 130, Cyl. B vii:87-88, the same person is identified as ¹ia-u-ta-' mar ¹ha-za-ilu šar mātu qi-id-ri, "Yauta' son of Hazail king of Qedar."

⁵See further below. Eph^cal, p. 230, has concluded that šar māt Aribi "is a general title applicable to every nomad leader but not indicating status or range of authority." Cf. Winnett and Reed, ARNA, p. 95, "In spite of their royal title they seem to have been Bedouin sheikhs without any settled abode." It is suggested that Hazail controlled both Adummatu and Tema 200 miles to the south. For a helpful discussion of the identification of nomadic sheikhs as מלכים and šarrū see H. Klengel, Zwischen Zelt und Palast (Vienna: 1972), pp. 110ff. On the Mari chieftains as šarrū see A. Malamat, "Mari," BA, 34 (1971), p. 17; J. T. Luke, "Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period," pp. 79ff.; J. R. Kupper, Les nomades, 59-63. Compare this to the later Safaitic usage in which mlk signifies "lord", and serves as the title of the tribal chieftain. Cf. A. Jamme, "Safaitic mlk, 'Lord' of the Tribe," Orientalia, 39 (1970), pp. 504-11.

⁶LXX omits the name. Some emend to Zimki; others believe it to be an Athbash for Elam. This is unlikely since Elam is already listed. Cf. J. Bright, Jeremiah, AB (Garden City: 1965), p. 161. Simons, GTTOT, p. 445.

Jeremiah's list of גוים, i.e., the מלכים of Tyre, Sidon, Elam, Media and Babylon (Shishak) present no problems.¹

Deuteronomy 7:1

According to Deut. 7:1, the second longest list of גוים, the Canaanites consisted of seven such entities. In this instance the גוים appear to represent ethnic, rather than political groups.² It is apparent from the Amarna correspondence³ as well as the account of the conquest in Joshua that in the second millennium B.C. the Canaanite tribes were further broken down into a series of city-states, each with its own מלך.⁴

2 Kings 17-19

Of the גוים listed in the description of Assyria's conquest of Israel in 2 Kings 17-19, מלכים are specifically attributed to Hamath, Arpad, Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah.⁵ The identity of the first two is clear,

¹On Tyre and Sidon see below.

²On this and other similar lists of these nations see now, T. Ishida, "The Structure and Historical Implications of the Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations," Biblica, 60 (1979), pp. 461-90.

³Cf. supra, pp. 358ff.

⁴Thirty-one are listed in Josh. 12. Among these Jabin, "מלך of Canaan," (Judg. 4:2,23,24) appears to have enjoyed special prominence. Cf. Josh. 11:10. He alone is said to have left his military affairs in the hands of an appointed official, Sisera. On the nature of Canaanite kingship in the Bronze Age see M. Liverani, "La royauté syrienne de l'age du bronze récent," in Le palais et la royauté, ed. by P. Garelli, RAI, 19 (Paris: 1974), pp. 329-56; J. Gray, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice," VT, 2 (1952), pp. 193-220.

⁵2 Kings 19:13. R. Zadok, "Geographic and Onomastic Notes," JANES, 8 (1976), p. 114, following Driver, interprets לעיר as a proper name, Lair, which he identifies with Lahiru in northeastern Babylonia. The expression is omitted in LXX. BHK suggests לעש, a city named alongside Hamath as the realm of Zakkur in KAI 202 :1(= AI 5:1). Note, however J. Gray's justified rejection of this interpretation, I & II Kings, 2nd rev. ed. (Philadelphia: 1970), p. 688.

Hamath and Arpad representing two important kingdoms of northern Syria in the ninth and eighth centuries.¹ Concerning the remaining three, nothing may be said with certainty.² Nor can מלכים for them be confirmed. The term מלך may again be intended as a rather loose designation for "ruler". On the other hand, since the references are contained in a propagandistic appeal, absolute accuracy of terminology may not be required. The Assyrian official may have deliberately selected distant, unknown places, regardless of their political structures, in order to make the Assyrian power appear as awesome as possible. In the previous verse, although מלכים had not been attributed to Gozan, Haran, Rezeph and the bny Eden who live in Talassar, these are still identified as גוים. Gozan is to be equated with Guzana, referred to in the Assyrian annals as the capital of Bit Bahiani.³ The location of Harran on the river Balih is well-known.⁴

¹On Hamath, see J. D. Hawkins, RLA, IV, p. 69; Y. Ikeda, "Royal Cities and fortified Cities," Iraq, 41 (1979), pp. 79-84. Cf. R. Zadok, loc. cit., p. 117, who has argued unconvincingly that Hamath be identified with URU A-ma-tu in southern Babylonia. On Arpad, see A. R. Millard, "Adad-Nirari III, Aram and Arpad," PEQ, 105 (1973), pp. 161-64.

²For a detailed discussion see Zadok, loc. cit., 115ff., who identifies Sepharvaim with Si-pi-ra-'ni and Ivvah with Ha-u-a-e. No identification for Hena is proposed. Cf. also M. C. Astour, "Sepharvaim," IDBS, p. 807, who proposes reading ספרדים for ספרוים, and locates the site in Media.

³The site is known today as Tell Halaf. The city also functioned as an Assyrian provincial capital. See further, B. Hrouda, "Halaf, Tell," RLA, IV (1972), p. 54. Guzana was made an Assyrian province in circa 800 B.C. E. Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches (Leipzig: 1920), pp. 23f.

⁴The designation "land of Harran" in the Akkadian writings suggests that in earlier days the city had been the political centre of a larger area. It was probably incorporated into the neo-Assyrian empire by Shalmaneser III, and seems to have remained in Assyrian control most of the time thereafter, functioning as a provincial capital. See further, J. N. Postgate, "Harran," RLA, IV (1973), pp. 122-25.

Rezepeh, Rašappa in the Assyrian annals, like Harran, was made a provincial capital under Shalmaneser III.¹ Talassar is more difficult. Gray suggests the name be viewed as a corruption of Til-Bashir, capital of Bīt Adini, a northern Aramaean kingdom reduced to an Assyrian province in 855 B.C.² Zadok, on the other hand, identifies the name with Til Assuri, a location east of Babylonia, and associated with the Chaldaean tribe Bīt Adini, rather than the Aramaean kingdom.³ All four entries represent Assyrian provinces and not kingdoms.

Two other lists of גוים within the same broad context are given in 17:30 and 19:13. Neither attributes מלכים to the גוים. The former omits Hena and Arpad from those named in 18:34 and 19:13, but adds Babylon and Cutha. Only the latter of these two requires comment. Cutha was the Babylonian city renowned for the Nergal cult which was centred there.⁴ 19:13 adds no new names. The entries in these lists consist of a mixture of former royal capitals and present provincial administrative centres. Again the usage of both מלך and גוי is very flexible.

2 Samuel 8:12

The only names in the list of גוים conquered by David in 2 Sam. 8:12 which require comment are Aram,⁵ Zobah and Amalek. That Aram is an

¹Forrer, Provinzeinteilung, pp. 15f.; cf. also T. Jacobsen, "Rezepeh," IDB, IV, p. 74.

²Loc. cit., p. 688.

³Loc. cit., pp. 124ff. See further, Brinkman, PKB, p. 232, n. 1469; S. Schiffer, Die Aramäer (Paris: 1911), p. 70, who similarly to Zadok, equates Talassar and Til Assuri, but locates the city north of the Syrian Bīt Adini.

⁴Gray, loc. cit., p. 651.

⁵Some Hebrew mss, LXX, Syr., 1 Chron. 18:11, read ארם.

abbreviated form of Aram-Damascus rather than Aram as a whole is apparent from vs. 5f.¹ The Amalekites are generally treated as a nomadic tribe of the Negev.² Even if this is so, several observations may be significant. As early as the oracle of Balaam they are described as ראשית גוים,³ "the first of the nations". In Num. 13:29 the tribe is viewed as resident (יושב) in the Negev in the same way as the Hittites, Jebusites and Amorites were established in the Hill country, and the Canaanites occupied the land by the sea and the Jordan.⁴ Gen. 14:7 speaks specifically of Amalekite territory (שדה העמלקי)⁵ in association with the Amorites who occupied (ישב) Hazazon-Tamar. The military might of the Amalekites must have been considerable. Not only did they travel great distances in their exploits,⁶ but they were also repeatedly involved in military alliances with other גוים. According to 1 Sam. 15:5, the Amalekites possessed a capital city and were ruled by a מלך, Agag. Although the

¹ See further *infra*, pp. 568ff.

² De Vaux, *EHI*, pp. 392, 422, 811. A. Malamat, "The Period of the Judges," in *WHJP*, III, p. 141, describes them as "fully nomadic." Cf. Landes, "History of the Ammonites," p. 184, n. 58, "nomadic marauders."

³ Num. 24:20. It is possible that the expression describes her status, but in view of the prediction of her end in the following stich, a reference to her origin is more likely. So also N. H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers*, NCB (London: 1967), p. 300.

⁴ Cf. 14:25.

⁵ Cf. שרי Moab, Ruth 1:2 *et passim*; שדה Aram, Hos. 12:12. The expression in Gen. 14 may reflect conditions existing at the time of composition rather than of the events narrated. On the use of שדה/י cf. *supra*, pp. 327ff.

⁶ Judg. 3:13 (assisting Moab); 6:3ff.; 7:12; cf. 10:12 (assisting Midian and בני Qedem). De Vaux, *EHI*, p. 811f. passes these references off with "a deuteronomic editor of the Book of Judges took pleasure in making the Amalekites intervene everywhere."

Amalekites retained their affinities with the less sedentary bny Qedem and the Midianites, at the time of the arrival of the Israelites, they appear to have begun to settle down. However, the arrival of the newcomers caused the process to be aborted. Their repeated military engagements with the Israelites may well have been more than mere raiding parties by nomadic tribesmen; they appear to have been desperate activities of a nation whose territory was slipping out of its control.¹

Isaiah 60:5f.

Four of the five tribes identified as גוֹיִם in Isa. 60:5f., Midian, Ephah, Qedar, and Nebaioth, are clearly depicted as bedouin in life style, measuring their wealth in terms of camels and flocks. Nevertheless, several of these are described elsewhere as being ruled by a מֶלֶךְ. Especially instructive are the variant accounts of Midianite leadership. According to Num. 25:15, Zur was a "head of the אַמּוֹת, a בֵּית אֵב in Midian."² In v. 18 the same person is identified as a נְשִׂיא מְדִיָן, "chieftain of Midian."³ According to Num. 31:8f., the tribe is governed by five מְלָכִים, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur and Reba.⁴ The account of Gideon's battle with the Midianites names four leaders, two of whom, Oreb and Zeeb, are identified

¹According to Judg. 12:15, they had managed to gain control over territory extending as far north as the hill country of Ephraim.

²MT interprets אַמּוֹת as bound to בֵּית אֵב. This implies, however, that an אַמָּה is smaller than a בֵּית אֵב, an unlikely proposition. BHS rejects אֵב בֵּית אֵב as a gloss. On this text see supra, p. 139.

³Cf. v. 14 in which Salu is presented as נְשִׂיא בֵּית אֵב לְשִׁמְעוֹנִי. On the significance of נְשִׂיא, see E. A. Speiser, "Background and Function of the Biblical Nāsī," CBQ, 25 (1963), pp. 111-17; F. Stolz, THAT, II, pp. 109-17.

⁴These same men are called נְשִׂיאֵי מְדִיָן in Josh. 13:21.

as שרי מדין, "commanders of Midian",¹ and two of whom, Zeba and Zalmunna, are called מלכי מדין.² In Ps. 83:12 the same four are labelled נדיבים, "nobles", and נסיכים, "princes".³ Num. 22:4 also speaks of זקני מדין, "elders".

Obviously the expressions were used with considerable interchangeability. Zur, for one, is identified as a ראש, a נשיא and a מלך.⁴ It is doubtful that the מלכים corresponded to the monarchs of the established kingdoms of the region. The fact that in Numbers there are five may suggest an early stage of political evolution. Judg. 6-8, where only two are named, may indicate that by this time the power had become concentrated in the hands of only two men.⁵ Contrariwise, if מלך and שר are indeed used interchangeably here, little progress had been made, since the leadership was still in the hands of four men.

The information of the political structures operative in the remaining tribes mentioned in the Isaiah text is less certain. According to Gen. 25:1-4 Ephah was the primary sub-tribe of Midian. The name has been

¹Judg. 7:25.

²Judg. 8:12.

³Cf. Akkadian nasīku, "Aramäerscheich, -fürst," AHw, p. 754. Brinkman, PKB, pp. 273-75, notes that from the time of the Sargonids, the term was used primarily of the Aramaean tribes of southeastern Babylonia. "Nasīku was used to refer to the sheikh of a people (or tribe), a land, a city, or even a river," which he suggests represented the region in the vicinity of the river. N. 1771.

⁴Malamat, "The Period of the Judges," WHJP, III, p. 142, suggests the various terms reflect the different functions of the tribal leader: מלך = political; נשיא = administrative; נסיך = religious; שר = military. ראש is surely the most general term of all. With these should also be compared the אלופים of Edom and the אילים of Moab, Exod. 15:15.

⁵On the other hand, the naming of only two kings may suggest that only a segment of the tribe was involved in the conflict. So Malamat, ibid.

equated with Ghwāfah on the Hismah plateau,¹ as well as Haiappa,² from whose inhabitants Tiglath-Pileser III is said to have received tribute.³ Sargon II claims to have defeated the tribes of Haiappa, along with the Thamud, Ibadidi, Marsimanu, "the Arabs who live far away in the desert (and) who know neither overseers (ak-lu) nor officials (šā-pi-ru) . . ."⁴ This comment may reflect the primitive level of political development of these tribes.

Qedar was reputedly one of the Ishmaelite tribes,⁵ and according to Jer. 49:28f. was characterized by a general bedouin mode of life.⁶ The only biblical hint concerning its political structures is provided by Ezek. 27:21, where the leaders are called מלכא קדר. From Ashurbanipal's annals however, we learn of a certain Ammuladi šar mātu qi-id-ri.⁷ Elsewhere reference is made to Yauta', son of Hazail, the king of Qedar.⁸ This usage is confirmed by a 400 B.C. inscription in Aramaic which names Qaynu, the son of Geshem, מלך of Qedar.⁹

¹A. Musil, The Northern Hegaz (New York: 1926), p. 290. Cf. F. V. Winnett, "Arabian Genealogies", p. 191, n. 67.

²Winnett, ibid., p. 191.

³ANET, p. 283. Here the name is associated with Mas'a, Tema, Saba', Badana, Hatti and Idiba'il.

⁴ANET, p. 286; cf. A. G. Lie, The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria, Part I; The Annals (Paris: 1929), lines 120-25.

⁵Gen. 25:13-16. According to Winnett and Reed, ARNA, p. 95, this tribe dominated the oases of Adummatu, modern al-Jawf, biblical Dumah (Gen. 25:14; 1 Chron. 1:30). Cf. ibid., pp. 71f.

⁶Isa. 21:16f. notes the skill of her archers. Cf. also Ps. 120:5; Cant. 1:5. In Jer. 2:10 Qedar represents the counterpart to Kittim, both of which are identified as מדין.

⁷Streck, II, p. 68, Rm. viii 15; cf. ANET, p. 298.

⁸Streck, II, p. 131, Cyl. B vii 87-88; cf. above p. 499.

⁹Gibson, AI, 25; ANET, p. 657.

Closely related to the Qedarites were the Nebaioth, who according to Gen.25:13-16 were descendants of Ishmael's eldest son. A monarchical constitution is ascribed to this tribe by the neo-Assyrian annals which speak of one sarru, Natnu, who offers refuge to Uate' king of the Arabs.¹

One additional גיג, Sheba, is mentioned in the Isaiah text. Significantly, the contribution to the coffers of Israel of this nation, whose ~~(whose)~~ name appears in the middle of the other four, consisted not of the products of a nomadic economy, but those of merchants, gold and frankincense. The reference here is to the South Arabian kingdom of Saba', whose מלכה made the famed visit to the court of Solomon,² and whose primary cities appear to have been Mārib and Sirwāh.³ From the South Arabian inscriptions themselves it is apparent that for most of the first millennium Sheba was ruled by mukarribs, "priest kings", whose authority extended to religious as well as political affairs.⁴ The local use of the term מלך for these rulers appears to have been a much later development.⁵

Other Texts

In addition to these lists of גיגים,⁶ several isolated entities

¹ANET, p. 298. On the identity of the tribe see further Winnett, TUOT, p. 194. For a discussion of the name see E. C. Broome "Nabaiti, Nebaioth and the Nabataeans: The Linguistic Problem," JSS, 18 (1973), 1-16.

²1 Kings 10:1ff. Cf. also the reference to the Sabaeans as a גיג in Joel 4:8.

³See G. van Beek, "Sabaeans," IDB, IV, pp. 144-46.

⁴For a full discussion see J. Ryckmans, L'institution monarchique en Arabie meridionale avant l'Islam, Bibliotheque du Museon, 28 (Louvain: 1951), pp. 51-100.

⁵Ibid., pp. 101ff. On the chronology of the mukarribs and the kings see pp. 268ff. Cf. also Irvine, POTT, pp. 298ff.

⁶These lists should be compared with the relatively rare listing

so classified should also be noted. Amos 6:14 refers to Assyria as a גוי. Her monarchical institutions are well-known. In Isa. 18:2,7, Cush is identified as a powerful and oppressive גוי. At least one of her rulers, Tirhakah, is identified as a מלך.¹

Conclusions

Having isolated those גוים actually identified as such and examined their political natures we may now summarize our conclusions. 1) The term גוי was used with great flexibility and appears to have been able to accommodate any significant identifiable political entity, whether these were world empires, medium-sized states, city states, or tribal groups.² 2) Although for those גוים whose political systems can be identified government by a מלך predominates, this does not indicate a necessary

of עמים. Exod. 15:13f. identifies some of the עמים who had observed Yahweh's deliverance of Israel as the inhabitants of Philistia, the chiefs (אלופים) of Edom, the leaders (אילים) of Moab and the inhabitants of Canaan. Note the stress on the inhabitants and the avoidance of the term מלך. In Deut. 20:16f. the Canaanite tribes are identified as עמים. Here עמים may have been preferred to גוים because the threat which they posed to Israel was religious rather than political. In 7:1 they represent גוים whose land must be dispossessed and with whom no covenants are to be struck. Persia, Ethiopia, Put Gomer and Beth-To-garmah are identified as עמים in Ezek. 38:5-6. However, here the term appears to have a pronounced military rather than political nuance. Cf. vs. 9,15; 39:4; Jer. 34:1. (Cf. the discussion, *supra*, pp. 28f.). Ezra 9:1 speaks of the עמי הארצות and names the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians and Amorites. The context with its stress on the role of individuals rather than political bodies, renders the use of גוים here inappropriate. This a-political treatment of עם should not, however, be taken too rigidly. The plural form often approaches גוים in significance. Cf. Ezek. 32:10 with its reference to עמים רבים ומלכיהם.

¹2 Kings 19:9 = Isa. 37:9. In the neo-Assyrian annals he is called Tarqu šar Kusu, ANET, p. 293.

²The comment by R. E. Clements, Old Testament Theology: A Fresh Approach (London: 1978), p. 83, "if we take 'nation', which is the closest counterpart to the Hebrew gōy to mean 'territorial state', . . ." is slightly misleading, since it places too much stress on the geographical aspect.

one-to-one relationship between מלכים and גוים. Some גוים had more than one מלך; other מלכים ruled over more than one גוי.¹ Nonetheless, the common ground between the notions represented by גוי and ממלכה are sufficient to make the frequent paralleling of the two terms understandable. In any case, those major גוים with which the Old Testament authors and poets are generally preoccupied were nearly all established monarchies.

The גוי Israel

A. Cody has performed a valuable service by analyzing the ways in which the term גוי is applied to the chosen nation Israel.² Unfortunately the scope of his paper did not permit him to trace this usage chronologically, and examine how it was applied in the various stages of Israel's national evolution. It is commonly accepted that Israel did not become a bona fide גוי until the establishment of the monarchy. Clements has attributed the achievement of this status specifically to David, who was able to gain full territorial control over Canaan, thereby establishing her independence as a nation.³ Although, this position agrees with his definition, this is not, by his own admission, the way the Old Testament writers perceived their nation.⁴ It is at this point that we

¹These are often identified as מלך מלכים (Ezek. 26:7; cf. Aramaic מרא מלכין [KAI 266:10]; Akkad. šar šarrāni [AHw, p. 1189]); מלכא זי מלכין (KAI 267A:3); Akkad. šar šarrāni [AHw, p. 1189]); מלכא זי מלכין (KAI 266:10); ארן מלכא ודרכא (IEJ, 29 [1979], p. 41, line 3); המלך הגדול (2 Kings 18:19,28 = Isa. 36:4,13; cf. Akkad. šarru rabū [AHw, loc. cit.]); also Punic רבת ממלכא (KAI 161:2).

²"When is the Chosen People Called a Goy?" VT, 14 (1964), pp. 1-6.

³R. E. Clements, "גוי," TWAT, I, p. 971 (= TDOT, II, p. 430). Any references to Israel as a גוי in pre-monarchic times are considered to be anachronistic. Cf. idem., Old Testament Theology, pp. 83f.; also E. Ruprecht, "Der Traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der einzelnen Elemente von Genesis XII 2-3," VT, 29 (1979), p. 445.

⁴Old Testament Theology, p. 84; TDOT, II, p. 431.

wonder whether Clements has paid sufficient respect to Hebrew usage in arriving at his definition of 'גו. Whereas this may mark the point at which Israel conforms to his modern definition of "nation", this does not mean they could not be called a 'גו earlier. He appears to have been too concerned to find a Hebrew equivalent to the modern concept of "nation", with its emphasis on political and especially territorial ties. Our study above has demonstrated that sedentary residence in a given area, and political independence were not absolute prerequisites to 'גו status. The term was applied to nomadic desert tribes, as well as to subject states. What is required is a separate political identity. This will usually imply that both former conditions have been met, but not always. An examination of the application of the term to Israel supports this interpretation.

The Origins of the 'גו

Whatever conditions had to be met before a group of people could be classified as a 'גו, the attainment of this status apparently represented a significant and specific achievement. Several texts speak of the emergence of a new 'גו. Isa. 66:8b suggests that this event represented the climax of a long and difficult process:

Can a country (ארץ) be born in one day?
Can a nation (גו) be brought forth all at once?

Some such terminus a quo is implied by Exod. 9:24, ". . . such (a storm) had not occurred in all the land of Egypt since it became a 'גו." Concerning the precise event in view we may only speculate. It might be dated back to the founding of the first dynasty, or to the unification

of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹

But our concern here is to trace the emergence of Israel as a גוי. That the Israelites considered גוי status for them to be a divinely fore-ordained destiny is apparent from the patriarchal promise.² Hints about the nature of that status are also dropped here and there. The texts speak of a numerous population,³ a national deity,⁴ a territorial homeland,⁵ and even a king.⁶ Whether any or all of these were considered to

¹On which see I. E. S. Edwards, "The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt," CAH, I, ch. XI (fasc. 25, pp. 1ff.).

²Gen. 17:4,5,6,16 (attributed by Noth to J); 18:18 (J); 35:11 (P); 46:3 (E). See Ruprecht, loc. cit., pp. 444-51, for the most recent discussion. Similar destinies are foretold for the descendants of Ishmael (Gen. 17:20 [P]; 21:13,18 [E]), as well as Esau (25:23[J]). It is apparent that the motif forms a common thread running through each of the hypothetical sources, even if some have recognized differences of detail. Clements, TWAT, loc. cit., notes P's stress on the plurality of גוים. The prospect of goyhood is even offered to Moses, Exod. 32:10.

³Note the stress on the multiplication of seed in 17:2,6; 18:18 (גוי גדול ועצום); 35:11. The same feature is reflected in the promise concerning Ishmael's seed (17:20). Ruprecht, loc. cit. has argued that Israel's perception of itself as an innumerable host presupposes a royal military organization. These preconditions are supposed to have first been met when David instituted the compulsory draft, thus establishing a standing army. Hitherto only foreign nations with their huge forces had been viewed as innumerable hosts. This interpretation is questionable, however, because 1) even at the height of his power David's forces were numerable (cf. 2 Sam. 24:1ff.); 2) a large military force was not unique to David's time. The census recorded in Num. 26 records a total of 601,730 (v. 51) men of military potential (cf. v. 2). Although the king/prince is the centre of attention, Prov. 14:28 recognizes the relationship between the size of a population and a nation's status:

ברב עם הדרת מלך "In a multitude of people is a king's glory,
ובאפס לאם מחתת רזון But in the dearth of the people is the prince's
ruin."

⁴17:7,8. Cf. also the injunction in 18:19 for the descendants of Abraham to keep the דרך יהוה.

⁵17:8; 35:12.

⁶17:16, "I will make גוים of you and מלכים shall come forth from you." Cf. 35:11. But note with respect to Ishmael, 17:20, "He shall

be prerequisites to גוי status is not indicated.

It is clear that the Israelites considered the time of their sojourn in Egypt as the formative period in their progress toward goyhood.¹ The significance of the descent is recognized proleptically in Gen. 46:3, "Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt; for there (שם) I will make you into a גוי גדול." The author of Deut. 26:5 interpreted the importance of the event similarly:

ארמי אבד אבי	"A wandering Aramaean was my father;
וירד מצרימה	And he went down to Egypt,
ויגר שם במתי מעט	And there he sojourned few in number ²
ויהי שם לגוי גדול	And there he became a great nation
עצום ורב	mighty and populous."

Contrary to Clements, and also Cody who asserts that "goy is linked inseparably with territory and government and what we would today call foreign relations,"³ the first factor plays no role at all. Indeed the people become a גוי on foreign soil and without regard to any particular form of rule, let alone political independence. The use of the term גר in this verse may hint at an association with "foreign relations", inasmuch as the descendants of Jacob were never assimilated into the Egyptian population. Nor did they lose the stigma associated with alien status.

become the father of twelve נשיאם, and I will make him a great גוי." Apparently here goyhood implied neither centralized leadership nor the institution of the מלך. For discussions of all of these aspects see Westermann, The Promises to the Fathers, pp. 132ff.

¹Cf. Clements, Old Testament Theology, p. 82, where Exod. 19: 5-6, the establishment of Yahweh's covenant with Israel, is interpreted as the occasion when Israel became a nation.

²The ב in מעט במתי is to be interpreted as a beth essentiae. So Driver, Deuteronomy, p. 127. Cf. GK 1191, "in the condition of being a few." Note also the emphatic repetition of שם, "there".

³Loc. cit., p. 5.

Indeed, it was the mushrooming population of this foreign element which compelled the Pharaoh to take measures to halt the natural evolution of the nation.¹ He feared that with this increase in the population would come a growing national self-consciousness and self-assertion, leading ultimately to revolt and secession.

However, it could be argued that the circumstances surrounding the birth of the *גוי* Israel represent the exception which proves the rule, for Israel's uniqueness in the ancient world was seen not only in the distinctively intimate relationship with her deity that she enjoyed,² but also in her election, her deliverance as a *גוי* from within another *גוי*.³ Under normal circumstances her evolution to goyhood might have been expected to occur in association with a territorial homeland, but in the case of Israel, this condition did not obtain.

In Exod. 19:6 the theological significance of the nation is the subject of reflection. Here *גוי* and *ממלכה* are brought into the closest relation. However, Israel represents no ordinary nation or kingdom; she is a *גוי קדוש* and a *ממלכה כוהנים* because Yahweh, her king, has designated her as such. She has been called for a special spiritual role among the *עמים* of the world.⁴

¹Exod. 1:8ff.

²Deut. 4:7f. "For what *גוי גדול* is there that has a god so near to it as Yahweh our God whenever we call upon him? Or what *גוי גדול* is there that has statutes and judgments as righteous as this law which I am setting before you today?" Cf. v. 33.

³Deut. 4:34f. "Or has any god attempted to take for himself a *גוי* from within another *גוי* by trials . . . as Yahweh your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes? To you it was shown that you might know that Yahweh, he is God! There is no other beside him."

⁴Cf. v. 5. Note also Exod. 33:13, Moses says, "Consider that this

The early chapters of Joshua identify the Israelites as a גוי in several texts. According to 3:17 and 4:1 the entire גוי crosses the Jordan. In 5:6 reference is made to the entire גוי, that is the אנשי המלחמה, who had come out of Egypt as having perished in the desert. Here the military overtones of the term are clear. The same is true of 10:13, an early poetic text,¹ according to which the גוי is said to have avenged itself of its enemies.

Reference should be made to two additional texts that reflect upon the pre-monarchical situation. In both Deut. 32:28 and Judg. 2:20, the term appears in contexts of divine rejection of the people. Inasmuch as Israel's conduct had followed the patterns of the nations around, she had become a גוי like the rest.² The former text is especially significant in view of the early date commonly ascribed to the poem.³ It is difficult to interpret this as an anachronistic retrojection.

Regardless of the date of composition of any of the above texts, it is apparent that for the editors referring to the nation as a גוי even in its pre-monarchic period posed no great difficulty. If goyhood was indeed so closely associated with the monarchic institution and the possession of a territorial homeland, as has been asserted, it is surprising that the historians did not recognize the discrepancy they had created.

גוי is your עמ;" and Deut. 4:6, other nations say, "Surely this great גוי is a wise and understanding עמ."

¹ J. Gray, Joshua, Judges and Ruth, NCB (London: 1967), p. 111, dates the poem "from at least after the early part of the reign of David."

² Cf. Cody, p. 2.

³ Cf. supra, p. 436, n. 4.

On the other hand, the fact that the Israelites viewed themselves as a *גוי* prior to the establishment of the tie with their territory need not indicate that her situation was considered to be normal. Balaam's first oracle reflects upon Israel's position among the *גוים*:

הן עם לבדד ישכון "Behold a people dwelling alone,
 ובגוים לא יתחשב And not reckoning itself among the
 nations." (Num. 23:9).

Several interpretations of the passage are possible. The reference may be to Israel's distinctive position. However, neither this, nor any of the subsequent oracles, deal with this nation's special calling, as does Exod. 19:6, for example. On the other hand, the concern may be with Israel's viability as a *גוי*; does she really qualify for a position among the others? This interpretation may take one of two forms, depending upon whether *התחשב* is interpreted passively or reflexively. In the former instance, the depreciation of her standing would originate with the rest of the nations.¹ If taken reflexively, Balaam is describing Israel's own sense of inferiority.² The reasons for such attitudes are not spelled out. From the following verses it is clear that it can not be due to any numerical deficiency of her population. It may derive from Israel's external circumstances as reflected in the context, i.e., landless, and at the mercy of hostile nations. On the other hand it could also be attributed to her primitive political structures. This might account for the emphasis in the succeeding oracles upon the kingship of Yahweh (23:21), the exaltation of her king and the kingship itself (24:7), and the eventual

¹So LXX, συλλογισθήσεται.

²So BDB, RSV, NIV.

emergence of the sceptre from Israel, which would result in the defeat of all of her foes (24:17f). If this is the correct interpretation, the oracles appear to be intended to reassure the nation camped on the plains of Moab that her status among the מִלְּיָג is not to be depreciated, either by herself or any one else. But this is not the only interpretation possible; it should, therefore, not be pressed.

The Monarchy and the מִלְּיָג

In the discussion of the relationship between the monarchy and Israel's standing as a מִלְּיָג, 1 Sam. 8 represents the crux interpretum. The hermeneutical problems presented by the text as well as the general attitude of Israelite historiography to the monarchy, have received a great deal of attention in recent research.¹ Our concern here is only to determine the implications of the text for Israel's מִלְּיָג-consciousness.

The constitutional crisis reflected in 1 Sam. 8 was precipitated by two developments: 1) the persistence of the Philistine threat, and the inability of the judges (and the "judgeship" as an institution) to provide any lasting solutions; 2) the internal disintegration of the office

¹See among many others the recent studies: T. Ishida, The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study of the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology, BZAW, 142 (New York & Berlin: 1977), esp. ch. 3; T. Veijola, Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Helsinki: 1977), ch. 5; T. N. D. Mettinger, King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings, Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series, 8 (Lund: 1976), esp. ch. 5; J. A. Soggin, Das Königtum in Israel: Ursprünge, Spannungen, Entwicklung (Berlin: 1967), pp. 31ff; F. M. Cross, "The Ideologies of Kingship in the Era of the Empire: Conditional Covenant and Eternal Decree," ch. 5 in Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel (Cambridge, Mass.: 1973), pp. 219-73; cf. also C. R. North, "The Old Testament Estimate of the Monarchy," AJSL 48 (1931), pp. 1-19; idem, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship," ZAW, 50 (1932), pp. 8-38.

itself. Samuel was growing old, and his sons, who apparently had been expected to follow in his position, had disqualified themselves and lost the confidence of the people. With these two issues in mind, the elders of Israel approached Samuel with the request, "Appoint a מלך for us to judge us like all the גוים."¹ In spite of Samuel's protests they insisted, "No, but there shall be a מלך over us, that we may also be like all the גוים, that our מלך may judge us and go out before us and fight our battles."² The two-fold nature of the king's functions is clear; to provide for the internal administration of justice, and to serve as the military commander in external conflicts. But it is especially important to notice that the motive behind the request is not a concern for גוי status. The demand is not, "Give us a מלך that we may become a גוי." Rather, the desire is to become a גוי like all the rest. Suffering from intense feelings of inferiority on account of her primitive political institutions, and attributing her misfortunes to the inadequacies of the current structures, the belief is expressed that the adoption of the models of the surrounding peoples would secure the internal and external well-being of the people.³ This text is of critical importance for the insight it provides concerning the political shape normally expected of a גוי. It may not, however, be used to defend the view that the event marked the arrival of גוי status for Israel.

¹8:5. שימה לנו מלך לשפטנו ככל הגוים.

²8:19-20. לא כי אם מלך יהוה עלינו והיינו גם אנחנו ככל הגוים.

³The response of Yahweh (vs. 7ff.) indicates that the request is tantamount to an abrogation of Israel's special theological status among the גוים. This, however, does not concern the people.

This does not mean, however, that in later writings Israel's status as a גוי and her royal institutions might not be closely associated. Indeed with the divine appointment of David to the throne, the kingship becomes the visible symbol of the mission of the nation, and Yahweh's special relationship to it.¹ Furthermore, in view of the close association of גוי and ממלכה with respect to the nations around, it is not surprising that once the monarchy had been established in Israel, the two notions should have been readily related. Thus Jeremiah quite naturally speaks of destroying a גוי//ממלכה on the one hand, or building it up, on the other.² Ezek. 37:22 is even more specific:

I will make them one גוי in the land, on the mountains of Israel, and one מלך will be מלך for all of them; and they will no longer be two גוים, and they will no longer be divided into two ממלכות.

Although the text parallels מלך and גוי, and ממלכות and גוים, this does not signify an identification of the members of each pair. The text does not suggest that in order to be a גוי, Israel had to have a מלך. On the other hand, the point is made rather forcefully that Israel cannot be considered one גוי if it has two מלכים.³

In other prophetic texts and in the Psalms Israel is frequently treated as a גוי, divorced from any territorial or political considerations. Displaying affinities with Exod. 19:6 and Num. 23:9, Mic. 4:7 speaks of the sick becoming a גוי over which Yahweh will function as king (מלך).⁴ Similarly, Isa. 60:22 speaks of the least one becoming a

¹2 Sam. 7:18-29; Ps. 89; 132.

²18:6-9.

³This contrast with the Philistine and Midianite situations.

⁴וְשָׂמַח אֶת הַצֵּלָעָה לְשִׂאֲרֵיהֶּן "And I will make the lame a remnant, וְהִנְהִלָּא לְגוֹי עֲצוּם And the outcasts into a strong nation,

גוי (//אלף), although without reference to rule of any sort.¹

Cody has correctly observed that in many contexts in which Israel/Judah is called a גוי the nation is being reprimanded for her unfaithfulness to Yahweh and displaying characteristically negative qualities.² But this usage is not as consistent as his comments imply. Indeed, Israel as a גוי is portrayed in a definitely positive light on several occasions. The most telling example, Isa. 26:2 reads as follows:

פתחו שערים	"Open the gates
ויבא גוי צדיק	that the righteous nation may enter,
שמר אמנים	The one that remains faithful."

Ps. 33:12 is surely more than a hypothetical generalization;³ nor does גוי serve "merely" as a correlative of עם in Exod. 33:13 or Ps. 106:5.⁴ Furthermore, Jer. 31:35 represents, not the rejection of a faithless גוי, but the very opposite - Yahweh's commitment to the preservation of Israel as a גוי before him! On the other hand, even after allowances have been made for the negative connotations which the term assumes in later times, the fact that the post-exilic community, without a king and consisting of a limited population, could be identified as a גוי,⁵ testifies

ומלך יהוה עליהם בהר ציון	And Yahweh will reign over them in Mount
מעתה ועד עולם	From now on and forever." [Zion,

¹ הקטן יהיה לאלף "The smallest will become a clan,
והצעיר לגוי עצום And the least a mighty nation.
אני יהוה בעתה אחישנה I, Yahweh, will hasten it in its time."

² Isa. 1:4; 10:6; Jer. 5:9,29; 7:28; 9:8; 12:12; Ezek. 2:3; Hag. 2:14; Mal. 3:9. Cf. Cody, p. 2.

³ Cody, p. 1.

⁴ Cody, p. 2.

⁵ Hag. 2:14. The tone of reprimand is expressed, not so much in the use of גוי (it appears as a correlative of עם) as in the use of the demonstrative הזה. Cf. also Mal. 3:9. Cf. the study of J. Boehmer, "Dieses Volk," JBL, 45 (1926), pp. 134-48.

to the great flexibility of usage.

The end of a גוי

Several texts contemplate the extinction of Israel as a גוי. Although in Jer. 31:36, the extinction of Israel is in fact ruled out, that the idea should even be raised suggests a recognition on the part of the Hebrews of the transitory nature of many גוים.¹ In 33:24² the faithless of Israel hold Yahweh's people in contempt, considering their גוי status to have ceased.³ Ps. 83:5 expresses in vivid terms the determination of the surrounding hostile peoples to annihilate Israel as a גוי.⁴ How they would achieve this is not indicated; nor is there any hint in any of these texts, that the removal of the מלך would constitute the decisive act, a factor which would be crucial if the identification of גוי and ממלכה is to be maintained.⁵

¹Note the form of the expression:

אם ימשו החקים האלה מלפני נאם יהוה
גם זרע ישראל ישבתו מהיות גוי לפני כל הימים

²Cody erroneously refers to 33:34.

³Note the reference to Yahweh's choice of two משפחות who, however, constituted only one גוי.

⁴"They have said, 'Let us eliminate them as a nation; ולא יזכר שם ישראל עוד' That the name of Israel be remembered no more."

⁵The verse displays a formal resemblance to Jer. 48:2, which speaks of a similar conspiracy against Moab:

בחשבון חשבו עליה רעה "In Heshbon they have devised calamity against her:
'Let us cut her off from being a nation.'"

Again there is no stress on the removal of the מלך as the decisive act. The emphasis is rather on the captivity of the population, the exile of Chemosh and his priests, and the desolation of the land (vs. 6f.). Only later, v. 17, is there a reference to the breaking of the sceptre of Moab. In this connection we should also note two texts which are quite similar in form to these but use עם in place of גוי, i.e., Isa. 7:8 (יחת אפרים מעם, "Ephraim will be shattered from being a people"), and Jer. 48:42, (ונשמד מנאב מעם), "and Moab will be destroyed from being a people").

Conclusions

Our conclusions concerning the application of the term גוי to Israel may now be summarized. 1) According to the patriarchal covenant, the achievement of גוי status for the descendants of Abraham was a divinely ordained objective. 2) The formative period in Israel's evolution toward goyhood was perceived to be her time of sojourn in Egypt. 3) The institution of the monarchy did not represent the emergence of Israel as a גוי; it merely brought her into political conformity with the neighboring גוים. 4) Although in the historical texts Israel is never referred to as a גוי after the institution of the monarchy, the prophets and psalmists do so frequently. In most of these, however, the political aspect of her goyhood receives only limited, if any, attention. 5) When the extinction of the nation is contemplated, there is no hint that the critical moment involves the removal of the monarchical institution. Insofar as these observations apply, Israel presents a significant contrast to the usual close association of גוי and ממלכה.

The Expression of the Political Association

It is apparent from the foregoing that מלך was used with considerable flexibility, being applied to a variety of persons, from tribal sheikhs to emperors. In most instances, however, the verb and noun forms may be satisfactorily rendered as "to reign, rule", and "king, ruler", respectively.¹ The following study will examine how the relationship between the person holding this office and his subjects was expressed. The nature of kingship in the ancient Near East has been studied extensively.²

¹The root *mlk is common to all Semitic languages. For a tabulation see G. Bergsträsser, Einführung in die Semitischen Sprachen: Sprachproben und grammatische Skizzen (Munich: 1928), p. 182. The significance of the term varies, however. Apart from several occurrences in texts from Ugarit, under obvious West Semitic influence in Akkadian usage the verb malāku is used exclusively to denote "to advise, to counsel". Nominal forms such as malku ("king"), malkatu ("queen"); malikūtu ("kingdom"), are frequent, however. Cf. CAD, 10/1, pp. 154-58; AHW, pp. 593f. A. R. Millard, in private communication, suggests that the verb form was avoided to prevent confusion with usual usage. The use of mlk with the sense "to rule" is attested in many West Semitic languages. For Ugaritic, cf. UT, pp. 433f.; for Aramaic, Moabite, Phoenician, Punic, Hebrew, cf. DISO, pp. 152ff.; for Ammonite, cf. the Tell Siran Inscription, BASOR, 212 (1973), pp. 5ff. Only in isolated instances does the interpretation "to counsel" seem justified. E.g., מלך, "advice", Dan. 4:24 (Aram.); Neh. 5:7, ימלך לבי, "I pondered in my mind" (NIV). Similarly BDB, s.v.; J. M. Myers, Ezra, Nehemiah: Introduction, Translation and Notes, AB (Garden City: 1965), p. 128; L. H. Brockington, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, NCB (London: 1969), p. 123; contra NEB, "I mastered my feelings"; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibel Wörterbuch," VT, 9 (1959), pp. 261f. W. F. Albright, "Some Canaanite Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom," VTS, 3 (Leiden: 1955), p. 15, n. 2, suggests that מלך in Qoh. 1:12 be repointed "mōlēk (like Amarna mālik 'counsellor'), or mallāk (Phoen. *mallōk, whence ultimately Aramaic mālōkā 'counsellor')." G. R. Driver, "Problems of the Hebrew Text and Language," in Alttestamentliche Studien, Nötscher Festschrift, BBB, 1 (Bonn: 1950), p. 50, renders מלך in Hos. 8:4 as "advise, take counsel", as well. In Old South Arabic mlk may also mean "owner". Cf. the inscription, sydn . mlk . 'gsm, "der Sayaditer, Besitzer des Aḡsam". So W. W. Müller, "Neuentdeckte Sabäische Inschriften aus Al-Ḥuqqa," in Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik, Vol. I (Wiesbaden: 1972), pp. 188f. On mlk = "lord" in Safaitic inscriptions, cf. Jamme, loc. cit.

²For a helpful series of essays on kingship in the various nations

We are concerned with the forms expressing the association between king and people.

Genitival Constructions

Genitive constructions represent the most common means among all of the Northwest Semitic peoples of expressing the king-nation relationship. These may be of two types: bound constructions, and the use of pronominal suffixes.

Bound forms

The bound (construct) forms may be divided into two categories, depending upon which element appears in the genitive position.

of the Ancient Near East, see P. Garelli, ed., Le palais et la royauté, RAI, 19 (Paris: 1974); cf. also S. H. Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual and Kingship (Oxford: 1958); I. Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East (Uppsala: 1943); C. J. Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East (London: 1948); Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods; A. K. Grayson, "The Early Development of the Assyrian Monarchy," UF, 3 (1971), pp. 311-19. For kingship in Canaan and Ugarit, see J. Gray, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice," VT, 2 (1952), pp. 193-220; *idem*, "Sacral Kingship in Ugarit," Ugaritica, 6 (1969), pp. 289-302; A. F. Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit," BA, 28 (1965), pp. 102-25 (= BAR, 3 [1970], pp. 76-99); M. Liverani, "La royauté syrienne de l'age du bronze récent," in RAI, 19 (1974), pp. 329-56. For Syria, K. F. Euler, "Königtum und Götterwelt in den altaramäischen Inschriften Nordsyriens," ZAW, 56 (1938), pp. 272-313. For Israel, Buccellati, Cities and Nations, pp. 195ff.; J. A. Soggin, Das Königtum in Israel, BZAW, 104 (Berlin: 1967); A. Alt, "Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Judah," VT, 1 (1951), pp. 2-22 (= KS, II, pp. 116-34; for the English translation see "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," in Essays on Old Testament History and Religion, trans. by R. A. Wilson (Garden City: [1968], pp. 311-35); S. Mowinckel, *et al*, in The Sacral Kingship, Supplements to NVMEN, 4 (Leiden: 1959), Section IV: A. R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel (Cardiff: 1955). See also numerous related studies such as J. H. Eaton, Kingship and the Psalms (London: 1976) for special aspects of the problem. Further bibliography is provided by J. A. Soggin, "מלך מאֵלֶק König," THAT, I, pp. 914f.

A designation for the state¹ as the genitive

The expression "king of GN" is common to all Semitic languages.

The basic notion, without a specific king in mind is reflected by expressions like *מלכי הגוים*,² *מלכי עמים*,³ and *מלכי הארצות*.⁴ A singular counterpart occurs only for the last named.⁵ Daniel's references to *מלך הצפון*, "the king of the North",⁶ and *מלך הנגב*, "the King of the South",⁷ may be seen as related forms, if the genitives are understood as "northland" and "southland" respectively. Beyond these, in agreement with our earlier discussion, *מלכים* appears in association with a wide variety of entities. From the Old Testament we learn of kings of specific lands,⁸ ethnic groups,⁹

¹The term "state" is preferred to "nation" here because, as has already been seen, many of the entities over which kings rule are not nations at all. "State" reflects more accurately the political notion.

²Isa. 14:9,18.

³Gen. 17:16.

⁴Ezra 9:7 (Cf. *מלכי הארץ*, Josh. 12:1,7, according to which the unity of the region is reflected despite the political fragmentation).

⁵1 Sam. 21:12. David is called *מלך הארץ* by the Philistines. Cf. the use of lesser titles, *אדני הארץ*, Gen. 42:30,33; *נשיא הארץ*, Gen. 34:2; *פחט הארץ*, 1 Kings 10:15, 2 Chron. 9:14; *זקני הארץ*, 1 Kings 20:7; Jer. 26:17; *אולי הארץ*, 2 Kings 24:15; *אילי הארץ*, Ezek. 17:13. Cf. also the neo-Punic text, KAI 161:2, *רבח ממלכאח/מישר ארצה*, "regent of the lands, lord of kings".

⁶11:6,7,8,11,13,15,40.

⁷11:5,6,9,11,14,25,40.

⁸Canaan, Judg. 4:2,23 (sing.); 5:19. The land of Uz, Jer. 25:20. The land of the Philistines, Jer. 25:20. Bashan, Num. 21:33, etc.

⁹The Philistines, Gen. 26:1,8. Amorites, Num. 21:21, etc. Amalek, 1 Sam. 15:8,20,32. Midian, Num. 31:8; Judg. 8:5,12,26. Hittites, 1 Kings 10:29; 2 Kings 7:6; 2 Chron. 1:17. Aramaeans, 1 Kings 10:29; 2 Chron 1:17; 28:23. (For the ethnic use of Aram and Hittite in this context cf. Gray, *I & II Kings*, pp. 270.) Chaldaeans, 2 Chron. 36:17. Perhaps *מלך ערב*, Jer. 25:24; 2 Chron. 9:14, should also be included here.

cities,¹ larger territorial states,² nation states,³ and vast empires,⁴ as well as the more remote nations with whom Israel had only limited contact.⁵

Although the application of the form shows great variation, the Hebrew usage is remarkably consistent in its differentiation between states which are essentially city-states, and those which are nation-states. In spite of the religious and political prominence of Jerusalem, and in spite of the pre-Israelite precedent,⁶ neither David nor Solomon, nor any of the kings of Judah is ever identified as מלך ירושלים.⁷ The northern kings

¹Note especially the Canaanite cities: Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, Bela (Zoar), Gen. 14:2ff. Salem, Gen. 14:18; Arad, Num. 21:1; 33:40; Josh. 12:14. Gerar, Gen. 20:2. Jericho, Josh. 2:3; 12:9. Ai, Josh. 8:1,14,23,29; 12:9. Hazor, Josh. 11:1; 12:19; Judg. 4:17. Cf. the long list of Canaanite cities and their kings, Josh. 10-12. The Philistine city, Gath, 1 Sam. 21:11,13; 27:2; 1 Kings 2:39. Heshbon, Deut. 2:24, etc.

²The Aramaean states: Aram Naharaim, Judg. 3:8,10; Damascus, 2 Chron. 24:23 (cf. the frequent use of מלך ארם to refer to the king of Aram-Damascus; see further below, pp. 548ff). Geshur, 2 Sam. 3:3; 13:37; 1 Chron. 3:2. Zobah, 1 Sam. 14:47; 2 Sam. 8:3,5,12. Maacah, 2 Sam. 10:6; 1 Chron. 19:7. Arpad, 2 Kings 19:13; Isa. 37:13. Also Hamath, 2 Sam. 8:9; 2 Kings 19:13; Isa. 37:13; 1 Chron. 18:9. Sepharvaim, 2 Kings 19:13; Isa. 37:13. The Phoenician states, Tyre, 2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Kings 5:15; 9:11; Jer. 25:22; 27:3; Ezek. 28:12; 1 Chron. 14:1; 2 Chron. 2:2,10. Sidon, Jer. 25:22; 27:3; cf. Sidonians, 1 Kings 16:31.

³Israel, 1 Sam. 24:15, and many more (cf. מלכי בית ישראל, 1 Kings 20:31 from the lips of an Aramaean). Judah, 1 Kings 12:23, and many more. bny Ammon, Judg. 11:12, etc. Moab, Num. 22:10, etc. Edom, Num. 20:14, etc. Cf. the poetic מלך יעקוב, Isa. 41:21.

⁴Egypt, Gen. 40:1, and many more. (Note also the Hebrew Arad Inscription 88). Asshur, 2 Kings 15:19, and many more. (On the form המלך אשור in Isa. 36:16, cf. GK 127f.) Babylon, 2 Kings 20:18, and many more.

⁵Javan, Dan. 8:21. Cush, 2 Kings 19:9; Isa. 37:9; Zimri, Jer. 25:25. Elam, Gen. 14:1,9; Jer. 25:25. Ellasar, Shinar, Goiim, all Gen. 14:1,9. Tarshish, Ps. 72:10. Sheba and Seba, Ps. 72:10. Masa', Prov. 31:1.

⁶Adinizedek, מלך ירושלים, Josh. 10:1,3,5,23; 12:10.

⁷On the significance of this and the use of the expression, "city of David" see Buccellati, Cities and Nations, pp. 216ff.

are called מלך שִׁמְרוֹן only twice, in 1 Kings 21:1 and 2 Kings 1:3. Several explanations for these anomalies are possible: 1) The expression indicates that Samaria was actually a city state.¹ This interpretation of the nature of the kingdom has, however, been effectively refuted by Buccellati.² 2) The usage derives from a date later than 743 B.C. when the northern kingdom was reduced by Tiglath-Pileser III to a small area immediately surrounding the city.³ It is of considerable interest that during the reign of this Assyrian monarch, the king of Israel is identified similarly as m^mme-ni-hi-im-me āl-sa-me-ri-na-a-a, "Menahem of Samaria".⁴ However, one should be cautious about using this evidence for the dating of the biblical text. In the first place, as Buccellati has noted, the neo-Assyrian reference does not actually identify Menahem as sar āl-sa-me-ri-na-a-a.⁵ It should also be observed that this text, deriving from 738 B.C. or earlier,⁶ antedates the divestiture of Gilead, Galilee and the Plain of Sharon.⁷ Consequently, in Assyrian usage at least, the event did not have a bearing on the perception of the city. This is confirmed by a much earlier text

¹For full discussion of Samaria as a city-state see A. Alt, "Der Stadtstaat Samaria," Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 101/5 (1954), pp. 5-64 (= KS, III, pp. 258-302.)

²Loc. cit., pp. 213ff., esp. 236f.

³2 Kings 15:29.

⁴ANET, p. 283; ARAB, II, No. 772.

⁵Loc. cit., p. 217, n. 74.

⁶H. Tadmor, "Azriyahu of Yaudi," in Scripta Hierosolymitana, 8, ed. by C. Rabin (Jerusalem: 1961), p. 266, identifies Menahem's tenth year 738/37 B.C. Cf. E. R. Thiele, The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings (Grand Rapids: 1965), p. 115, prefers 742/41 B.C.

⁷Usually dated 734 B.C. Cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 627.

from the reign of Adad-Nirari III (809-782 B.C.), which refers to ^mIa-'a-su mat sa-me-ri-na-a-a.¹ Although the Akkadian scribes were not always consistent in their use of determinatives, the land determinative here² may suggest that Israel was viewed in the same way as the Aramaean states, i.e., as a city-state. This cannot, however, be used as support for similar perceptions in Israel itself. Whereas the Assyrians did not generally distinguish between the various types of states, the Israelites appear to have done so rather conscientiously.³ 3) The phrase may be an abbreviation

¹S. Page, "A Stela of Adad-Nirari III and Nergal-Ereš from Tell Al Rimah," *Iraq*, 30 (1968), p. 142, line 8. For a discussion of the significance of the inscription for Israelite history see *idem*, "Joash and Samaria in a new Stela Excavated at Tell Al Rimah," *VT*, 19 (1959), pp. 483-84. Page notes that this is the earliest known reference to Samaria by that name.

²Cf. the city determinative in the Tiglath-Pileser text above.

³Buccellati's comment, *loc. cit.*, that ". . . the mention of the capital city might have been conditioned by the occurrence of the other cities like Damascus and Tyre in the immediate context," is inaccurate. Rezon, whose name precedes that of Menahem, is identified as Ra-hi-a-nu ša-imērišu. This enigmatic designation represents the country whose capital was Damascus, rather than the city itself. So Malamet, *POTT*, p. 143; E. Honigmann, "Damaskus," *RLA*, II, p. 104; F. M. Tocci, "Damasco e Sa Imerišu," *RSO*, 35 (1960), pp. 129-33. Note the use of Di-maš-qa opposite Arpad, Simirra and Samaria in the annals of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), *ARAB*, II, #55, *ANET*, p. 285. E. A. Speiser, "'Damascus' as Ša-imērišu," *JAOS*, 71 (1951), pp. 257-58, has argued for the complete correspondence of the two terms. Ša-imērišu is usually interpreted as "(the land) of (his) donkey(s)". So Malamet, *loc. cit.*; W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew; A New Archaeological Interpretation," *BASOR*, 163 (1961), p. 47. Albright explains Di-maš-qa as "(Town) of (Chalky) Clay," *ibid.*, p. 46, n. 53. Misqa is associated with a Ugaritic term, mišqu, which he renders "mirror". Mirrors were made of highly polished metal, a process preserved in the Arabic verb mšq, "to rub, rub off". A. R. Millard, in private communication, suggests mišqi in the name of the city may allude to the perspecuity of the river flowing through Damascus, with the stones at the bottom reflecting the image of the object above the water. Cf. Naaman's objection to washing in the muddy Jordan. 2 Kings 5:11f.

of a fuller expression, such as מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בְּשִׁמְרוֹן.¹ However, if this were the only explanation, it is surprising that the shortened form does not occur more often. 4) The form reflects a conservative reaction to the high-handed nature of Omride rule. With the establishment of Samaria as the capital city, perhaps even as crown property,² the author may have felt that the state had been reduced to the level of the Phoenician and Aramaean counterparts. The king and his lust for power had become the dominant factors in political affairs; the people no longer mattered. Although hints of this attitude are absent from 2 Kings 1:3, this explanation finds obvious support in 1 Kings 21:1, in which the central issue is the expansion of the king's personal holdings by the expropriation of Naboth's field. The latter, a common citizen, is sacrificed for the sake of the dynasty.

The single reference to Nebuchadnezzar as מֶלֶךְ כַּשְׂדִּיִּים in 2 Chron. 36:17 is also of interest, especially in view of the 120+ occurrences of מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל.³ Although the anomaly appears to illustrate the reverse phenomenon to מֶלֶךְ שִׁמְרוֹן this should not be viewed as an inconsistency. Rather, it reflects the author's keen political sense, for, although Nebuchadnezzar's capital was Babylon, his power base was in reality the Chaldaean ethnic group.⁴

¹1 Kings 21:8. So Buccellati, *loc. cit.* This seems to be the case also in Jon. 3:6, where the Assyrian emperor is referred to as מֶלֶךְ נִנְוֶה. In no way can Nineveh be considered as the name of the realm.

²So Gray, pp. 438, 464, following Alt, "The Monarchy in Israel and Judah," *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, pp. 323ff.

³Cf. v. 6. For additional references see Mandelkern, *s.v.*

⁴On the rise of the Chaldaeans see Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 260-67. Elsewhere Brinkman has noted that the transition from city state to national

The Hebrew use of bound constructions of the type mlk-GN is matched also in the cognate languages. The Aramaic texts of the Old Testament speak of the מלך בבל¹ and מלך פרס.² The form occurs with great frequency in the inscriptions as well.³ Linguistically closest to Hebrew are the Moabite references to מלך מאב⁴ and מלך ישראל,⁵ as well as the Ammonite מלך בנעמן.⁶ The expression is also common in Phoenician and Punic.⁷

When viewed as a whole, the predominance of city and national names may suggest that the kings were considered to be essentially rulers of geographic entities, rather than their inhabitants. The occasional use of gentilics, however, may hint at a more democratic basis of authority.⁸

state in Babylonia was the achievement of the Kassites in the fifteenth century B.C. Thereafter the entire land tended to be governed as a unit. "The Monarchy in the Time of the Kassite Dynasty," RAI, 19 (Paris: 1974), p. 397.

¹Dan. 7:1; Ezra 5:12 (מלך בבל כשדיא).

²Ezra 4:24; 6:14.

³mlk Y'DY, KAI 214:1,14; 215:1. Asshur, 215:7,11,12,13,15,16,17; 216:9; 233:16. Sam'al, 216:1,16/17; 217:1. KTK, 222A:1. Arpad, 222A:3; 223C:5/6; 224:1,16,27. Babel, 227:5; 233:4; 266:4. Qedar, Gibson, AI 25. Aram, 201:1. See esp. 202:6-7, where the kings of Que, Umq, Gurgum, Sam'al, and Melitene are listed in this way.

⁴181:1.

⁵181:5,10,18.

⁶Siran Inscription (3x).

⁷מלך גבל, KAI 1:1; 4:1; 6:1; 7:1,2,3; 9A:1; 10:1,7,9,13; 11. מלך צדנם, 13:1,2; 14:2(3x),13,14(3x),15; 15(2x); 16(2x); 31:1; CIS I 4:1 (2x). Asshur, 24:8. Danunites, 24:7; 26A I:2. Kition and Idalion, 32:2; 33:1(2x); 38:1; 41:5; RES 453:1. משליים, 161:1. Cf. also the Ugaritic references to mlk ḡrt (UT 62:56, etc.); mlk gbl (UT 2106:13,15; mlk ṣr (UT 2059:3).

⁸From Hebrew note מלך האמרי (Num. 21:21, etc.); מלך פלשתים (Gen. 26:1,8); מלך כשדים (2 Chron. 36:17, cf. Ezra 5:12); מלך צדנים

Whereas the form mlk-GN is very common, the reversal of the elements occurs but rarely. The expressions עַם הַמֶּלֶךְ, גוֹי הַמֶּלֶךְ and אֶרֶץ הַמֶּלֶךְ, do not appear at all. The nearest Hebrew counterparts are: 1) עַמְק הַמֶּלֶךְ, another designation for the Valley of Shaveh, according to Gen. 14:17. In 2 Sam. 18:18 Absalom is said to have erected a memorial pillar in a valley near Jerusalem bearing the same name.¹ Neither of these, however, refers to the realm of a king. 2) מְדִינֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ.¹ This phrase appears repeatedly in Esther,³ and is used of the 127 administrative districts into which the Persian emperor had divided his realm. It reflects clearly his authority over the various segments of the empire.

In the Hebrew texts, the phrase byt-RN always has reference either to the palace of the king or his dynasty. However, the Aramaic text, Se-fire II B uses this form for what is likely to be a designation of the realm. In line 10 the subjects of Mati^Cel, whose capital city was Arpad, are identified as בֵּית גֹּשְׁ, after the founder of the dynasty.⁴ This usage would suggest a paternalistic relationship between the king and his subjects; they are his household.⁵

(of Ethbaal, king of Tyre! See further below, pp. 574ff. Bny Ammon in the genitive is not to be interpreted as a gentilic but the regular form of the national name. Cf. supra, pp. 183ff. That three of the six Phoenician/Punic examples (מַשְׁלִיִּים, מְדִינֹת, מְצֻנָּם) are gentilics is noteworthy.

¹Cf. J. Mauchline, 1 and 2 Samuel, NCB (London: 1971), p. 287.

²For the etymology of the term see M. Fraenkel, "Zur Deutung von M^edina, 'Bezirk, Staat,'" ZAW, 77 (1965), p. 215.

³Est. 1:16,22; 3:13; 4:11; 8:5,12; 9:2,12,20.

⁴See the full discussion supra. The expression appears to have been borrowed from the Assyrians who frequently identified other states in this way. E.g., Israel as bīt m^hu-um-ri-a, and Aram Damascus as bīt m^ha-za-ilu. Cf. supra, pp. 215ff.

⁵On the significance of the term בֵּית, cf. supra, pp. 201ff.

Pronominal suffixes

Pronominal suffixes are an equally common form of expressing the relationship between a king and his people. These again may be of two types: those in which the realm is declared to be the possession of the king, and those in which the king is claimed by his subjects.

The realm as the possession of the king

In Hebrew this may be expressed in several ways, depending upon the emphasis. Where the stress is on the subjects, עַם is used. Kings refer to the latter as עַמִּי,¹ subjects refer to themselves as עַמִּךָ;² or to the subjects of another ruler as עַמּוֹ.³ To date no comparable forms have surfaced in Phoenician inscriptions, but the Aramaic Sefire text has several examples. In II B:3 Mati^c,el's subjects are referred to as עַמָּה. II C:16 is not clear. The antecedents of עַמָּהּ are מַלְכֵי אַרְפָּד and רְבוֹהַ, but these may be interpreted either as kings allied to or dependent upon Arpad,⁴ or future occupants of the throne.⁵ In either case עַם represents the kings' possession. In III:21 the ally of Arpad expresses concern for his house,

¹Pharaoh (Gen. 41:40; Exod. 8:4); Saul (1 Sam. 15:30); David (2 Sam. 22:44; 1 Chron. 28:2; 29:14; Ahab (1 Kings 22:4, 2 Chron. 18:3); Jehoshaphat (2 Kings 3:7).

²Pharaoh (Exod. 5:6; 7:28,29; 8:5,7,17,18; 9:14,15). King of Babylon (Isa. 14:20); King of Assyria (Nah. 3:18); King of Judah (Jer. 22:2); Ahab (1 Kings 20:42; 22:4; 2 Chron. 18:3); Ahaz (Isa. 7:17); Zedekiah (Jer. 27:13). Cf. also Balak (Num. 24:14).

³Pharaoh (Exod. 1:9,22; 8:25,27; 14:6; Jer. 25:19); King of Babylon (Jer. 27:12); Nebuchadnezzar (Ezek. 30:11); Sihon (Num. 21:23; Deut. 2:32,33; Judg. 11:20,21); Og (Num. 21:33,34,35; Deut. 3:1,2,3); King of Ai (Josh. 8:1,14); Hiram King of Gezer (Josh. 10:33); Ben-Hadad (1 Kings 20:42); King of Maacah (1 Chron. 19:7); King of Judah (Jer. 22:4); Abijah (2 Chron. 13:17); Manasseh (2 Chron. 33:10); Ahaz (Isa. 7:2); Jehoram (2 Chron. 21:19); Amaziah (2 Chron. 25:11).

⁴Donner & Röllig, KAI, II, p. 263.

⁵Gibson, AI, p. 47.

his sons, his brothers, his descendants and his people.¹

The territorial aspect of a monarch's domain receives the stress where ארץ appears with suffixes. Such forms are common in Hebrew,² but once more the Sefire Inscription provides the only extra-biblical attestation of this usage. Whereas the territory of Arpad is designated as the land of king Mati^cel (ארק) in II A:8 and III:6, the king responsible for the treaty also refers to ארקי in I B:27.³

Like the bound constructions, these suffixed forms imply that the people and/or the territory were in a certain sense viewed as the property of the king. The roles are reversed when the suffix is attached to מלך. This may occur in texts which view the king as belonging to the people, the nation as a whole,⁴ or in those which recognize his special

¹ ולתשלח לשון בביתו ובני בני ובני א[חי ובני ע]קרי ובני עמי.

² Pharaoh, ארצך, Ezek. 32:8; ארצו, Exod. 6:1,11; 7:2; 11:10; Deut. 11:3; 29:1; 34:1; 2 Kings 24:7; Jer. 37:7; Neh. 9:10. The process whereby the land of Egypt fell into the hands of the Pharaoh in a very real sense is described in considerable detail in Gen. 47:13ff. Abimelek, ארצי, Gen. 20:15. Sihon, ארצך, Num. 21:22; Deut. 2:27; ארצו, Num. 21:24; Deut. 2:24,31 (bis); 4:47. Og, ארצו, Num. 21:34,35; Deut. 3:2. Both Og and Sihon, ארצם, Deut. 29:7; 31:4; Ps. 136:21. Queen of Sheba, ארצי, 1 Kings 10:6 = 2 Chron. 9:5; ארצה, 1 Kings 10:13 = 2 Chron. 9:12. The kings of Ai, ארצו, Josh. 8:1; Ammon, ארצי, Judg. 11:12,13; Assyria, ארצו, 2 Kings 19:7 (bis); 2 Chron. 32:21; ארצם, Isa. 37:18; Babylon, ארצו, Jer. 27:7; 50:18; the Canaanite, ארצם, Josh. 10:42; 12:1; Ps. 135:12; Moab, ארצו, Num. 21:26; the North, ארצו, Dan. 11:19, 28 (bis); אדמתו, Dan. 11:9; Tyre, ארצך, Isa. 14:20.

³ Note especially the emphasis on "my land " and "your land " in the second millennium Treaty between Niqmepa of Alalakh and Ir-^dIM of Tunip, ANET, pp. 531f.

⁴ Israel, identified in a variety of ways: byt Israel, מלכיהם (Jer. 2:26; Ezek. 43:7 [bis], 9; מלככם (Amos 5:26). bny Israel, מלכם (Hos. 3:5; Mic. 2:13). bny Israel and bny Judah, מלכיהם (Jer. 32:32). 'nsy Israel (opp. 'nsy Judah) מלכי (2 Sam. 19:44). Israel (NK), מלכינו (Hos. 7:5); מלכיהם (Hos. 7:7). Israel as a whole, מלכינו (1 Sam. 8:20; Ps. 89:19); מלכך (Deut. 28:36; Hos. 13:10); מלככם (1 Sam. 8:18; 12:12,25);

relationship to the geographical domain, the land¹ or the city.² The only extra-biblical forms which correspond to these derive from two Aramaic texts.³

It is apparent from the use of these genitival constructions that the relationship between a king and his realm was characterized by a reciprocal sense of belonging.⁴

Prepositional Phrases

A discussion of the use of prepositions to express the relationship between a king and his realm should involve not only the noun מלך, but also

מלכו (Num. 24:7; Isa. 8:21; Hos. 11:5; Zech. 11:6); מלכם (Jer. 30:9). Also segments of Israel: the Jewish colony in Egypt, מלכיננו (Jer. 44:17); מלכיכם (Jer. 44:21). Daniel, on behalf of Israel, מלכיננו (Dan. 9:6,8). Ezra, on behalf of Israel, מלכיננו (Ezra 9:7). Nehemiah, on behalf of Israel, מלכיננו (Neh. 9:32,34). Occasionally Yahweh is referred to as king of Israel in this way: מלכי (Ps. 5:3; 44:5; 68:25; 74:12; 84:4); מלכיננו (Isa. 33:22; Ps. 47:7); מלככם (Isa. 43:15); מלכם for the bny Zion (Ps. 149:2).

Bny Ammon, מלכם (2 Sam. 12:30; 1 Chron. 20:2; Jer. 49:1,3; Amos 1:15). But note that in each instance מלכם is capable of a different interpretation, i.e., as the name of a deity. The Egyptians, מלכיהם (Ps. 105:30). The Canaanite גוים, מלכיהם (Deut. 7:24; Neh. 9:24). Different regions of Canaan, מלכיהם (Josh. 10:40; 11:17). The cities of Canaan, מלכיהם (Josh. 11:12). גוים in general, מלכיהם (Isa. 60:11; Ps. 149:8). עמים in general, מלכיהם (Ezek. 32:10; Ps. 149:8). The inhabitants of the coastlands, מלכיהם (Ezek. 27:35). Strangers (בני נכר), מלכיהם (Isa. 60:10).

¹A land in general, מלכך (Qoh. 10:16,17); מלכיה (Isa. 7:16). Egypt, מלכיה (Jer. 46:25). Edom, מלכיה (Ezek. 32:29).

²Jerusalem/Zion, מלכך (Zech. 9:9); מלכה (Jer. 8:19; Ezek. 17:12); מלכיה (Jer. 25:18). Samaria (Hos. 10:7), Jericho (Josh. 6:2; 10:1), Makkeda (10:28), Libnah (10:30,39), Hebron (10:37), Debir (10:39), Ai (8:2; 10:1), Hazor (11:10), all מלכה.

³KAI 223 C:5/6, KTK and מלכה; KAI 202 B:3, מלכה, the antecedent being some geographic locality.

⁴In several texts Yahweh's king is also referred to: מלכי (Ps. 2:6); מלכו (1 Sam. 2:10; 2 Sam. 22:51; Ps. 18:51).

the verb of the same root. In our study, we shall organize the investigation around the various prepositions used in conjunction with this root.

מלך ב

Verbal expressions

The verb מלך is followed by the preposition ב 83 times in the Old Testament, once in the Hebrew inscriptions,¹ and once in the Aramaic texts.² Of these the vast majority appear as Qal perfects.³ It is readily apparent that this form is used primarily to indicate the city in which the investiture of a king took place and/or from which he ruled the country.⁴ In many instances, however, the expression does not occur alone; it is frequently preceded or followed by a notice, using על of the territory which was ruled from this centre.⁵ This construction, however, is not consistent, and a sharp distinction between the ways Jerusalem and Samaria were treated

¹Arad 88; see below pp. 536f.

²KAI 222B:22, ימלכן בארפד.

³Qal imperfects appear in Gen. 36:32; 1 Kings 11:24; 16:29; 2 Kings 15:13; 2 Chron. 9:30; 12:13. A Hiphil perfect appears in Jer. 37:1 as well as one Hiphil imperfect, 2 Chron. 36:1.

⁴Heshbon, the capital of Sihon, king of the Amorites (Josh. 13: 10,21); Og of Bashan appears to have had two capitals, Ashtaroth and Edrei (Josh. 13:21); Hazor, the capital of Jabin, king of Canaan (Judg. 4:2); Hebron, David's capital of Judah for seven years (2 Sam. 5:5; 1 Kings 2:11; 1 Chron. 29:27); Absalom conspired to have his coronation here as well (2 Sam. 15:10). Jerusalem follows ב 49x. See esp. 2 Kings 23:33, ויאסרוהו פרעה נכה ברבלה בארץ חמת במלך בירושלם (במלך should probably be read ממלך, with Qere), "And Pharaoh Neco imprisoned him at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign in Jerusalem." Samaria follows ב 13x; Tirzah in 1 Kings 15:33; 16:8,15,23; Damascus in 1 Kings 11: 24 (Note the plural וימלכו) suggesting that the basic meaning of the root is "to rule"; Arpad, KAI 222B:22.

⁵For discussion see G. Buccellati, "The Enthronement of the King and the Capital City in the Texts from Ancient Mesopotamia and Syria," in Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim (Chicago: 1964), pp. 57ff.

may be recognized. With reference to the former, the full form, mlk b-GN ^cl-GN, occurs only in association with the reigns of David¹ and Solomon,² monarchs over the United Kingdom. Elsewhere, in the formulaic summaries of the lengths of the reigns of the respective kings, notice is made only that they reigned in Jerusalem.³ This stands in sharp contrast to the corresponding summaries of the reigns of the northern kings. With the exceptions of Zimri, who reigned only seven days in Tirzah,⁴ Jeroboam II, whose forty-one year reign in Samaria⁵ marked the zenith of the Northern Kingdom's fortunes, and Shallum, who reigned only one month,⁶ the full forms are used throughout.⁷ The significance of these differences is difficult to determine. They are probably original to the sources available to the historian.⁸ Perhaps the court scribes of Jerusalem recognized the truncated nature of the Davidic kingdom, thus hesitating to

¹ 2 Sam. 5:5 בחברון מלך על יהודה שבע שנים וששה חדשים
ובירושלם מלך שלשים שנה על כל ישראל ויהודה

והימים אשר מלך דוד על ישראל, 1 Kings 2:11 (cf. 1 Chron. 29:27), ארבעים שנה בחברון מלך שבע שנים ובירושלם מלך שלשים ושלוש שנים

² 1 Kings 11:42 הימים אשר מלך שלמה בירושלם על כל ישראל ארבעים שנה
Cf. 2 Chron. 9:30 which uses the imperfect of מלך.

³ 1 Kings 14:21; 15:2,10; 22:42; 2 Kings 8:17,26; 12:2; 14:2; 15:2,33; 16:2; 18:2; 21:1,19; 22:1; 23:31,36; 24:8,18. But cf. 1 Kings 15:1(= 2 Chron. 13:2) and 1 Kings 22:41-42(= 2 Chron. 20:31) which add על יהודה to the notices regarding Abijah's and Jehoshaphat's reigns respectively, but in more complex form, alluding to the commencement of their reigns.

⁴ 1 Kings 16:15.

⁵ 2 Kings 14:23.

⁶ 2 Kings 15:13. This reference is also exceptional in that the imperfect replaces the perfect.

⁷ 1 Kings 15:33; 16:8,23,29; 22:52; 2 Kings 3:1; 10:36; 13:1,10; 15:8,17,23,27; 17:1. The precise form is not always identical.

⁸ So S. R. Bin-Nun, "Formulas from Royal Records of Israel and Judah," VT, 18 (1968), pp. 414-32.

specify the nation over which their kings reigned. Northern officials would not have shared these feelings.

However, the form mlk b-GN is not restricted to capital cities; occasionally it is used of the territory ruled by the king as well. This is especially obvious where ב is attached to ארץ,¹ but the preposition may also appear before simple national designations.² 2 Samuel 3:21³ and 1 Kings 11:37⁴ reflect an even more general usage.

Of the two extra-biblical occurrences of מלך ב, only Arad Ostrakon 88 requires comment.⁵ Unfortunately a lacuna appears at a point critical for our discussion. The missing text may be reconstructed as בכ]ל ארץ ישראל or בכ]ל הארץ.⁶ But this solution has been rejected, primarily on linguistic grounds, by Yadin, who argues, "The phrase למלך ... ב is used in the Bible to indicate the capital of the monarch, while the preposition denoting the territory over which he rules is על."⁷ Thus his alternative restoration reads [בכ]רכמיש].⁸ This argument may not,

¹Gen. 36:31 (= 1 Chron. 1:43) ואלה המלכים אשר מלכו בארץ אדום
Jer. 37:1, אשר המליך נבוכדראצר מלך בבל בארץ יהודה.

²Gen. 36:32, ורחבעם בן שלמה מלך; 1 Kings 14:21, וימלך באדום בלע
Judah is also the locus in Isa. 7:6 where בתוכה replaces b-GN.
ביהודה.

³ויכרתו אתך ברית ומלכת בכל אשר תאוו נפשך.

⁴ואתך אקה ומלכת בכל אשר תאוו נפשך והיית מלך על ישראל.

⁵The text as preserved reads as follows:

1. אני מלכתי בכ]
2. אמץ זרעו]
3. מלך מצרים ל]

⁶Cf. Y. Aharoni, Arad Inscriptions (Jerusalem: 1975), pp. 103-104 (Hebrew).

⁷Y. Yadin, "The Historical Significance of Inscription 88 from Arad: a Suggestion," IEJ, 26 (1976), p. 11.

⁸Ibid., p. 14.

however, be as conclusive as he imagines. By citing Gen. 36:31-32 and 1 Kings 14:21 as the only exceptions to the rule, he has failed to take cognizance of the additional texts cited above. Furthermore, he has neglected the evidence of a half dozen texts in which the noun מלך is followed by a territorial designation containing the prefix ב. It is to these forms that we now turn.

Nominal expressions

The usage of the noun מלך with ב-GN corresponds generally to the verbal usage discussed above. References of this nature are not nearly as common, however, appearing only twelve times in the Old Testament. They are almost evenly divided with respect to the nature of the term following the preposition. In five instances cities are referred to.¹ Four consist of stereotyped notices concerning the absence of a king בישראל.² 1 Kings 22:48 similarly notes the absence of a king באדום.³ Contrariwise, Neh. 6:7 contains a terse announcement of his presence ביהודה. The final text, Deuteronomy 33:5,⁴ is interesting for several reasons. First, the noun, מלך, follows rather than precedes the prepositional phrase. Second, the monarch referred to is Yahweh. Third, the name following the preposition, Jeshur^uin, is not a geographic designation

¹2 Sam. 2:11, היה דוד מלך בחברון על בית יהודה, 1 Kings 1:45, למלך בגחון . . . וימשחו אתו. Qoh. 1:1,12 (note the full form of the second), המלך אין בך, Mic. 4:9, אני קהלתי הייתי מלך על ישראל בירושלם.

²Judg. 17:6; 18:1; 21:25 (אין מלך בישראל); 19:1 (ומלך אין בישראל).

³ומלך אין באדום.

⁴ויהי בישרון מלך.

at all, but a pet name for the people of Israel.¹

No clear extra-biblical counterparts to these forms have surfaced.²

מלך על (אל)³

Verbal expressions

The verb מלך is followed by the preposition על (אל) 71 times in the Old Testament, and five times in the cognate inscriptions. The substantives appearing after the preposition show considerable variation, although the names of countries predominate.⁴ In such cases it is often difficult to determine whether the king is being viewed as reigning primarily over the people or over the territory. In most a distinction should probably not be pressed. That the realms of the kings could be understood as primarily the one or the other may be demonstrated from several texts. The territorial sense is clear in 2 Kings 11:3 (= 1 Chron. 22:12), וועתליה מלכת על הארץ, as well as in 2 Sam. 2:9, וימלכוהו אל, וואל יזרעאל הגלעד.⁵ On the other hand, texts in which the king is

¹Cf. Craigie, Deuteronomy, p. 382.

²As in Isa. 19:4, the ב in KAI 14:9 is governed by the preceding verb משל (which normally takes ב + object), rather than מלך. Before this subject is concluded, mention should also be made of the related expressions, "all the kingdoms (ממלכות) of Og בבשן," (Josh. 13:12), and "the cities of the kingdom (ממלכות) of Og בבשן" (Josh. 13:31). Cf. also Deut. 3:4,10, ממלכת עוג בבשן.

³We include the three occurrences of אל-GN in 2 Sam. 2:9, which are obviously intended as equivalent to על-GN in the context. See infra.

⁴Israel, 39x; Judah, 10x; Moab, KAI 181:2; Y'DY, KAI 24:2; Aram, 1 Kings 11:25; Edom, 2 Kings 8:20 = 2 Chron. 21:8. Note also the tribal names, Ephraim and Benjamin in 2 Sam. 2:9, which may have reference to either the people or the territory.

⁵This verse follows מלך על/אל with four different types of names: geographic (Gilead and Jezreel), tribal (Ephraim and Benjamin), tribal gentilic (Asherites), national (Israel).

described as reigning over people are much more common. See especially, 2 Chron. 1:9, **כי אתה המלכתני על עם רב כעפר הארץ**, and also v. 11,

תשפוט את עמי אשר המלכתוך עליו. This sense is also required in the many instances in which a pronominal suffix is attached to **על**.¹ Notice should also be made of Judg. 9:18, which sees the king over the **בעלים** of Shechem. Especially interesting is Jotham's fable according to which the trees search for a king to rule over them as individuals (**עלינו**), rather than over the forest in general.²

Apparently the expression could be used of cities as well, although examples are not well attested. However, according to 2 Chron. 36:4, Eliakim is made king over Judah and Jerusalem.³ The same happens to Zedekiah in v. 10.⁴ In these texts the preposition **על** governs both substantives.⁵ A similar construction occurs in a Phoenician text from the early fourth century B.C.⁶ in which king MLKTYN is said to rule over two cities, Kition⁷ and Idalion.⁸

¹**עלינו**, Gen. 37:8 (Joseph's brothers); 1 Sam. 11:12; 12:12; **עליכם**, 1 Sam. 8:11; 12:1,14. **עליהם**, 1 Sam. 8:9 (Yahweh over Israel); 1 Kings 12:17 = 2 Chron. 10:17 (**בני** Israel); 2 Kings 8:10 = 2 Chron. 21:8 (Edom).

²Judg. 9:8,10,12,14.

³**וימלך מלך מצרים את אליקים אחיו על יהודה וירושלם.**

⁴**וימלך את צדקיהו אחיו על יהודה וירושלם.**

⁵On more than one substantive being governed by a single preposition, cf. Davidson, #101, p. 138.

⁶KAI 38:2, **למלכי על כתי ואדיל**, CIS 92:2 also has **על**, but unfortunately the text breaks off at this point. The context suggests a reading similar to KAI 38:2.

⁷Although in the Old Testament the name Kittim applies to the inhabitants of the entire island of Cyprus, Kition (modern Larnaka) in the inscriptions refers to the most important city in the eastern part of the island. Cf. Donner & Röllig, **KAI**, II, p. 50.

⁸Idalion (modern Dali) was a city farther inland. **Ibid.**

Three additional special occurrences of **על מלך** should be noted.

According to Dan. 9:1, Darius was made king over the kingdom of the Chaldeans.¹ Jer. 33:21 ^hwas the king reigning over his throne.² KAI 215:7 (Aramaic) sees the king of Assyria establishing Panammuwa II over the house of his father.³

Nominal expressions

Nominal expressions involving **על מלך** again are less frequent than the verbal counterparts, but they display the same general characteristics. National names follow **על** more often than any other type of substantive.⁴ In several texts the realm consists clearly of people primarily.⁵ This is also the case when a pronominal suffix is attached to **על**.⁶ Occasionally,

¹ בשנת אחת לדריוש . . . אשר המלך על מלכות כשדים.

² גם בריתי תפר את דוד עבדי מהיות לו בן מלך על כסאו. Elsewhere the verb associated with **על כסא** is **ישב**. The expression may be elliptical, combining **על כסא** and **מלך על עמי (?)**.

³ ומלכה על בית אבה.

⁴ **על מלך** Israel, 19x (including 2 Kings 9:3,6,13, which have **אל** in place of **על**. Judah, many mss and versions of 1 Kings 15:9 (cf. MT **מלך יהודה**); byt Judah, 2 Sam. 2:4. Aram, 1 Kings 19:15; 2 Kings 8:13. Y'DY, KAI 214:20, (Aramaic) **בני יאחז חטר וישב על משבי מלך על יאדי**. Thus the text in KAI, P. E. Dion, *Le Langue de Ya'udi*, editions SR (1974), p. 31; as well as Gibson, *AI*, pp. 66-67, although the last named notes the uncertainties concerning the state of the text. In this connection, note several closely related forms involving **מלוכה** and **ממלכה**. With reference to the former, 1 Sam. 14:47, **ושאול לכד מלוכה על ישראל**, and 1 Kings 21:7, **אתה עתה תעשה כי עתה הכין יהוה, מלוכה על ישראל**. Concerning the latter cf. 1 Sam. 13:13, **והקמתי את כסא ממלכתך על, על, ישראל עד עולם**, and, 1 Kings 9:5, **לשבת על כסא מלוכה יהוה על ישראל**. Also, 1 Chron. 28:5, **לשבת על כסא מלוכה יהוה על ישראל**.

⁵ 1 Sam. 15:1, **על עמו על ישראל** (i.e. Yahweh's people); 1 Kings 14:2, **על העם הזה, מלך אל עם יהוה על ישראל**. Similar in significance, though here the subjects are the gods is **UT 51:vii;49-50, mlk c1 flm**.

⁶ **עלי**, Deut. 17:14, **עלינו**, 1 Sam. 8:19, 10:19; 2 Sam. 5:2. **עליך**, Deut. 17:15. **עליכם**, 1 Sam. 12:1,13; 2 Sam. 3:17. **עליהם**, Judg. 9:8; 2 Sam. 2:7 (בית יהודה); 2 Kings 8:20 = 2 Chron. 21:8 (Edom);

the sphere of rule is expressed in geographic terms. According to Zech. 14:9, Yahweh is מלך על כל הארץ. The name of a city follows על in Ps. 2:6,¹ KAI 4:5-6, (Phoenician)² and in the recently discovered seventh century Phoenician text from Pyrgi.³ Note also the paraphrastic form of the Aramaic text in Ezra 4:20.⁴

Conclusions

It is apparent that the form מלך על, both in its verbal and its nominal forms, was used primarily to designate the broad realm, either in terms of people or territory, over which a king ruled. Occasionally, however, the preposition was followed by the name of a city. Consequently, although his suggestion remains the most probable solution, one cannot be quite as confident as Buccellati is when he reconstructs KAI 202:3-4 (Zakkur) as והמלכני בעלשמ[ין בח] זרך,⁵ "Ba^calshamayn made me king in

Ezek. 37:24; 2 Chron. 2:10 (i.e., עמו, the people of Yahweh); 9:8 (the parallel in 1 Kings 10:9 lacks עליהם).

¹ואני נסכתי מלכי על ציון הר קדשי.

²ימת יחמלך ושנתו על גבל, "the days and years of YHMLK over Byblos." The word מלך has been omitted, but in the context it is clearly implied. It is possible, however, that Byblos is to be interpreted as a regional designation, i.e., northern Phoenicia, rather than the city itself. Cf. the use of Sidon for southern Phoenicia. See further below.

³KAI 277:2/3, ואש פעל ואש יתן חבריא ולנש מלך על כישריא, "Which Thebariye' Velanas king over Kaysriye' made and donated." For Text and commentary, see J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Phoenician Inscription from Pyrgi," JAOS, 86 (1966), pp. 285-97; M. G. G. Amadasi, Le iscrizioni Fenicie e Puniche delle colonie in occidente, Studi Semitici, 28 (Rome: 1967), pp. 158-69.

⁴ומלכין הקיפין הוּו על ירושלם ושליטין בכל עבר נהרה.

⁵Buccellati, loc. cit., p. 56, writes, "In West-Semitic texts the verbal expression mlk l is never followed, to my knowledge, by the name of a city, but only by the name of a country. Instead, the form mlk b 'to reign in,' followed by the name of a city is very common." However,

Hazrak", instead of חזררך על, "over Hazrak".¹

מלך ל

Other prepositions rarely occur in conjunction with מלך. However, ל is found eight times in Hebrew and once in an Aramaic text. Four times the preposition is prefixed to a national designation.² In each instance the phrase expresses a genitive relation by circumlocution, functioning as an alternative to the construct relation.³ In the remaining passages ל appears before a pronominal suffix, also reflecting the idea of possession.⁴ As was the case with the genitives discussed earlier, these expressions view the king as the special possession of the people over whom he reigned. In no instances does a territorial designation follow ל.

Derivatives of מלך

Important as these genitival and prepositional forms may be, the identification of the king and state finds its most explicit expression

cf. the discussion above, and Fitzmyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 290; Amadasi, p. 163. Gibson, *AI*, p. 8, reconstructs the text like Buccellati, observing that there is hardly room for על in the lacuna.

¹ So Donner & Röllig, *KAI*, p. 207.

² Gen. 36:31 = 1 Chron. 1:43, אשר מלכו בארץ אדום לפני מלך מלך לבני ישראל. Num. 22:4, וכלק בן צפור מלך למואב בעת ההוא. Ezra 5:11 (Aramaic), ומלך לישראל רב בנהי ושכללה.

³ Cf. GK 129a-h.

⁴ ל, 1 Sam. 16:1, כי ראיתי בבניו לי מלך; Hos. 13:10, תנה לי מלך, והמלכת להם, 1 Sam. 8:22, לשאול לכם מלך, ללכם. מלך, Ezek. 37:22, ומלך אחד יהוה לכלם למלך, ללכם. מלך. Not surprisingly, the severance of the tie between a king and his realm is expressed with מן. So Jer. 49:38, "from Elam"; Zech. 9:5, "from Gaza". Otherwise the verb מלך is followed by מן only once, Est. 1:1, an obvious territorial observation, "Ahasuerus was ruling from (מן) India to Cush, 127 provinces."

in the use of terms derived from the root **מלך** as designations for the latter. This is especially true of the Hebrew writings in which several different derivatives are employed. It should be recognized at the outset, however, that although our concern is only the concrete "state" significance of these expressions, this sense is not exclusive to any; indeed each is used more commonly to denote the more abstract notion, "reign, kingship".¹

ממלכה

Of the Hebrew derivatives from **מלך**, **ממלכה**, "kingdom", is the most common. Although expressions like **ממלכות הארץ**² and **ממלכות צפונה**³ are vague, inasmuch as they do not place particular emphasis upon either the territorial or the demographic aspect of the kingdom, in most other occurrences the stress appears to be on the latter. An emphasis upon the realm as people may be represented in several ways: 1) By the association of **ממלכה** with a general term for 'nation, people', such as **עם**⁴ or, more commonly, **גוי**.⁵ 2) By the association of **ממלכה** with a specific group of people.⁶

¹Cf. Soggin, THAT, I, pp. 908-20 for a study of the root.

²Deut. 28:25; 2 Kings 19:15,19 (= Isa. 37:16,20); Isa. 23:17; Jer. 15:4; 24:9; 25:26 (**הממלכות הארץ**); 29:28; 34:1,17; Ps. 68:33; Ezra 1:2; 2 Chron. 36:23.

³Jer. 1:15.

⁴**ממלכות**//**עמים**, Jer. 34:1; Ps. 102:23; Neh. 9:22.

⁵a) In construct relationships: **ממלכות הגוים**, Isa. 13:4 (MT); Hag. 2:22; 2 Chron. 20:6. b) In parallelism: **ממלכה**//**גוי**, Exod. 19:6; 1 Kings 18:10 (bis); Isa. 60:12; Jer. 18:7,9; 27:8; Ps. 105:13 = 1 Chron. 16:20; 2 Chron. 32:15 (note the presence also of **עמו**). **ממלכות**//**גוים**, Jer. 1:10; Ezek. 29:15; 37:22; Zeph. 3:8; Nah. 3:5; Ps. 46:7; 79:6.

⁶Exod. 19:6 (**ממלכות כהנים**); Amos 9:8 (**ממלכה**//**יעקב**); Num. 32:33 (the Amorites).

3) By the broader context.¹ Occasionally, however, the territorial aspect does come to the fore.² This is illustrated concretely by Bashan, a geographical designation for the ממלכה of Og.³ However, here the ממלכה is separated from the territory inasmuch as it is in Bashan; it is actually identified with the king.

ממלכות

ממלכות⁴ appears to be simply a stylistic variation of ממלכה.⁵

Apart from the meaning, "royal sovereignty, reign",⁶ the term is used in Joshua especially as a substitute for the latter, always in association with the conflicts with the Trans-jordanian Amorite kings. In these contexts, however, since the following verses describe the realms of these rulers in geographic terms, the expression bears a strong territorial nuance.⁷ In the references to ממלכות ישראל in 1 Sam. 15:28 and Hos. 1:4,

¹This is the case in most texts in which the ממלכה is mentioned by name: ממלכות חצור (Jer. 49:28); ממלכות אררט מנני ואשכנז (Jer. 51:27); ממלכות כנען (Ps. 135:11); Egypt, (Ezek. 29:14). But cf. ממלכת ישראל (1 Sam. 24:21) and ממלכתי (i.e., that of Abimelech, Gen. 20:9) which are less certain. In Isa. 19:2 ממלכה is fighting against ממלכה/עיר/מצרים. Note especially Ezek. 17:13-14 in which a ממלכה is put into subjection by removing the זרע המלוכה and the אילי הארץ (nobility). Cf. also ממלכות אילים "kingdoms of idols" (Isa. 10:10); ממלכות//הארץ (Isa. 14:16).

²a) In construct relation: ממלכות הארצות (1 Chron. 29:30; 2 Chron. 12:8; 17:10; 20:29). b) In parallelism: ממלכות//ארצות (Jer. 28:8). ממלכות//ים (Isa. 23:11) is less clear.

³Num. 32:33, ממלכה עוג מלך הבשן (cf. Sihon who is identified as "the king of the Amorites" in the same verse); Deut. 3:4, כל חבל ארגב, ממלכת עוג בבשן.

⁴L. Gulkowitsch, Die Bildung von Abstraktbegriffen in der Hebräischen Sprachgeschichte (Leipzig: 1931), pp. 128ff., attributes the form to Akkadian influence.

⁵Cf. G. von Rad "מְלָה and מְלָכוּת in the OT," TDNT, I, p. 570, n. 28.

⁶2 Sam. 16:3; Jer. 26:1.

⁷Og, Josh. 13:12,30,31; Sihon, 13:21,27.

the word is used more abstractly.

מלכות

Apart from a few isolated references,¹ מלכות is used only in later texts, beginning with Jeremiah and increasing in popularity in the post-exilic historical works. Throughout, the abstract meaning is clearly predominant.² Nevertheless, the more concrete sense, "kingdom, realm", may be recognized in a few instances. In several texts the מלכות is identified by name.³ On other occasions it may be associated with a person, the context indicating it should be interpreted concretely. Est. 3:6 speaks of the Jews אשר בכל מלכות of Ahasuerus. According to 1 Chron. 28:5, Solomon was chosen to sit על כסא מלכות יהוה על ישראל.⁴ Est. 2:3 and 3:8, which speak in territorial terms of מדינות מלכות(ך), "the provinces of (your) realm", are especially clear.⁵ Jer. 10:7, by paralleling מלכות with חכמי, on the other hand, appears to place the emphasis on the people, rather than the territory.

מלכו

The biblical Aramaic equivalent to the above derivatives, מלכו,

¹Num. 24:7 (poetic); 1 Sam. 20:31; 1 Kings 2:12; and depending upon the dates ascribed, Ps. 45:7; Qoh. 4:14. On the expression see von Rad, *ibid.*, p. 570.

²Cf. BDB, p. 574. Gulkowitsch, p. 130f. suggests the form may be derived from official Akkadian terminology.

³Dan. 9:1 (מלכות כשדים); 10:13 (מלכות פרס); 11:2 (יון); 11:20 (Palestine); 2 Chron. 11:20 (Judah); cf. also מלך הנגב, Dan. 11:9.

⁴Cf. also 2 Chron. 1:1, Solomon establishes himself על מלכותו.

⁵So also 1:20 (בכל מלכותו); Dan. 1:20; Ezra 1:1; 2 Chron. 36:22. The same expression in Dan. 11:17 is vague, as are the references to the granting of one-half of the מלכות in Est. 5:3,6; 7:2.

bears a similar semantic range, being used most often to denote "sovereignty, royalty, reign".¹ But occasionally the more concrete sense "kingdom, realm", occurs. In its broadest concrete usage, mankind is presented as the מלכו over which the Most High rules.² The same emphasis upon the realm, but more specifically applied, is suggested by 4:14 where reference is made to all the wise men of Nebuchadnezzar's מלכו.³ In the remaining instances no great distinction is drawn between the territorial and popular aspects of the kingdom. Note, however, the appointment of satraps על מלכותא,⁴ and the reference to the third ruler במלכותא.⁵

While recognizing the official nature of most of the inscriptions, it is perhaps a measure of the relative insignificance of the general citizenry, in comparison with the holder of the office of מלך, around whom all the affairs of the state appear to revolve, that a counterpart to these terms is unattested in Phoenician and Punic texts. Indeed Sefire A:25, an Aramaic reference, represents our only extra-biblical witness to the concept's existence in Northwest Semitic.⁶ The text, which is speaking of

¹See esp. Dan. 2:37 (// חסנא ותקפא ויקרא, "the power, might and glory"); 5:18 (// רבותא ויקרא והדרה, "the power, glory and majesty"); 7:27 (// שלטנא ורבותא, "dominion and greatness").

²Dan. 4:14,22,29; 5:21 (מלכותא אנושא).

³So also 5:11 (איחי גבר במלכותך, "there is a man in your realm"); Ezra 7:13 (כל מתנדב במלכותי, "all who are willing in my realm").

⁴Dan. 6:2. Cf. Daniel's own appointment על כל מלכותא (6:4).

⁵Dan. 5:7,16,29.

⁶Cf. Akkadian usage in which malkutu represents a derived counterpart, but is never used of the realm in a territorial or popular sense; it refers only to the abstraction, "rule, kingship". CAD, 10, Pt. 1, p. 169; AHw, p. 595. Cf. also sarrutum, which represents primarily "kingship", and is seldom, if ever used of "kingdom, realm". AHw, pp. 1190f.

Arpad, the kingdom of Mati^C'el reads as follows:

חהוי מלכתה כמלכת חל "Let his kingdom be like a kingdom of sand,
מלכת חלם זי ימל כאש A kingdom of dream(s), that fade away like fire."¹

¹As transcribed by Gibson, AI, p. 30. Cf. KAI 222 A:25.

The Nature of the Political Association

The Basis of Royal Authority

In the ancient Near East royal power could be gained in several ways. Rulers were occasionally selected by the citizenry, in contexts which might be characterized as politically primitive. In proto-historic Sumer "lords" (en) were chosen by the assembly in cases of internal crisis; where the danger involved a threat of attack from outside these leaders were designated as "kings" (lugal).¹ By the time of the historic period in Mesopotamia, however, this practice appears to have fallen out of use completely, being attested in neither Hittite² nor Akkadian sources.³ The evidence for popular involvement in the selection of rulers in Syria-Palestine during the second millennium is considerable.⁴ However, as Ishida has argued,⁵ simply because the people exercised significant power in certain instances does not prove their regular authority to designate their ruler. The account of the call of Jephthah to judgeship over Gilead in Judg. 10:17-11:11 seems to provide the nearest parallel to the early

¹See the fundamental studies by T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," JNES, 2 (1943), pp. 159-72 (reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 132-56); idem, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," ZA, 52 (1957), pp. 91-140 (reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 132-56). The latter describes how these early offices developed into monarchical institutions.

²A. Goetze's theory of an elective Hittite monarchy in Kleinasian, 2nd ed. (Munich: 1957), pp. 86f., has been convincingly refuted by T. Ishida, The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel, BZAW. 142 (Berlin/New York: 1977), pp. 14ff.

³Cf. Ishida, pp. 9ff.

⁴This evidence is summarized by Ishida, ibid., pp. 18ff.

⁵Ibid., pp. 19ff.

Mesopotamian practice.¹ However, it is nowhere intimated that he is being offered the kingship. The people's proposition to Gideon in Judg. 8:22ff. is fundamentally different. They were not choosing him from a list of several contenders to be their leader; that decision had already been made and demonstrated. Rather, they were redefining his position, extending his authority beyond that of mere military leader. Nor is the designation of Abimelech as king of Shechem to be confused with a popular election.² Abimelech managed to persuade his relatives to acknowledge his leadership, after which he personally eliminated all potential rivals, save one. Although Jotham's parable reflects a familiarity with the principle of democratic election of a ruler, in practice the conflict in Shechem revolved around competing individuals, the final result being determined, not by council or assembly decision, but by violent confrontation. That the Israelites did not view the democratic process as the normative way of choosing kings is indicated by the initial approach of the elders to Samuel to appoint a king over them to succeed him.³

Frequently kings were placed in their positions by imperial overlords. In Amarna Age Canaan it was the Egyptian overlord who designated the successors to the throne of Jerusalem.⁴ The rulership of Ugarit was

¹On Jephthah see W. Richter, "Die Überlieferung um Jephthah, Ri 10, 17-12,6," Bib, 47 (1966), pp. 485-556.

²Judg. 9:1ff.

³1 Sam. 8:4ff. But cf. Omri, who was swept into power by a general reaction against Zimri, 1 Kings 16:16. For a discussion of the democratic element in Israelite political affairs see H. Tadmor, "'The People' and Kingship in Ancient Israel: The Role of Political Institutions in the Biblical Period," JWH, 11/1-2 (1968), pp. 46-68.

⁴EA #286:9-13; cf. EA#288:13-15. ANET, pp. 487f. Cf. M. Liverani, RAI, 19, pp. 335ff., 348ff.

determined by Hittite masters.¹ This practice was common also in the first millennium. Thus Bar-rakkab, king of Y'DY (c. 730 B.C.), wrote:

Because of my father's righteousness and my own righteousness, did my lord (Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria) make me to sit [upon the throne] of my father Panammuwa.²

Several late Judaeen kings owed their power to foreign overlords. Jehoiakim was installed by Pharaoh Neco;³ Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar.⁴ The neo-Assyrian annals repeatedly note similar events. Sargon II made Ahimiti king of Ashdod in place of his older brother Azuri;⁵ Sennacherib installed Ethba^cal in Sidon in the place of Luli;⁶ Ashurbanipal put Aziba'l on the throne in Arvad,⁷ and Abiate' in Uate's place as king of Arabia.⁸

A third means of gaining royal authority was by the usurpation of power by force. Such coups were especially frequent in Northern Israel. The first king, Jeroboam, had led his people in a rebellion against Rehoboam, bringing about a complete secession and the establishment of his own throne.⁹ This dynasty was short-lived, however, being terminated by

¹See UT 118, on Niqmad's relationship to the Hittite king. Cf. Gray, "Canaanite Kingship," p. 198; A. F. Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit," (1965) in BAR, 3 (1970), p. 81.

²KAI 215:19f.; (= Gibson, AI, p. 81). Cf. KAI 216:4-7.

³2 Kings 23:34.

⁴2 Kings 24:17.

⁵ANET, p. 286.

⁶ANET, p. 287. Cf. also p. 288, on which is described the transference of territory from Hezekiah the Jew to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Sillibel, king of Gaza.

⁷ANET, p. 296.

⁸ANET, p. 298.

⁹1 Kings 12.

Baasha,¹ who in turn fell to a conspiracy by his servant Zimri.² Seven days later, with strong popular support, this king was replaced by Omri.³ The Omride dynasty came to a violent end at the hands of Jehu.⁴ In the fifth generation of the house of Jehu, Zechariah was assassinated by Shallum.⁵ Shallum reigned only one month, falling to the sword of Menahem.⁶ His son, Pekahiah, fell to a conspiracy led by his officer Pekah.⁷ The last king of Israel, Hoshea, gained control by assassinating Pekah.⁸

But these events were not restricted to Israel. The dynasty of Hiram of Tyre came to an end in approximately 910 B.C. when Abdastratus was murdered by four sons of his nurse. The eldest of these, Methusartarus, assumed the throne. Upon his death his brother Astharymus ascended the throne, only to be assassinated by a third brother Phelles nine years later. A new dynasty began when Ethbaal, priest of Astarte conspired against Phelles and replaced him.⁹ Damascus appears to have become an important royal centre first under Rezon, who had fled from his lord Hadadezer,

¹ 1 Kings 15:27ff.

² 1 Kings 16:9ff.

³ 1 Kings 16:15ff.

⁴ 2 Kings 10:1-11.

⁵ 2 Kings 15:8ff.

⁶ 2 Kings 15:13ff.

⁷ 2 Kings 15:25.

⁸ 2 Kings 15:30.

⁹ These events are recounted by Josephus in Contra Apion, 1. 17. 125, and are derived from the records of Menander of Ephesus. For a discussion of these troubled times see H. J. Katzenstein, The History of Tyre (Jerusalem: 1973), pp. 116-28.

king of Zobah. Rezon gathered about himself a marauding band and seized control of the city.¹ How the dynasty of Hezion began cannot be established.² Its end, however, is clear; in approximately 843 B.C. Hazael murdered Ben-Hadad II, taking over his throne.³ Elsewhere, the annals of Sargon II refer to Ia'ubidi of Hamath as "a commoner without claim to the throne, a cursed Hittite," who "schemed to become king of Hamath."⁴

Although these methods of gaining control over a state were common, in no case were they considered normative in the first millennium B.C. The normal pattern for succession throughout the ancient Levant was the hereditary dynasty.⁵

Although we have given considerable attention to the means whereby royal authority was actually acquired, since our concern is primarily ancient perceptions the way these events were interpreted is of greater significance. Once again we are impressed with the theological perspective of the Near Easterners. According to the Sumerians, kingship itself was lowered from heaven as if it were some tangible object.⁶ Not only did the

¹ 1 Kings 11:23ff.

² Cf. ANET, p. 655; Gibson, AI, pp. 1ff.

³ 2 Kings 8:7ff. The annals of Shalmaneser III refer to the event with the comment, "Hazael, a son of a nobody, seized the throne," ANET, p. 280.

⁴ ANET, p. 285.

⁵ For Ugarit see Gray, "Canaanite Kingship," pp. 196ff.; Liverani, pp. 335ff.; the Aramaean states, including Y'DY, Eulers, "Königtum und Götterwelt," pp. 277ff.; the south Syrian national states, Buccellati, Cities and Nations, pp. 125ff.

⁶ See "The Sumerian King List," ANET, p. 265. Cf. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p.237. Cf. T. Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List, AS, 11 (Chicago: 1939), pp. 70f., lines 1ff.

gods determine from which centre that kingship should be exercised;¹ from early times they were viewed to have chosen the kings themselves.² This notion seems to have become the common property of the subsequent Mesopotamian cultures, as well as those of the Levant. The neo-Assyrians, almost without exception, juxtaposed divine election with royal lineage as the foundations of their authority.³ Understandably, usurpers especially tended to place a great deal of stock in the decision of the gods. Thus Sargon recounts that he was ^afatherless child, but Ishtar had chosen him to be king of Akkad.⁴ Esarhaddon justified his seizure of the throne, even though he was the youngest in the royal family, by emphasizing the role of the gods in his father's designation of him as heir.⁵ Cyrus' conquest of Babylon was legitimized by Marduk's pronouncing his name to become ruler of the world, taking pleasure in him, and commanding him to march against the city.⁶

Similar notions were common in Syria as well. In the Ugaritic legend of King Keret, this is emphasized in two ways. On the one hand, the provision of an heir became a divine concern.⁷ On the other, Udum,

¹Cf. "Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," ANET, p. 617, lines 366-72.

²Cf. Frankfort, loc. cit., pp. 238ff. As a corollary to this notion, the poets emphasized also the divine parentage of the kings. Cf. S. N. Kramer, "Kingship in Sumer and Akkad: The Ideal King," RAI, 19 (1974), pp. 163ff.

³On the harmonization of these two principles, cf. Ishida, loc. cit., pp. 6ff.

⁴Cf. "The Legend of Sargon," ANET, p. 119.

⁵ANET, p. 289.

⁶Cf. the Cyrus Cylinder, ANET, p. 315.

⁷Krt 7ff.; ANET, p. 143.

the realm, is described as "a gift of El, even a present of the Father of Man."¹ More significant for our purposes are the first millennium texts.

In the Karatepe inscription, Azitawadda described his election thus:

"Ba^c1 made me a father and a mother to the Danunites."² In a variant of the text of Bar-rakkab mentioned earlier,³ this king of Y'DY acknowledged the divine role in his accession:

Because of the righteousness of my father and my own righteousness, I was seated by my lord Rakabel and my lord Tiglath-Pileser upon the throne of my father.⁴

Zakkur of Hamath reflected similar ideas when he wrote:

Baalshamyn said to me, "Fear not, because it was I who made you king, [and I shall stand] with you, and I shall deliver you from all [these kings . . .]."⁵

Similarly, Yehawmilk, king of Byblos introduced himself as follows:

I am Yehawmilk, king of Byblos, the son of Yaharba^c1, the grandson of Urimilk, king of Byblos, whom the mistress, the Lady of Byblos, made king over Byblos.⁶

The role of Yahweh in the selection of Israel's kings appears prominently in the biblical texts. The list of those specifically identified as having been chosen by Yahweh includes Saul,⁷ David,⁸ Solomon,⁹

¹ Krt 133ff.; ANET, p. 144.

² KAI 26:3; ANET, p. 653.

³ Cf. supra, p. 550.

⁴ KAI 216:4-7; ANET, p. 655.

⁵ KAI 202:13; ANET, p. 655.

⁶ KAI 10:1-2; ANET, p. 656.

⁷ 1 Sam. 9:15ff.

⁸ 1 Sam. 16:1-13. This election was necessitated by the divine rejection of one previously chosen. Cf. 16:1,14.

⁹ This is implied by the involvement of Nathan the prophet in his

Jeroboam,¹ Baasha,² and Jehu.³ But this principle antedated the monarchy. The authority of the judges earlier was also founded on the principle of divine election.⁴ The Hebrews even acknowledged their deity's hand in the choice of foreign kings. Hadad of Edom,⁵ Rezon of Damascus⁶ and Hazael of the same city,⁷ were all appointed by Yahweh.

It is clear from all of these texts that regardless of how a king actually came to power, he achieved that position because he had been appointed to it by the deity. The kingdom was a divine gift, to be administered on behalf of the deity. This perception appears to have been common throughout the Levant.

assumption of power, but is explicitly recognized by David (1 Kings 1:48), Adonijah (2:15), Solomon (2:24; 3:3ff.; 8:20), Hiram of Tyre (5:7), and the Queen of Sheba (10:9).

¹1 Kings 11:26ff. Cf. Ahijah's announcement of Yahweh's subsequent rejection of Jeroboam (14:7ff.).

²1 Kings 14:14; cf. 15:29. In 16:2ff. his rejection by Yahweh is announced.

³1 Kings 19:16; 2 Kings 9:1-10. Cf. 15:12 where the length of his dynasty is set at five generations.

⁴The principle is stated in Judg. 2:16-18. Cf. the specific application in the choice of Othniel (3:9); Ehud (3:15); Gideon (6:7ff.); Samson (13:2ff.).

⁵1 Kings 11:14.

⁶1 Kings 11:23.

⁷1 Kings 19:15; cf. 2 Kings 8:7-17.

The Dominant Role of the King

The dominant role played by the kings in the affairs of the state in the ancient Near East is reflected in several Hebrew texts in which the term מלך is paired with a designation for the people, especially עמים¹ and גוים.² This identification of the state with the monarch is seen especially in the descriptions of international affairs, in which the role of the king tends to eclipse completely the concerns or activities of the citizenry. Two aspects of foreign relations illustrate this especially: the conduct of warfare, and the making of treaties.

The importance of kings in military affairs is seen clearly in the descriptions of the Israelite conquest of Canaan, which was viewed essentially as a conflict with the kings of the land.³ It has already been recognized also in the justification by the elders of Israel of their request for a king.⁴ The accounts of David's conflicts with foreign nations display similar features. Although, with respect to his battles with the south Syrian states, Edom, Moab and Ammon, the texts imply national involvement, in his northern wars his adversary is Hadadezer, king of Zobah.⁵ Later, when the empire shows signs of disintegrating

¹E.g., 1 Kings 5:14: "The peoples came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all the kings of the earth which had heard of his wisdom." Cf. also Ezek. 27:33; 32:10; Ps. 148:11; Lam. 4:12 (ישני חבל//מלכי הארץ); Ezra 6:12.

²Gen. 17:6,16; Isa. 41:2; 45:1; 52:15; 50:3,16; 62:2; Jer. 25:14; 27:12; Ps. 72:11; 102:16; 110:5-6; 135:10. Cf. the discussion supra, pp. 118ff.

³Deut. 3:21; Josh. 12:1ff; Judg. 5:19.

⁴1 Sam. 8:20. Cf. also the expression, "the time when kings go out to war," 2 Sam. 11:1. On מלאכים here cf. GK 23g where Kethib is defended; contra Driver, Samuel, p. 222, who reads מלכים with 25 mss, Qere, Chronicles, versions. The latter is preferable.

⁵2 Sam. 8:3ff., esp. v. 12.

under Solomon, the latter's opponents are not the Edomites and the Aramaeans, but Hadad¹ and Rezon.² The wars involving the northern and southern kingdoms are often represented as being between their respective kings.³ The same applies to the conflicts between the Northern kingdom and Aram.⁴

If anything, this perspective is more pronounced in the extra-biblical inscriptions. According to the stele of Zakkur king of Hamath and Lu^cash, his foreign adversaries are primarily kings: "Barhadad, the son of Hazael, king of Aram, united seven of a group of ten kings against me." The names of these kings and their armies follow.⁵

The prominence of the kings is reflected even more consistently in international agreements. Although Deut. 7:2 forbids the nation of Israel to make any covenants with the Canaanite בְּנֵי אֲדָמִי, with the arrival of

¹ 1 Kings 11:14ff.

² 1 Kings 11:23ff.

³ 1 Kings 14:30 (Jeroboam vs. Rehoboam); 15:16 (Asa vs. Baasha); 2 Kings 14:8ff. (Jehoash vs. Amaziah); 16:5 (Rezin of Aram and Pekah of Israel besiege Ahaz of Judah!).

⁴ 1 Kings 20:1ff. (Ben-Hadad vs. Ahab). Note especially v. 34 for the way in which territorial matters were treated as personal affairs of the kings. "The cities which my father took from your father I will restore" Cf. also 22:1ff.; 2 Kings 8:28 (Joram vs. Hazael); 10:32; 13:22.

⁵ KAI 202:5ff.; ANET, pp. 655f. Cf. also the boast of Kilamuwa of Y'JY: "My father's house was in the midst of mighty kings. Everybody stretched out his hand to eat it. But I was in the hands of the kings like a fire that eats the beard, like a fire that eats the hand. The king of the Danunites tried to overpower me, but I hired against him the king of Assyria, (who) gave a raid for a lamb, a man for a garment." KAI 24:4ff.; ANET, p. 654. For a discussion of this part of the text see F. M. Fales, "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power," WO, 10 (1979), pp. 6-22.

the monarchy, such actions become the exclusive property of kings. The friendship between Hamath and Israel in 2 Sam. 8:9f. is essentially a personal affair between David and Toi.¹ The same applies to the alliance between Solomon and Hiram of Tyre,² as well as Jehoshaphat and Ahab.³ From the Phoenician inscriptions, note Azitawadda's claim to have made peace with every king. Indeed every king is said to have acknowledged his overlordship by calling him father.⁴

The clearest demonstration of this royal predominance is found in the eighth century treaty between Barga'yah, king of KTK and Mati^C'el, king of Arpad.⁵ Although the citizens of Arpad⁶ and the entire land of Aram are implicated in the agreement, the overwhelming importance of the kings is inescapable: 1) The primary parties to the treaty are the two kings, not their respective peoples (I A:1-3). 2) The terms concern primarily the conduct of Mati^C'el and his dynasty, not their subjects (I A:14-15, 24-25). 3) The curses for violation of the treaty, although

¹This it had to be, since it would have been difficult for the people of Israel to strike up a friendship with the people of Hamath on a national scale.

²1 Kings 5:15ff.

³1 Kings 22:44. Military concerns are presented in 22:1-4 as the catalyst for this alliance. Note Jehoshaphat's rationalization, "I am as you are, my people as your people, my horses as your horses." In the face of a common external threat, political distinctions are glossed over. Although v. 3 expresses the intention to regain Ramoth-Gilead from "the hand of the king of Aram", it is not clear from the previous comment whether Ahab, in saying the territory "belongsto us", is thinking of the nation, or just himself and his immediate entourage.

⁴KAI 26:11f.; ANET, p. 654.

⁵For text and translation, see KAI 222-224; Gibson, AI, 7; ANET, pp. 659f.

⁶Cf. I B:5.

involving the state by virtue of its dependence upon the king, concentrate upon the personal fate of Mati^C,el and his dynasty (I A:36-42). 4) In Mati^C,el's vow, he reminds himself and his sons of their roles in the maintenance of the treaty, and their fates should they prove irresponsible (I C:1-24). 5) In the second edition of the treaty the concern for the personal fortune of Mati^C,el overshadows that of the citizenry (II C:13-17). 6) Mati^C,el promises personally to destroy KTK and its king should they prove unfaithful (II C:1ff.). 7) The third text commences with an expression of concern for respect toward the dynasty of KTK (III:1-3). 8) Fugitives are considered as escapees from the authority of the king¹ rather than those who have left the country (III:4-7). 9) Commercial relations are described as existing between kings (III:7-9). 10) The assassination of the king is to be personally avenged by the king of the treaty partner (III:9-14). 11) For a member of the royal family of Arpad to slay a member of the KTK dynasty constitutes infidelity to the gods of the treaty (III:14-17). 12) The king of Arpad is to work for the reconciliation of disputing members of the dynasty of KTK should such disputes arise (III:17-19). 13) The treaty partner is not to misrepresent the other member in a dispute involving a third party (III:19-20). 14) The king of Arpad is not to incite a conspiracy against the king of KTK (III:21-23). 15) Territorial quarrels are the personal disputes of the kings (III:23-26).

It is obvious from this text that to speak of an international treaty between Arpad and KTK is misrepresentative. Such affairs were inter-dynastic, rather than international. It should be borne in mind,

¹Note the expression, עַם זִי בְיָדִי, "the people in my hands" (III:5).

however, that, in contrast to the Hebrew texts, these and other similar extra-biblical texts derive from royal circles, whose pre-occupation with dynastic affairs is natural.¹ Whether the subjects of these kings would have described conditions similarly cannot in the present state of the evidence be determined.² Even though the sweeping powers attending the office frequently led to exploitation of the subjects for the benefit of the crown,³ the protective and judicial functions of the kings are well known.⁴ Few texts illustrate this better than the eighth century Karatepe

¹ Similar emphases characterize also the treaties between Suppiluliumas and Aziras of Amurru (ANET, pp. 529f.), Ashur-Nirari and Mati^c'ilu (ANET, pp. 532f.), as well as the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon (ANET, pp. 534ff.).

² Indirect evidence for a lay recognition of such royal privilege may be derived from the Old Testament. Samuel's description of "the custom of the king" in 1 Sam. 8:11-18, indicates that an awareness of this perspective was quite widespread, even beyond the boundaries of the kings' domains. On the text see I. Mendelschn, "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of Akkadian Documents from Ugarit," BASOR, 143 (1956), pp. 17-22. Deut. 17:14-17 appears to represent a deliberate reaction to general monarchical custom. For studies of this text, see Craigie, Deuteronomy, pp. 253ff.; Thompson, Deuteronomy, pp. 240ff.; Mayes, Deuteronomy, pp. 269ff. A Caquot, "Remarques sur la 'loi royale' du Deuteronomie," Semitica, 9 (1959), pp. 21-33; K. Galling, Die Israelitische Staatsverfassung, AO, 28, 3/4 (1929), pp. 58ff.; *idem*, "Das Königsgesetz im Deuteronomium," ThLZ, 76 (1951), pp. 133-38; A. Alt, "Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums," KS, II, pp. 263ff.

³ Cf. 1 Sam. 8:11-18; 2 Sam. 11 (David's treatment of Uriah and Bathsheba); 1 Kings 4:1ff. (Solomon's reorganization of the administration to serve the interests of the crown); 5:13ff.; 9:15ff. (Solomon's forced labour); 21:1ff. (the seizure of Naboth's vineyard). Cf. Jeremiah's invective against such practices (22:13-17), as well as Ezekiel's general condemnation of all exploitative leaders (34:1ff.). For discussion see W. Brueggemann, The Land, Overtures to Biblical Theology (Philadelphia: 1977) ch. 5, pp. 71ff.

⁴ In this respect the first millennium Syrian rulers followed in the train of their Mesopotamian and Levantine predecessors. On the former see S. N. Kramer, "Kingship in Sumer and Akkad: The Ideal King," RAI, 19 (1974), pp. 163-76; F. R. Kraus, "Das Altbabylonische Königtum," ibid., pp. 250-53; J. N. Postgate, "Royal Exercise of Justice under the

inscription of Azitawadda, king of the Danunites.¹ The relationship of this ruler to his people is described in warm paternalistic terms: he was appointed by Ba^Cl to be their father and mother, the results of which are recounted most glowingly:

In my days there was within all the borders of the Plain of Adana, from the rising of the sun to its setting, even in places which had formerly been feared, where a man was afraid to walk on the road but where in my days a woman was able to stroll, peaceful activity, by virtue of Ba^Cl and the gods (El). And in all my days the Danunites and the entire Plain of Adana had plenty to eat and well-being and a good situation and peace of mind.²

Nevertheless Azitawadda could not resist concluding with an appeal to his deity to bless him, and the people on his behalf:

May Ba^Cl-Krntrys^v bless Azitawadda with life, peace and mighty power over every king And 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^Cl and the gods (El)!³

The Role of the King in the Development of National Self-Consciousness

There remains the most important aspect of this study, a review of the role played by the king in the promotion of national self-consciousness. This task may be best accomplished by examining individually

Assyrian Empire," *ibid.*, pp. 417-26. Note especially "Advice to a Prince," *BWL*, pp. 110ff. On Canaanite practice see J. Gray, "Canaanite Kingship," pp. 208ff.

¹KAI 26; *ANET*, pp. 653ff.

²KAI 26 II:1-9, as translated in *ANET*. Cf. also I:4-10; II:12-16; III:7-9. The text is reminiscent of the description of Israel's prosperity and security under Solomon (1 Kings 4:20; 5:24-25).

³KAI 26 III:16-IV:12; *ANET*, p. 654.

several of the most important nationality groups of the Levant.

The Philistines

The Philistines (Hebrew, פְּלִשְׁתִּים; Akkadian, Pi-liš-te; Egyptian, prst) represented only one of a number of groups, collectively known as the Sea Peoples, who erupted from the coast-lands of the Mediterranean and the Aegean onto the shores of the Levant from Ugarit to Egypt in the early twelfth century B.C.¹ Although destruction followed in their wake everywhere, Rameses III was able to gain the mastery over them, managing to bring many into his own service as mercenaries and garrison troops.² The Philistines appear to have settled in southern Palestine initially in the latter capacity, but eventually were able to establish their permanent residence there. Even though they were not the only representatives of these Sea Peoples to settle down in the region,³ they appear to have been the most significant group. In the Old Testament the name Philistine may possibly have encompassed people from these other groups as well.⁴ Whatever their ethnic composition, and in spite of substantial linguistic

¹The text of Rameses III from Medinet Habu lists in addition the Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denye(n) and Weshesh. For the text see the Epigraphic Expedition, Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III, OIP, 8 (Chicago: 1930), pp. 16ff.; K. A. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, V, 1 (1970), pp. 39ff.; translations, W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III, SAOC, 12 (Chicago: 1936), pp. 53ff.; ANET, pp. 262f.; Breasted, AR, IV, 59-82.

²For discussions see Kitchen, POTT, pp. 57ff.; W. F. Albright, "Syria, The Philistines, and Phoenicia," CAH, 2nd rev. ed., II, ch. 33 (= Fasc. 51 [1966], pp. 24ff.); M. Weippert, GGA, 223 (1971), pp. 2ff.; T. C. Mitchell, AOTS, pp. 410ff.

³According to Wen-Amon, (circa 1100 B.C.) the Tjeker were residing in Dor. Cf. ANET, p. 26.

⁴So also Kitchen, POTT, p. 57.

and religious borrowing from the indigenous Canaanites, there can be little doubt that in the first millennium, the Philistines were considered a nation apart. This is reflected by the presence of distinctive features: 1) A national deity. Although the deity, Dagon, was borrowed from the native Semites, he was recognized as the deity of all, Ashdod serving as the primary cult centre.¹ 2) A national culture. The Philistines displayed distinctive practices in their military dress,² the decoration of their pottery,³ and the absence of circumcision.⁴ 3) A distinctive political organization, revolving around five major cities,

¹ 1 Sam. 5; cf. Judg. 16:23f. We cannot enter into discussion of the possibility of a Philistine amphictyony here. See B. D. Rahtjen, "Philistine and Hebrew Amphictyonies," JNES, 24 (1965), pp. 100-104; Weippert, GGA, 223 (1971), p. 6, n. 20. On the Mesopotamian origins of this deity see F. J. Montalbano, "Canaanite Dagan: Origin, Nature," CBQ, 13 (1951), pp. 381ff., and more recently Pope, WM, pp. 276ff.; Gese, "Religionen," pp. 107-15; J. J. M. Roberts, The Earliest Semitic Pantheon: A Study of the Semitic Deities Attested in Mesopotamia before Ur. III (Baltimore: 1972), pp. 18-19, et passim.

² Note esp. the plumed headdress, depicted on the temple wall at Medinet Habu. Cf. ANEP, p. 4,7,9; cf. p. 250 for comment; Wright, "Fresh Evidence," p. 71. Most understand this to be a headdress. So Kitchen, POTT, p. 57; R. D. Barnett, "The Sea Peoples," CAH, 2nd rev. ed., fasc. 68 (1969), p. 19; Albright, loc. cit., p. 25; Mitchell, AOTS, p. 412f. This interpretation has, however, been questioned by K. Galling, "Die Kopfzier der Philister in den Darstellungen von Medinet Habu," Ugaritica, 6 (1969), pp. 247-65; with support from Weippert, loc. cit., pp. 7f. The Medinet Habu relief is described in detail by H. H. Nelson, "The Naval Battle Pictured at Medinet Habu," JNES, 2 (1943), pp. 40-55.

³ See esp. Trude Dothan, Ha-Pelištim we-tarbutām ha-ḥomrit (The Philistines and their Material Culture). (Jerusalem: 1967); cf. Weippert, loc. cit., pp. 11ff., for a review of the material contained in the book. Cf. also Wright, "Fresh Evidence," pp. 70ff.; idem, "Philistine Coffins and Mercenaries," BA, 22 (1959), pp. 54-66; Albright, loc. cit., pp. 26f.; Kitchen, POTT, pp. 58f.

⁴ The pejorative use of the expression "uncircumcised Philistines," suggests a distinctive condition. Judg. 14:3; 15:18; 1 Sam. 14:6; 17:26,36; 1 Chron. 10:4. Cf. S. R. Driver, The Book of Genesis, WC, 9th ed. (London: 1913), p. 189f. Cf. also J. P. Hyatt, "Circumcision," IDB, I, pp. 629-31.

each of which was ruled by a סרן.¹ 4) A national homeland, recognized by the neighbouring peoples as ארץ פלשתים.²

The influence of the Philistine rulers in the maintenance of a national spirit is difficult to determine. A strong leadership, even if it was divided among several rulers, ensured the defence of the group, and no doubt provided occasion for national pride. But the expansion of Philistine control northward as far as Dor, as well as into the interior of Canaan, will have brought large numbers of non-Philistines into their sphere of influence. It is doubtful, however, that such expansionist policies of the authorities altered the nature of the Philistine nation greatly. The ruling classes in these regions will have been too thin, and the control too ephemeral to produce fundamental changes. The Israelites, who were subjected to their harassment over several generations, do not reveal any tendencies toward assimilation.³

The Transjordanian Nations

A satisfactory description of the role played by the monarchical institution in the development of Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite national self-consciousness is precluded by the paucity of sources dealing with the matter. The nations themselves have left no information concerning

¹Cf. above, pp. 496f. Note סרני פלשתים, Josh. 13:3; Judg. 3:3; 16:5,8,18,23,27; 1 Sam. 5:8,11; 6:4,12,16; 7:7; 29:2,7; 1 Chron. 12:19.

²Jer. 25:20; Cf. māt Pi-liš-te, ANET, p. 534. Cf. above, p. 497. On the extent of Philistine territory see Wright, loc. cit. On Palaštu-Pilišta in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions cf. H. Tadmor, "A Note on the Saba'a Stele of Adad-nirari III," IEJ, 19 (1969), pp. 46-48.

³But cf. the post-exilic situation, Neh. 13:23f.

their earliest history. Any observations that can be made are dependent upon the alien Hebrew sources. Unfortunately, the rise of their respective monarchies receives very little notice. Indeed, with respect to Moab¹ and Ammon,² the only type of political structure visualized is the fully developed centralized monarchy. Concerning the effect these kings are able to have on the national spirit one may only conjecture. Insofar as they are able to fulfill their normal function of defending the national territory, thereby providing their subjects with security required for national development,³ one might suggest that the cause of nationalism

¹According to Num. 22:4f., Balaq was מלך מואב at the time of the Exodus from Egypt. Eglon, a contemporary of the Israelite judge Ehud, is identified similarly in Judg. 3:12f.

²Although he is not named, the bny Ammon are ruled by a king during the time of the Judges. Cf. Judg. 11:12. Also 1 Sam. 11:1, where the contemporary to Saul is identified as Nahash.

³This role is illustrated clearly in Judg. 11, as well as the Mesha Inscription. On early Moabite political history, cf. van Zyl, The Moabites, pp. 111ff. Van Zyl reasonably dates the establishment of the Moabite kingdom by the end of the thirteenth century(ies) B.C. So also the Edomite and Ammonite monarchies, p. 118, n. 1. The bearing of the Balu'a stele on the development of Moabite political institutions is not clear. A. Alt, "Emiter und Moabiter," PJB, 36 (1940), pp. 35ff., suggested that in view of the affinities borne by the script with Cretan Linear B, the sculpture must originally have been erected by the Emite predecessors of the Moabites. It depicted an act of homage to the deities on either side of the princely figure, and represented a plea for their blessing upon his rule. With the conquest of the region by the Moabites shortly thereafter, the stele was adapted for similar purposes by a Moabite noble. Whether this person could have been designated a מלך cannot at the present time be answered. On the stele cf. also van Zyl, pp. 31ff.; G. Horsfeld and L. H. Vincent, "Une stele Egypto-Moabite au Balou'a," RB, 41 (1932), pp. 441-44; E. Drioton, "Apropos de stele du Balou'," RB, 42 (1933), pp. 353-65. Cf. ANEP, p. 167,168. On early Ammonite history see 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 (Ca. 1300-580 B.C.)," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University (1956), pp. 118ff.; W. F. Albright, "Notes on Ammonite History," Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach (Montserrat: 1954), pp. 131ff. These statements, however, require revision in view of several recent discoveries. See e.g. the Siran Inscription which names three Ammonite kings. For a reconstruction of Ammonite dynastic history see F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite

has been advanced.

Thanks to the Edomite genealogies, and especially the King List provided by Genesis 36:31ff., we are in a slightly better position to discuss the early stages of political evolution of this nation. Although at the time of the Exodus, Edom is depicted as being ruled by a single monarch,¹ according to the King List, in earlier times the people were under the rule of several men simultaneously. These are designated as מלכים, but appear to have represented an intermediate political stage between the אלופים, "clan chiefs", mentioned earlier in the genealogy, and the later centralized monarchy.² Their role has been compared with that of the Israelite judges,³ as well as the kings of the Canaanite city-states.⁴ In any case, it is commonly accepted that the names do not represent consecutive monarchs who ruled over the entire nation.⁵ However,

Inscription from Tell Siran," BASOR, 212 (1973), pp. 14f.

¹Num. 20:14.

²Cf. J. R. Bartlett, "The Edomite King-List of Genesis XXXVI. 31-39 and 1 Chron. I. 43-50," JTS, n.s., 16 (1965), p. 313.

³Weippert, "Edom," pp. 473f.

⁴J. R. Bartlett, loc. cit., p. 311, compares them with the Amorite kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon (Josh. 10:3), as well as Gideon and Abimelech of Shechem (Judg. 8-9), whom he views as roughly contemporary. Cf. also idem, "The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Edom," PEQ, (1972), p. 27, where they are compared with Sihon king of Heshbon. Cf. also de Vaux, EHI, pp. 517f.

⁵For several reasons: 1) the term מלך is capable of bearing this limited sense. Cf. above, pp. 497ff. 2) The מלכים are said to have ruled "in Edom" rather than "over" it. אלה המלכים אשר מלכו בארץ אדום. In view of the following expression, לפני מלך מלך לבני ישראל, this appears to have been a deliberate deviation. On the significance of the forms cf. above, pp. 534ff. and 542 respectively. 3) Each of the מלכים is said to have ruled in his own city. This last argument is not conclusive, however, in view of the experience of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. Baasha and his successors ruled in Tirzah; Omri however, transferred the capital to

in view of the repeated use of וְיָרְדוּ to indicate the relationship between the successive names in the list,¹ it seems that the compiler of the list intended the names to be understood as in some sort of continuous succession.²

Concerning the circumstances under which the respective monarchies evolved we may only speculate. The Hebrew traditions suggest that this form of centralized authority appeared several centuries before Israel received its first king.³ The nature of the relationship between people and monarch in these early days is also unclear, but it is commonly accepted that ethnic and tribal factors were more important in moulding them into a nation than were political institutions.⁴ Confirmation of the prior existence of the group as a nation would be possible if it could be

Samaria. (1 Kings 16). It is possible that with each new monarch, the capital was relocated to his native town.

¹This represents the greatest difficulty with the "simultaneous" interpretation. Elsewhere, in similar contexts, וְיָרְדוּ normally means "in the place of", i.e., "as the successor to". Cf. BDB, p. 1065. Otherwise, in order to suit the present context, the expression would have to be understood something like "in the same capacity as". Weippert, "Edom," p. 474, suggests that, analogous to the "List of Minor Judges" (Judg. 10:1-5; 12:7-15), the succession motif is secondary to the content of the tradition. Bartlett, "Edomite King-List," p. 302, suggests the list itself is entirely artificial.

²So also Ishida, *loc. cit.*, p. 23.

³Cf. p. 565, n.3 above. With respect to Edom, Bartlett, however, argues that Num. 20:14 represents a later perspective, the Edomite king appearing only as a "shadowy figure." He proposes a date for the establishment of the Edomite monarchy roughly contemporary with Saul. "Edomite King-list," pp. 312f.

⁴Cf. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations*, pp. 75ff.; A. Alt, "Staatenbildung," *KS*, II, p. 28 (= "The Formation of the Israelite State," in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, p. 260); M. Noth, "Die Nachbarn der israelitischen Stämme im Ostjordanlande," *Aufsätze*, I, pp. 463ff.. Cf. above, pp. 292ff.

demonstrated that in their earlier stages these tribes had been united by amphictyonic ties,¹ or if the monarchs had received their authority through popular election.² However, for lack of concrete evidence neither suggestion can rise above the level of speculation, and the possibility that a united monarchy was achieved by the grasping of authority over the entire nation by one of the more powerful minor מלכים, remains as likely as any other. However, even then, any claims to be "king of Edom" or Ammon or Moab, would have been dependent upon a prior national sense of unity. If the nation had been the creation of the ruler, one might have expected the name of the state to follow the name of the founding dynasty.

Aram

Determining the influence of Aramaean kings in the development of Aramaean nationalism presents problems much more complex than have been encountered so far. Not the least of these is the fact that, whatever

¹This has been frequently posited for Edom. M. Noth, Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels, BWANT, III 10 (Stuttgart), p. 43, n. 2; idem, The History of Israel, 2nd ed. (New York: 1960), p. 87; Bartlett, "Edomite King-list," p. 313. For recent rejections of the basic notion of Levantine amphictyonies, see H. M. Orlinsky, "The Tribal System of Israel and Related Groups in the Period of the Judges," in Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman (Leiden: 1962), pp. 375-87; de Vaux, EHI, pp. 695-715; G. W. Anderson, "Israel: Amphictyony: ^CAM; ^KĀHĀL; ^EĀDĀH," TUOT, pp. 135-51; A. D. H. Mayes, Israel in the Period of the Judges, SBT, second series, 29 (London: 1974). Also Weippert, "Edom," pp. 461ff., an admitted reversal of his earlier support for the theory, cf. Settlement, pp. 40, 105f., 143f.

²Noth, History of Israel, p. 154; Driver, Genesis, p. 317; G. von Rad, Genesis: A Commentary, OTL, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: 1972), p. 346; K. Galling, Die Israelitische Staatsverfassung, p. 22. Cf. the rejection of this view by Ishida, loc. cit., p. 22.

movements there might have been toward the unification of all, or even most, of the Aramaeans under one political umbrella, these all failed to come to maturity. Consequently we are left with attempting to explain something which never really existed in a fully developed form. For no period of history can we speak of the Aramaean state in the same way that the states of Edom, Israel, Ammon and Moab may be spoken of. Whereas the borders of the south Syrian states were roughly contiguous with ethnic boundaries, the Aramaean counterpart was usually fragmented into a host of smaller political entities, many of which represented kingdoms in their own right.¹

In view of this failure, the appearance of the royal title "king of Aram" is extra-ordinary, and requires some comment. The expression appears only once in the neo-Assyrian annals. An excerpt from the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.) reads as follows:

At that time the city of Ana-Assur-uter-asbat, which the people of Hatti called Pitru, which is on the Sagur River, and which is on the other side of the Euphrates, and the city of Mutkinu, which is on this side of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-Pileser, my ancestor, who went before me, had settled, (and) which in the reign of Assur-rabi, king of Assyria, the king of the land of Arumu (šar māt Arumu) had seized by force, those cities I restored to their (former) estate.²

The identity of this "king of Aram" is not clear.³ Landsberger understood

¹From the Old Testament note Zobah, 2 Sam. 8:3,5,12; 1 Kings 11:23; 1 Chron. 18:3,5. Maacah, 2 Sam. 10:6; 1 Chron. 19:7. Damascus, 2 Chron. 14:23. Arpad, 2 Kings 19:13; Isa. 37:13. Cf. also Cushan-Rishathaim of Aram Naharaim, Judg. 3:8. Cf. Malamet, POTT, pp. 137f.

²ARAB, I, #603. ANET, p. 278.

³The references to the Aramaeans in the texts of Tiglath-Pileser I make no mention of kings. Cf. ARI, I, p. 13 (= ARAB, I, #239), p. 23 (= ARAB, I, #287, ANET, p. 275). This is perhaps not surprising since in both contexts they are associated with the nomadic aḫlamu. Cf. supra, pp. 285ff. The identification of the king must await the discovery of some of Ashur-rabi's records.

the reference to be an allusion to the founding of the kingdom of Bit-Adini.¹ However, since Ashur-rabi II (c. 1012-972 B.C.) was a contemporary of Hadadezer, under whom Aram-Zobah had gained the ascendancy among Aramaean states, it is possible that the text remembers the far-flung exploits of this king.² This hegemonic position of Aram-Zobah did not endure, however, having been dealt a fatal blow by David.³ As a result, the title fell into disuse for more than a century, re-emerging later as the title of the kings of Aram-Damascus,⁴ who had succeeded in raising this state to the status previously enjoyed by Aram-Zobah.

The fact that מלך ארם served not only as a self-designation, but was employed also by outsiders suggests that it was not simply a hollow pretentious title.⁵ This is confirmed by the considerable power exercised

¹Sam'al, p. 35, n. 74.

²So Malamat, POTT, pp. 141f.; *idem*, "The Kingdom of David and Solomon in its contact with Egypt and Aram-Naharaim," BA, 21 (1958), pp. 101f. (= BAR 2, pp. 97f.); W. F. Albright, "The Emergence of the Aramaeans," CAH, 3rd ed. (1975), II, p. 533. Malamat, POTT, p. 141, suggests that the designation ben-Rehob in 2 Sam. 8:3 signifies that Hadadezer was a native of Aram-Beth-Rehob, and that he had brought Zobah and Beth-Rehob together in a Personalunion. Cf. also *idem*, "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon," JNES, 22 (1963), pp. 1-6; Buccellati, Cities and Nations, p. 143. This interpretation is not without its difficulties, however. First, this method of identifying a person, even if common in Akkadian, is rare in Hebrew (Cf. supra, pp. 178f.). Second, Rehob is attested as a personal name in Neh. 10:11. Cf. also Ruhubi, father of Ba'sa, the Ammonite king. ANET, p. 279.

³2 Sam. 8:3ff.

⁴1 Kings 15:18; 20:1,20,22,23; 22:3,31; 2 Kings 5:1-5; 6:8,11,24; 8:7,9,13,28,29; 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; 18:30. Cf. מלך על ארם in 1 Kings 19:15; 2 Kings 8:13.

⁵Zakkur Stele, (KAI 202: Gibson, AI 5; ANET, p. 655) line 4, by the king of Hamath. Cf. the Hebrew references in the previous note.

by its holders. As מלך ארם, Cushan Rishathaim of Aram-Naharaim controlled a territory that extended from the borders of Canaan to beyond the Euphrates River.¹ Hadadezer's realm had similar limits.² Included within his "empire" were several vassal kingdoms, such as Tob and Maacah, who were acknowledged as his עבדים.³ The statue of Bar-Hadad I, discovered north of Aleppo indicates the range of Damascene authority in the mid-ninth century.⁴ Shortly thereafter, another Bar/Ben-Hadad appears at the head of a thirty-two king alliance.⁵ Their subjection to him was total, for when, after a defeat at the hands of Ahab of Samaria, his counsellors advised him to remove the kings and replace them with his own appointed captains (פחות), he was able to carry out their recommendation unhindered.⁶ Judging by his position at the head of an alliance of twelve western kings against Shalmaneser III, the same ruler (= Adad-idri of Assyrian texts) appeared once more as a dominant figure in Aramaean politics. The magnitude of his power is reflected in the size of the forces which he contributed to the fray. His 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalrymen, and 20,000

¹Judg. 3:18f. Cf. A. Malamat, "Cushan Rishathaim and the Decline of the Near East Around 1200 B.C.," JNES, 13 (1954), pp. 231-42. But cf. the preference to emend ארם to ארם, de Vaux, EHI, p. 536.

²Sam. 8:3f.

³Sam. 10:6f., and v. 19.

⁴Gibson, AI, pp. 1f.; Donner & Röllig, KAI II, p. 203.

⁵1 Kings 20:1. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 421, understands these מלכים to be "chiefs of various tribes or confederacies rather than rulers of Aramaean kingdoms in Syria." Although some chiefs of this nature were probably included among Ben-Hadad's forces, this interpretation is not the only one possible. Cf. Malamat, POTT, p. 144; B. Mazar, "The Aramaean Empire and its Relations with Israel," BA, 25 (1962), p. 108 (= BAR, 2, p. 136).

⁶1 Kings 20:24f. Malamat, loc. cit., suggests that by this action his vassal states are reduced to mere provinces.

infantry almost doubled the number provided by any other member of the league.¹ At the beginning of the eighth century Bar-Hadad III was similarly able to command an alliance of sixteen kings and their armies against Zakkur, king of Hamath and Lu^cash.²

Although the title מלך ארם is lacking, in this context reference should also be made to a special use of the name Aram occurring in the eighth century Sefire Inscriptions.³ The inscriptions contain the terms of a treaty between Barga'yah, king of KTK and Mati^c'el, king of Arpad.⁴ Implicated in the agreement, however, are not only these two cities, but ארם כלה, "all Aram", more precisely defined as ארם ותחתה, "all upper and lower Aram".⁵ Here Aram, an essentially ethnic term, represents the geographic area inhabited by this group of people. In spite of the political fragmentation the essential unity of the Aramaean people is not forgotten.⁶ In the context of international relations and for political purposes it may even serve as a collective political designation.

The role of the kings in elevating first Aram-Naharaim, then Zobah, and finally Damascus, to the level where they represented Aram par excellence appears to have been indispensable. Insofar as they were able to carve out large Aramaean empires (even if vassal kings were tolerated) the

¹ANET, pp. 278f.

²ANET, p. 655; KAI 202; Gibson, AI 5. Cf. Malamat, loc. cit., p. 145; A. R. Millard, "Adad-nirari III, Arpad, and Aram," PEQ (1973), p. 163.

³ANET, pp. 659f.; KAI 222,223; Gibson, AI 7.

⁴Cf. supra, pp. 558ff.

⁵I A:5-6. For a detailed discussion of this text cf. supra, pp. 289ff.

⁶Cf. A. Jepsen, "Israel und Damaskus," AfO, 14 (1942), p. 166.

cause of nationalism appears to have been served.¹ Whether all of Aram could have been united into one bona fide state had the rulers of Damascus had a little more time, cannot be answered.² In the event, the hegemony of Damascus, indeed the very existence of the state itself, was cut off by the Assyrians, the same forces whose appearance had served as such an important catalyst for drawing the Aramaeans together. The extent to which this coming together had found support within the nation itself is impossible to determine. On the surface it appears to have been a matter largely of which ruler could rise the highest in an open competition. However, it would have been difficult for any king to maintain power for long if the people had been disaffected. Examples of coups by unhappy subjects, especially military officers, are sufficiently attested to indicate the tenuousness of the hold of many on their thrones.³

¹Analogies to מלך ארם as a title for the dominant ruler in a larger group of separate political entities, may be seen in Jabin, מלך כנען, who ruled in Hazor (Judg. 4:2,13) and Uate' šar Aribi. Cf. above, pp. 498ff.

²Mazar, loc. cit., pp. 137ff., has argued that all Aram was in fact united into one great Aramaean state, with Damascus functioning as עיר ארם in the same way that Jerusalem was viewed in the Old Testament as עיר יהודה. But cf. the rejection of this interpretation by Millard, loc. cit., p. 164, who counters that there was no sign of Arpad being subject to Damascus at this time.

³Cf. supra, p. 550ff. Recognition of the importance of the support of the populace may be reflected in the Sefire Treaty, face B:1-6, [The treaty of Bar-Ga'yah, king of KTK, with Mati^c1, son of ^cAttarsamak, the king of Ar[pad; and the treaty of the son of Bar-Ga'yah with the sons of Mati^cel; and the treaty of the [grandsons of Bar]-Ga'yah with the offspring of Mati^cel and with the offspring of any king who [will come up and rule] in his place, and with the Bene-Gush and with Bet-šLL and with [all] Ar[am; and the trea]ty of KTK with the treaty of Arpad; and the trea[ty of the Lords of Ar]pad and with its people (בעלי ארפד ועם עמה) and the treaty of the gods of KTK with the treaty of the g[ods of Arpad.] . . . (italics ours).

Phoenicia

In the second millennium B.C., Phoenicia was viewed as the northern segment of the broader geographic entity, Canaan.¹ With the arrival of the Israelites, and especially with David's consolidation of Israelite authority over all of the region south of the Lebanon, this situation was drastically altered. Hereafter the Phoenicians represented but a remnant of this once important society.² But the cultural aspects continue and the connections of the Phoenicians with the previous greater unit remain a faint but persistent memory.³ Nevertheless, having been cut off from the rest of the Canaanites, Phoenician political history is freed to follow its own independent course.

It is doubtful that the concept of "Phoenicia", as the Greeks understood it,⁴ existed for the natives of the region themselves.⁵ They

¹Cf. supra, pp. 353ff.

²W. F. Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," BANE, p. 341, estimates that 90% of the Canaanite territory had been lost.

³Ob. 20 represents the only Old Testament text in which the later Phoenicians are associated with the Canaanites. The name Canaan has not appeared on any Phoenician inscriptions discovered to date, although in one Punic text, KAI 116:3, one individual from a north African colony kept the memory alive by identifying himself as אש כנען. This person may have been an asiatic Phoenician (so J. Friedrich, "Punische Studien," ZDMG, 107, n.s. 32 (1957), p. 291 and n. 1) or a native with antiquarian interests. Cf. the remark by St. Augustin in the fifth century A.D., that the people around Carthage continued to identify themselves as Canaanites, "Epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio," 13 in Patrologiae Latinae, ed. by J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: 1878), vol. 35, col. 2096; cited also by D. Harden, The Phoenicians (London: 1962), pp. 22, 219, as well as Donner & Röllig, KAI, II, p. 120. D. R. Ap-Thomas, "The Phoenicians," POTT, p. 281, n. 8, refers also to Matt. 15:22, which uses "Canaanite" in place of the "Syro-Phoenician" of Mark 7:26.

⁴On the relationship between Greece and Phoenicia in the Iron Age, and the Homeric use of the name "Phoenicia" cf. J. D. Muhly, "Homer and the Phoenicians," Berytus, 19 (1970), pp. 19-64.

⁵So also Katzenstein, Tyre, pp. 7f.

appear to have preferred to identify themselves by the name of the city in or near which they lived.¹ At the turn of the millennium, Phoenicia consisted of several city-states, the most important of which appear to have been Byblos (גבל) in the north and Sidon in the south.

The dominance of Sidon in Phoenician affairs dates back to the twelfth and eleventh centuries, the period following the devastation all along the coast at the hands of the Sea Peoples.² Sidon, along with Byblos, appears to have been one of the first cities of the region to recover from the shock.³ The former's preeminence in subsequent Phoenician history is indicated in several ways. Homer, uses "Sidonian" and "Phoenician" interchangeably,⁴ suggesting that in Greece at least the city represented the nation. This concurs with the Old Testament usage. The Table of Nations identifies Sidon as the first-born of Canaan.⁵ Elsewhere the gentilic צידוניים virtually stands for "the Phoenicians",⁶ especially the southern

¹The most important ones being Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, Berytus and Arvad. Cf. W. F. Albright, "Syria, the Philistines, Phoenicia," CAH, 3rd ed. (1966), fasc. 51, p. 34; Katzenstein, lcc. cit.

²On the earlier history, especially of Tyre, see Katzenstein, 18-76.

³Albright, "Role of the Canaanites," p. 341, suggests that these two may have been the only autonomous states in Phoenicia during this period. The importance of Byblos in the eleventh century B.C., is demonstrated by the report of Wen-Amon, an Egyptian envoy sent to the city to procure lumber for the construction of a ceremonial craft for Amon (ANET, pp. 25-29). Cf. also the royal inscriptions from Byblos deriving from this period, KAI 1-8.

⁴E.g., Iliad 6. 290,291; 23. 743-44; Odyssey 4. 83-85, 618; 13. 270ff. 14. 288f. 15. 118,415ff., 473. Cf. Muhly, p. 27; Katzenstein, pp. 62f.

⁵Gen. 10:15. Tyre is absent from the list.

⁶Deut. 3:9; Josh. 13:4,6; Judg. 3:3; 10:12; 18:7; 1 Kings 5:20; 11:5; 16:31; 2 Kings 23:13; Ezek. 32:30; Ezra 3:7; 1 Chron. 22:4.

portion.¹ The extent of actual Sidonian control is hinted at by Judg. 18:7, according to which Laish appears to have been under its protection.² The ninth century monarch, Ethbaal, although reigning in Tyre, is identified as מלך צידוֹנִים.³ Similar perceptions are reflected in the Assyrian texts. Tiglath-Pileser I (1116-1110) is said to have exacted tribute from Gebal, Sidon, and Arvad; there is no mention of Tyre at this point.⁴ In later annals, Elulaeus (c. 700 B.C.)⁵ is identified as "king of Sidon", but his residence is supposed to have been in Tyre.⁶

Although one should be cautious about arguments from silence, it is curious that these notices all agree with the native inscriptions from Phoenicia itself. Not a single occurrence of מלך צר has surfaced, whereas מלך צדנם appears repeatedly.⁷ Especially interesting is the inscription of Hiram II (c. 740 B.C.), discovered in Cyprus (!), in which the ruler identifies himself as מלך צדנם,⁸ even though in Assyrian texts he is always

¹Cf. Josh. 13:4-6, where the Sidonians are distinguished from the Gebalites.

²Cf. B. Mazar, "The Exodus and Conquest," WHJP, III, p. 93; Y. Aharoni, "The Settlement of Canaan," ibid., p. 119.

³1 Kings 16:31. On this king see Katzenstein, pp. 129-66.

⁴ARAB, I, #302; cf. 328. Grayson, ARI, II, p. 26; ANET, p. 275. Contrarily, Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums (Berlin: 1931), II/1, p. 382, interprets the absence of Tyre as an indication of her strong position; she was not obligated to pay tribute. But cf. Katzenstein's response, p. 63.

⁵On this king see Katzenstein, pp. 220-58.

⁶ARAB, II, #239; ANET, p. 287. As king of Sidon he ruled over great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bīt Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, Ushu, Akzib, and Akko. Sennacherib places Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) on the throne in his stead. Menander identifies Elulaeus as the king of Tyre. Josephus, Ant., 9. 14. 2.

⁷KAI 13:1,2; 14:1,2(2x), 13, 14(2x); 15.

⁸KAI, 31:1.

referred to as "king of Tyre".¹

What is to be made then, of the apparent discrepancy of identification on the one hand, and the references in the Old Testament to Hiram I, "king of Tyre",² under whom Phoenician fortunes appear to have reached their zenith, on the other? According to E. Meyer, this is to be attributed to the perpetual competition between the two cities, Sidon and Tyre. The assumption of the title, מלך צדנֹם, by the kings of Tyre indicates the hegemonic position the latter had been able to gain over the former,³ analogous in some respects to the use of מלך ארם for the kings of Aram-Damascus. The explanation of Albright, that the expression "king of Tyre" and "king of Sidon" are used interchangeably, however, has considerable merit. Although Meyer is probably correct about the competition between the two cities, it may be argued that the two did not represent separate political entities in the early part of the first millennium.⁴ Several widely separated traditions suggest a Tyrian dependence upon Sidon. In Isa. 23:12, the Hebrew prophet identifies Tyre as the daughter of Sidon. This agrees with the inscription on Sidonian coins minted during the Seleucid period, according to which the city was the mother, not only of

¹ARAB, I, #769, 772. Cf. his son Metanna II of Tyre, ARAB, I, #803.

²2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Kings 5:15; 9:11; 1 Chron. 14:1; 2 Chron. 2:2, 10. Cf. Jer. 27:3; Ezek. 28:12.

³Geschichte des Altertums, II/2, p. 126. Cf. also Harden, p. 51, "Throughout all that period (i.e., up to about 600 B.C.) Tyre was the chief city of the homeland, Byblos, Sidon and the rest taking a lesser place, and it was not till Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Tyre's power in 574 that Sidon inherited the leadership."

⁴Josephus Ant. 9. 6. 6 identifies Ethbaal, the father-in-law of Jezebel as "King of the Tyrians and Sidonians."

Tyre, but also of Cambe (Carthage), Hippo, and Kitium.¹ The circumstances under which she is supposed to have given birth to Tyre are described by the much later Latin writer, Justin.² His sources³ recall that Tyre was rebuilt by Sidonian refugees "one year before the conquest of Troy," after their own city had been destroyed by the king of Ashkelon.⁴ It appears, therefore, that for a considerable period of time only one state, Sidonia, existed in southern Phoenicia. When the expression "king of Tyre" is used, it refers not to a different kingdom, but to the same one, reflecting simply the transfer of the seat of rule to that city.⁵

Traditions such as these could account for the widespread use (in both the Old Testament and the Phoenician inscriptions) of the gentilic צִדְנִים to represent Phoenicia, at least the southern part.⁶ They might also explain the absence in all of the sources, biblical, Phoenician and Akkadian, of references to simultaneous kings of Tyre and Sidon prior to the

¹ לְצִדְנִים אִם כְּמֵן אִפְא כֹת צֹר. G. F. Hill, Catalogue of Greek Coins in Phoenicia (London: 1910), pp. cvi f.

² Justin 18. 3. 5. Cf. Katzenstein, pp. 59f.

³ Albright, "Role of the Canaanites," p. 342, and B. Mazar, "The Philistines and their Wars with Israel," WHJP, III, p. 173, attribute the source to the fourth century B.C. Greek historian, Timaeus.

⁴ Cf. Josephus Ant. 8. 3. 1, who dates the founding of Tyre to 240 years before the building of Solomon's temple, i.e., c. 1200 B.C.

⁵ This applies only to the period after the destruction of these sites at the hands of the Sea Peoples. It is clear from EA #146-55 that in the Amarna age Tyre and Sidon existed as separate kingdoms.

⁶ Cf. also Phaedimus, "King of the Sidonians," Σιδωνίων βασιλεύς, Homer Odyssey 14. 117-18. Cf. Muhly, p. 27, ". . . 'Sidonian' became the name used to designate the inhabitants of that remnant of Canaan left after the invasions of the Sea Peoples, the Philistines, and the Arameans."

seventh century.¹ These occur first during the reign of Esarhaddon, whose annals speak of Abdimilkutte, king of Sidon, and Ba'lu, king of Tyre, in the same contexts.² However, to our knowledge, this is a unique occurrence; Sidon does not reappear as a separate political entity in the neo-Assyrian records.³

Insofar as the Sidonians (including their daughter settlements) represented Phoenicia, it could be argued that we are dealing here with a national state bearing certain similarities to those in southern Syria.⁴ However, it does not appear that all of Phoenicia ever constituted one unified state. Byblos, especially, appears to have remained independent for most of the first half of the first millennium. Furthermore, even if Strabo's tradition of the Sidonian origin of Arvad is correct,⁵ her connections with the mother city did not endure, and she soon represented a

¹Cf. Katzenstein, p. 247, who argues that in 701 Sennacherib had divided the Kingdom of the Sidonians, putting a separate king in Tyre.

²ARAB, II, #511-512; ANET, p. 291. However, even here it is not clear that they reigned simultaneously. The first paragraph speaks of Abdimilkutte rebelling against Esarhaddon. (According to ARAB, II, #527, he had been put to flight, but was eventually captured and slain by the Assyrian king.) In the second paragraph, Ba'lu is installed as puppet king of Tyre. This may have represented the creation of a separate state (Cf. the tradition of Menander, which attributes the political division of Tyre and Sidon to the Assyrians. Cf. Albright, CAH, 3rd ed. [1966], fasc. 51, p. 36). On the other hand, it may also indicate that the Assyrian king has punished Sidon for its rebellion by transferring its power to Tyre.

³It appears that Tyre remained the dominant south Phoenician city until well into the Persian period, when Sidon's fortunes revived once more, at the expense of the former. For a full discussion of this later period see H. J. Katzenstein, "Tyre in the Early Persian Period," BA, 42 (1979), pp. 23-34.

⁴We recognize the marked differences in the origins of their respective populations; i.e., the settled and urban background of the Phoenicians, and the tribal roots of the peoples to the south.

⁵Strabo 16. 2. 13, informs us that Arvad was (re)founded by refugees from Sidon.

city-state in her own right.¹ On the other hand, the Sidonians, as a separate kingdom, appear to have been more than a city-state united by citizenship in a common locality and allegiance to the same ruler. The consistent use of the gentilic hints at a democratic thread in the political scene, and may suggest that the people were more important than the city. For the Phoenicians as a whole, however, although foreigners tended to group them together on the basis of geographic, cultural and commercial affinities, the rivalries among the separate states, no doubt encouraged by their respective kings, prevented the creation of a state in which ethnic and political boundaries coincided.

Israel

Because our sources for the history of Israel are more extensive than for any other nation of the ancient Near East, it is possible to observe more clearly the influence of political institutions upon the nation's self-consciousness. Earlier it was established that Israel's awareness of its own '11 status did not depend upon the existence of the monarchical institution. Indeed, the circumstances leading up to the appointment of Saul as the first king show that kingship was the child of the nation, rather than vice versa. The degree of continued popular involvement in political affairs should not be underestimated.² But

¹Cf. Gen. 10:18. In the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.), the land of Arvad appears alongside the lands of Byblos and Sidon, Grayson, ARI, II, p. 26, #95.

²See the excellent study of H. Tadmor, "'The People' and Kingship in Ancient Israel: The Role of Political Institutions in the Biblical Period," JWH, 11/1-2 (1968), pp. 46-68. Compare this with the study of the role of the people in early Mesopotamian political affairs by T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," JNES, 2 (1943), pp. 159-72, reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 157-72.

this does not mean that the monarchy always functioned in the interests of the nation, let alone the promotion of national self-consciousness.

Israel represented a single national kingdom for only a very short period at the beginning of her experiment with the royal institution. While allowing for some to reside outside,¹ only during the reign of Saul does the territory of the kingdom approximate that of Israelite settlement.² That they do so at this time may be demonstrated in several ways: 1) Saul's appointment as king was made in response to an appeal by "all the elders of Israel."³ 2) All the tribes of Israel were present at his public presentation.⁴ 3) Saul's call to arms in the face of the Ammonite threat was extended to *כל גבול ישראל*. The people responded accordingly.⁵ 4) All the "men of Israel" participated in the renewing of the kingdom at Gilgal.⁶ Although the argument may be based on silence, Saul does not appear to have added a great deal of territory to that already possessed by the Israelites; nor does he seem to have incorporated significant numbers of outsiders into the population.⁷ His

¹E.g. David and his men were based in Ziklag, in Philistine country. 1 Sam. 27:5ff.; 29:11-30:1.

²So also A. Alt, "Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Judah," *VT*, 1 (1951), p. 3 (= *KS*, II, p. 117).

³1 Sam. 8:4. Cf. the reference to the *עם* in v. 7, 10, 19, 21.

⁴1 Sam. 10:20ff.

⁵1 Sam. 11:7f.

⁶1 Sam. 11:14.

⁷But cf. O. Eissfeldt, "The Hebrew Kingdom," *CAH*, 2nd rev. ed., Vol. II, ch. 34 (fasc. 32, p. 40), who interprets 2 Sam. 4:2-3 as implying that Saul had taken Beeroth from the Canaanites. So also Gibeon, 2 Sam. 21:1-14.

conflicts with foreign nations were primarily defensive in nature.

The accession of David to the throne, however, signalled the end to this situation. To begin with, he was crowned king of Judah only,¹ thereby effecting a rift in the political entity. To be sure, "all the tribes of Israel" later anointed him king over the entire nation,² but the seeds of the later permanent separation of north and south had been laid.³ After his authority over all Israel had been recognized, his external activities could commence. He began by wresting Jerusalem from its Jebusite occupants and establishing the city as his capital.⁴ This was followed up with decisive victories over the Philistines.⁵ Although he does not appear to have formally annexed their territory to the land of Israel, the event was of great significance, for it made him the dominant figure in Canaanite political affairs. Consequently, he was able quickly to establish his mastery over the Canaanite city-states which had hitherto

¹2 Sam. 2:4.

²2 Sam. 5:1f.

³A. Alt has argued that the division between north and south was fundamental, and that by being appointed king over both Israel and Judah they were brought together by a 'personal union'. Die Staatenbildung, pp. 42-57 (= KS, II, pp. 33-47; "Formation of the Israelite State," pp. 267ff.). Cf. also M. Noth, The History of Israel, 2nd ed., p. 187, "The only factor uniting the two political structures was the person of the king himself: the link between them was a 'personal union'." This view has, however, been convincingly disputed by Buccellati, Cities and Nations, pp. 146ff. He counters that the political unity of Israel predated the monarchy; the anointing of David over the northern tribes represented a return to the political ideal, not an innovation.

⁴2 Sam. 5:6ff. Alt's contention that Jerusalem was established as a separate city-state (Staatenbildung, pp. 54ff. [= KS, II, pp. 45ff.]; "Das Königtum," pp. 14ff. [= KS, II, pp. 126ff.]), has also been justifiably challenged by Buccellati, loc. cit., pp. 215ff.

⁵2 Sam. 5:17ff.

remained unaffected by the Israelite conquest. These regions were annexed to the land of Israel, and their populations incorporated into the nation. But David's conquests did not end here; in the Transjordan he defeated successively the Moabites,¹ the Aramaeans,² the Edomites,³ and the Ammonites,⁴ transforming them into vassal states. His hegemony throughout the Levant was now secure; his kingdom had been transformed into an empire.

With these developments, the relationship between nation and kingdom received fundamental alterations. The kingdom now extended far beyond the borders of the nation, and the territory which was included under the designation "land of Israel" now incorporated significant numbers of non-Israelite Canaanites. In these events the role of the king was decisive. The new shape of the state was his achievement, and may best be termed the "kingdom/empire of David." Expressions like "kingdom of Israel" have, in a truly national sense, become misnomers.

Although Solomon introduced drastic changes in the administration of the realm,⁵ except for the increasing restiveness of the vassal states,⁶ its shape remained essentially unchanged throughout his reign. With his death, however, rapid disintegration set in. Rehoboam attempted to retain control over the entire nation, but the seeds of discontent sown by previous administrations, and watered by his own oppressive policies

¹ 2 Sam. 8:2.

² 2 Sam. 8:3ff.; 10:6ff.

³ 2 Sam. 8:13f.

⁴ 2 Sam. 10:1-19; 12:26ff.

⁵ 1 Kings 4:1ff.

⁶ 1 Kings 11:14ff.

had begun to bear fruit. Under the talented leadership of Jeroboam, the northern ten tribes managed to secede from the union and to form their own independent kingdom.

By striking at the heart of the notion of "nationhood" in his initial policies, the political genius of Jeroboam became obvious immediately. Although a political and territorial division of Israel had been achieved, he recognized that in the long run the deeply rooted ethnic and religious ties had to be severed. The annual pilgrimages of his subjects to the central shrine in Jerusalem would expose them to Davidide propaganda designed to discredit the legitimacy of his rule and the separate existence of the northern state. With one master-stroke this threat was removed. While appearing to retain the fundamentals of theological orthodoxy,¹ he reconstituted the entire form of the cult, establishing new cult centres at Bethel and Dan, creating new cult objects, instituting a new calendar of cultic rituals and festivals, and installing new cult personnel.² According to the Chronicler, many northerners reacted against these policies, and, refusing to renege their commitment to the worship of Yahweh in Jerusalem, defected to the south.³ This, however, worked to Jeroboam's advantage as well, for it left him with a citizenry purged of dissidents and essentially united in religious ideals as well as in political loyalties. A measure of the effectiveness of these policies is seen in the total silence of the historical records of

¹ 1 Kings 12:28b.

² 1 Kings 12:25-33.

³ 2 Chron. 11:13ff.; cf. 15:9.

any attempts to reunite the nation.¹ The separate existence of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah was maintained for more than two centuries, until the former was eliminated as a political entity by the Assyrians.

When the monarchy was first instituted, the people of Israel thought that the presence of a king would halt the national disintegrating which was occurring under the judges. Indeed it is quite likely that without it the nation might have fragmented. However, although the first three kings managed to preserve the unity of the nation, the long range influence of the monarchy upon the development of national cohesion was largely negative. Although in its inception it had been a national creation, within decades the "nation" had been betrayed. In spite of the distinctions made between Israelites and aliens under Solomon, significant numbers of the latter were incorporated into the population. Furthermore, the citizenry was exploited for the sake of the crown, and favouritism was expressed toward one segment of the nation, all as the consequences of royal policies. Nevertheless, in spite of the monarchy, the awareness of the fundamental unity of Israel and Judah was not allowed to perish. The nationalist cause was championed especially by the prophets, whose messages served as constant reminders of the common ethnic and religious heritage of North and South. They refused to recognize the separate political entities; Israel was one people; she had only one true God, Yahweh, who could be legitimately worshipped only in Jerusalem; the Davidides of

¹The fundamental unity of the nation appears to have been recognized by Hezekiah (2 Chron. 30:1ff.) and Josiah (2 Kings 23:15ff.; 2 Chron. 34:1ff.), both of whom extended their religious reforms into territories formerly encompassed by the northern kingdom. (On these texts see H. G. M. Williamson, Israel in the Books of Chronicles [Cambridge: 1977], p. 128). However, these expressions were too little and too late to provide any lasting positive results.

Jerusalem represented the only legitimate dynasty.¹ Not the division of the nation, nor the successive collapses of both kingdoms, nor the deportation of their respective populations could shake this conviction.²

¹ See the still valuable study of O. Proksch, Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie (Gütersloh: 1933).

² On the post-exilic perspective of the Chronicler, see Williamson, Israel in the Books of Chronicles.

Conclusion

The importance of the kings in the lives of the nations of the ancient Near East can hardly be overestimated. In theory the monarchical institution should have been a most significant benefactor to the development of the national self-consciousness of any nation. Insofar as the kings were expected 1) to provide leadership in the conduct of war and defence, the administration of justice, and the support of the national cult; 2) to model the highest standards of courage, dignity, integrity, justice and piety, thus serving as an ideal for all the citizens; and 3) to embody the collective honour and aspirations of the people, the cause of nationalism should have been promoted. In practice, however, the exercise of leadership was frequently motivated by ambition and personal empire-building, the protection of vested interests. Leadership in the cult was, especially in Northern Israel, replaced by leadership in apostasy and impiety.¹ Far from modelling the highest moral ideals, the kings became known for their inhumanity, treachery, opportunism and injustice. Instead of embodying the collective aspirations of the nation, they became the focus of collective mistrust and hatred, a cause of shame to the nation. On balance, in view of this disparity between the theory and the exercise of the royal office, the influence of the kings of ancient Syria on the development of national self-consciousness appears to have been much less positive than it might have been.

¹Note 1 Kings 14:7ff.; 16:30ff.; 2 Kings 17. But cf. also Solomon, 1 Kings 11:1ff.

CHAPTER IX

THE LINGUISTIC FACTOR

Introduction

The prominence of language in many of the recent nationalist movements¹ demonstrates clearly the importance of the issue. This phenomenon has been investigated by Haugen, who observes that, ideally, nationalists should strive for internal cohesion, on the one hand, and external distinction, on the other. In view of the difficulty of the former when more than one official language is recognized simultaneously, the most practical solution has often been a loosely federated state.²

Concerning the latter, Haugen continues,

Nationalism has also tended to encourage external distinction. . . . In language this has meant the urge not only to have one language, but to have one's own language. This automatically secludes the population from other populations, who might otherwise undermine its loyalty.³

This has meant in reality, that in the absence of such uniformity, states have had to adopt deliberate policies whereby national languages are

¹E.g., the Welsh in Britain, the Quebecois, as well as the native Indians, in Canada.

²E.g., Switzerland. The Quebecois in Canada are demanding cultural and political independence, while remaining economically integrated with the rest of Canada.

³E. Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation," Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings, ed. by J. B. Pride and J. Homes (Harmondsworth: 1972), p. 104 (reprint of the article appearing originally in American Anthropologist, 68 [1966], 222-35). For further reading, in addition to the bibliography provided by Haugen, and several other essays appearing in the same collection, see J. A. Fishman, Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays (Rowley, Mass.: 1972). Fishman also provides an extensive bibliography.

created,¹ or, as in the case of Israel, revived.

A formal investigation of the relationship between language and nationality in the ancient Near East is long overdue. Hitherto, what few studies there have been have been concerned largely with the Akkadian-Sumerian problem in southern Mesopotamia.² Gelb's position on the issue in 1944, which remained unaltered by his investigation sixteen years later, is well known.

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. Quite influential are the ties of tradition in respect to descent. Compactness of geographical position is an important factor, even though parts of the same ethnic unit may at times inhabit widely scattered areas. Religion as an ethnic tie varies in strength. Language as the vehicle of tradition is one of the strongest foundations of a people. As an outward expression language becomes a symbol with which a people is most easily identified. For a people to give up its language in favor of another normally means the renunciation of its own ethnic identity and subsequent assimilation into the ethnic group from which the new language has been taken.

The importance of language in ethnic reconstructions is even more evident in connection with ancient than modern times, for in our day ethnic values are frequently confused with political, nationalistic, and racial attitudes. The ancient Near East is full of pertinent illustrations proving the closest connections between language and people. To quote just a few examples, we know that the Sumerians

¹See especially Fishman's second essay, "The Impact of Nationalism on Language and Language Planning," *ibid.*, pp. 40ff. Cf. also R. A. Hall, Jr., "Pidgins and Creoles as Standard Languages," in *Sociolinguistics*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 142-53.

²See T. Jacobsen, "The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History," *JAOS*, 59 (1939), 485-95 (reprinted in *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, pp. 187-92); I. J. Gelb, "The Function of Language in the Cultural Process of Expansion of Mesopotamian Society," in *City Invincible: A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by A. H. Kraeling and R. M. Adams (Chicago: 1960), pp. 315-28; *idem*, "Sumerians and Akkadians in their Ethno-Linguistic Relationship," in *Genava* (Geneva: 1960), pp. 258-71; C. J. Gadd, "The Cities of Babylonia," *CAH*, 2nd ed., I/2 (1971), pp. 96ff.; F. R. Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader: Ein Problem der Alt-Mesopotamischen Geschichte* MKNAWL, new series, 33/8 (Amsterdam: 1970); J. S. Cooper, "Sumerian and Akkadian in Sumer and Akkad," *Or*, 42 (1973), 239-46; D. O. Edzard, "Sumerer und Semiten in der Frühen Geschichte Mesopotamiens," in *Genava* (Geneva: 1960), pp. 241-58.

lost their ethnic identity when they gave up their language in favour of Babylonian, and that later the Babylonians and Assyrians disappeared as a people when they accepted the Aramaic language. The same trend continued when with the advent of Islam the Arabic language spread over the broad area extending from Mesopotamia to Egypt and beyond. Such cases as these, I believe, justify my acceptance of language as a basic means of distinguishing various ethnic units in the Ancient Near East.¹

Even if these conclusions regarding the role of language in these broad historical developments were correct,² it has not been established that they reflect the situation in Syria in the first half of the first millennium B.C. Our investigation will deal specifically with this aspect, seeking to examine the attitudes of the peoples of that day to current realities.

Because of a lack of direct evidence, the feelings of the peoples of ancient Syria toward the linguistic mosaic in which they moved is not easily determined.³ Nevertheless, hints may be seen here and there in:

1) the terms used to designate "language, dialect";⁴ 2) formal expressions

¹I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 22 (Chicago: 1944), pp. v-vi. The text is repeated in full in both "Function of Language," pp. 315f., and "Sumerians and Akkadians," p. 259. Cf. also W. R. Smith, The Religion of the Semites, new ed. (London: 1894), pp. 6ff., who viewed language as the most obvious criterion of kinship.

²They have been repeatedly challenged. See Jacobsen, Kraus, Cooper, above, p. 589, n. 2.

³Again, our concern is not the nature of the ancient linguistic mosaic, but with the perceptions of the relationship of language to national identity. On the nature of the various languages, the reader is referred to the grammars and related essays. For helpful studies of linguistic awareness in Israel see E. Ullendorff, "The Knowledge of Languages in the Old Testament," BJRL, 44 (1961-62), pp. 455-65; idem, "C'est de l'Hébreu pour moi!" JSS, 13 (1968), pp. 125-35; W. Weinberg, "Language Consciousness in the OT," ZAW, 92 (1980), pp. 185-204.

⁴Strictly speaking, by "language" we mean "a system of learned vocal symbols invested with conventional meanings used in communicating

of the relationship between a people and its speech; 3) traditions concerning the origins of a language. Each of these will be examined in turn.

ideas." In the narrower sense, the symbols will normally vary from one language to another, making them mutually unintelligible. For alternative definitions see M. Pei, Glossary of Linguistic Terminology (Garden City: 1966), p. 141; R. R. K. Hartmann and F. C. Stork, Dictionary of Language and Linguistics (London: 1972), pp. 123f. By a dialect we mean "a social, temporal or regional variation of a language, differing sufficiently from the standardized form of pronunciation, idiom, grammar or vocabulary to be recognized as a distinctive entity, but not enough to be viewed as another language." In written form, dialects will usually be mutually intelligible. However, oral communication between people of widely separated regions may be difficult. The same may be posited hypothetically for individuals in the same national community but widely separated temporally. E.g., would Joshua have understood Malachi? For alternative definitions cf. Pei, pp. 67f.; Hartman and Stork, p. 65. These strict definitions are convenient for modern discussions of the problem, but it is doubtful the ancients were this precise in their distinguishing languages from dialects. Thus in the following discussion, "language" will often be used to cover both semantic fields.

The Vocabulary of the Linguistic Association

The linguistic vocabulary of the ancient Semites is disappointingly limited. From the evidence available it appears that in northwestern dialects only לִשָּׁן and שִׁפְהָ were used.¹ The former appears to have been common Semitic for "tongue", in its most literal sense.² Occasionally, as table 21 indicates, in Hebrew and Aramaic לִשָּׁן denotes the speech which issues from the tongue. In twenty-six texts the word may be interpreted as "language, dialect".³

Although *שִׁפְהָ has yet to appear on an Aramaic or Phoenician text, this root also seems to have been common Semitic.⁴ Literally *שִׁפְהָ signified "lip", the organ of speech. Table 22 reveals that several secondary senses were developed in Hebrew (as well as in the cognate languages), the most natural of which was "speech", which represented the "fruit of the lips".⁵ שִׁפְהָ was also applied to the "brim" of a vessel; the "edge"

¹Cf. Akkadian, pû, "mouth", which in some contexts approaches the sense "language". Note Lyon, Sargon, Cylinder Inscription, lines 72f. (= ARAB, II, #122), which speaks of people of "foreign language (lišānu aḥītu) and "divergent speech" (atmē lā mitharti) being made "one mouth" (pā istēn). The last expression, however, usually denotes "unity of mind, agreement". Cf. AHw, p. 873. But in the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi V:22, in the expression pī matim, pū clearly means "language". For the text see A. Pohl and R. Follet, Codex Hammurabi: transcriptio et versio Latina (Rome: 1950), p. 12.

²Hebrew לִשָּׁן (BDB, p. 546); Aramaic לִשָּׁן (BDB, p. 1099; DISO, p. 140); Akkadian lišānu (CAD, 9, pp. 212ff.; AHw, p. 556); Ugaritic lšn (UT, p. 429, #1398).

³Hebrew: Gen. 10:5,20,31; Deut. 28:49; Isa 28:11; 33:19; 66:18; Jer. 5:15; Ezek. 3:5,6; Zech. 8:23; Ps. 55:10(לִשָּׁן may also be interpreted literally here); Esth. 1:22 (bis); 3:12; 8:9 (bis); Dan. 1:4; Neh. 13:24. Aramaic: Dan. 3:4,7,29,31; 5:19; 6:26; 7:14.

⁴Hebrew, שִׁפְהָ (BDB, p. 973); Akkadian, šaptu (AHw, p. 1176); Ugaritic, špt (UT, #2461).

⁵The expression פְּרִים שִׁפְתֵינוּ, literally, "bulls, our lips", in

TABLE 21

THE FREQUENCY, DISTRIBUTION AND USAGE OF 𐤀
IN NORTHWEST SEMITIC WRITINGS*

Book	Tongue	Speech	Language	Other	Totals
Genesis	. . .	. . .	3	. . .	3
Exodus	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	2
Deuteronomy	. . .	. . .	1	. . .	1
Joshua	1	. . .	. . .	5**	6
Judges	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
2 Samuel	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Isaiah	9	1	3	2***	15
Jeremiah	5	. . .	1	. . .	6
Ezekiel	2	. . .	2	. . .	4
Hosea	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Micah	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Zephaniah	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Zechariah	1	. . .	1	. . .	2
Psalms	33	1	1	. . .	35
Job	8	1	. . .	. . .	9
Proverbs	18	1	. . .	. . .	19
Canticles	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Lamentations	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Qoheleth	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Esther	. . .	. . .	5†	. . .	5
Daniel	. . .	. . .	8†	. . .	8
Nehemiah	. . .	. . .	1	. . .	1
Subtotals	87	4	26	7	124
KAI 214 (Hadad)	. . .	1	. . .	. . .	1
KAI 224 (Sefire)	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	2
Warka	5†	. . .	. . .	. . .	5
Deir ^c Alla	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Ahiqar	1	1	. . .	. . .	2
Subtotals	9	2	. . .	. . .	11
Grand Totals	96	6	26	7	135

* The distinctions of usage, especially between "tongue" and "speech" are not always precise.

** Josh. 7:21,24 ("bar of gold"); 15:2,5; 18:19 ("bay" of the sea).

*** Isa. 11:15 ("bay" of the sea); 5:24 ("tongue of fire").

† These include one Hebrew and seven Aramaic occurrences.

‡ These are written in cuneiform. Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, "La tablette cunéiforme araméenne de Warka," *RA*, 39 (1942-1944), pp. 34-62.

TABLE 22

THE FREQUENCY, DISTRIBUTION AND USAGE OF שֵׁפַח IN THE OLD TESTAMENT*

Book	Lip	Speech	Language	Brim of Container	Edge of Object	Edge of Valley, Town	Shore, Bank	Totals
Genesis	. . .	1	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	8
Exodus	. . .	2	. . .	1	11	. . .	3	17
Leviticus	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Numbers	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3
Deuteronomy	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2	. . .	3
Joshua	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	3	1	4
Judges	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	1	2
1 Samuel	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2
1 Kings	. . .	. . .	. . .	5	. . .	. . .	2	7
2 Kings	1	. . .	. . .	1	. . .	. . .	1	3
Isaiah	9	1	3	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	13
Jeremiah	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Ezekiel	. . .	1	2	. . .	1	. . .	3	7
Hosea	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Habakkuk	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Zephaniah	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Malachi	2	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	2
Psalms	26	1	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	28
Job	11	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	12
Proverbs	43	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	47
Canticles	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	4
Lamentations	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Qoheleth	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1
Daniel	1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	1	2
2 Chronicles	. . .	. . .	. . .	4	. . .	. . .	1	5
Totals	109	11	10	11	12	6	17	176

* The root has not surfaced in extra-biblical texts.

or "border" of an object; the "edge" of a valley or geographical site; the "bank" of a river, or "shore" of a body of water.¹ Apparently, the significance "language, dialect", was a uniquely Hebrew development.²

The close relationship between שפה and לשון in Hebrew is reflected by the frequency with which these expressions are paired with each other, on the one hand,³ and with פה, "mouth", on the other.⁴ The construct relation, שפה לשון, "lip of the tongue", i.e., the ability to speak, appears in Job 12:20 and Ezek. 36:3.

The combined total of only thirty-six specific references to "language" in the entire corpus of the Canaanite and Aramaic texts suggests that this matter was not the subject of a great deal of reflection. Indeed the extra-biblical sources never even hint at the phenomenon of language. This is probably due in part at least to the accidents of preservation and discovery; references to language do occur in contemporary and earlier Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts.⁵ However, given the

Hos. 14:3, is interpreted by LXX and Syr. as פרי משפתינו, "the fruit from our lips". Some interpret the ן on פרים as enclitic. So H. W. Wolff, Dodekapropheten 1: Hosea, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1965), p. 301.

¹Cf. BDB, p. 974, for references.

²This sense appears ten times in the Old Testament: Gen. 11:1, 6,7,9; Isa. 19:18; 28:11; 33:19; Ezek. 3:5,6; Ps. 81:6.

³Isa. 28:11; 30:27; 33:19; 59:3; Ezek. 3:5,6; Ps. 12:4; 34:14; 71:24; 119:72; 140:4; Prov. 12:19; 15:2; Job 27:4; Cant. 4:11.

⁴Cf. BDB, pp. 546 and 973.

⁵See CAD, 9, pp. 212ff., s.v. lišānu. Some of these references will be considered below. For a recent study of related texts see A. Borst, Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte und Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker, Vol. I: Fundamente und Aufbau (Stuttgart: 1957), pp. 32-42 (Egypt), 74-89 (Mesopotamia).

royal nature of most of the inscriptions, and the preoccupation of politicians with territory, power and prestige, linguistic realities were of little consequence.

The Expression of the Linguistic Association

In the absence of any clear statement of a one-to-one correspondence between nations and languages, proof of the notion depends upon indirect evidence. This may be of three types: 1) genitive constructions whereby a term for "language" is associated with a designation for "nation"; 2) the juxtaposing of terms for "nation" and "language" in parallelism, or the substitution of a term for "nation" with an expression for "language"; 3) the identification of a language by a national name.

Genitival Constructions

The genitive relation may be expressed either by bound constructions or by the use of pronominal suffixes. Six instances of the former occur, four of which involve לשן. All are found in post-exilic texts. Zech. 8:23 speaks of men מכל לשנות הגוים grasping the garment of a יהודי in recognition of the presence of God with his people. Est. 1:22 is difficult. According to MT it appears that Xerxes' decree charged all men to be rulers in their own homes, speaking עמו כלשון. It is hard to understand why the latter clause should have been included since this normally transpires in one's home, indeed often long after the official language may have changed. It seems best, therefore, to relate the participle מדבר to the issuing of the decree, rather than to its content.¹

¹So NIV. BHS, following LXX recommends omitting the phrase entirely. NEB follows the emendation, ומדבר כל נשיו עמו. So also L. H. Brockington, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, NCB (London: 1966), p. 175. Cf. C. A. Moore, Esther: Introduction, Translation and Notes, Anchor Bible (Garden City: 1971), p. 12, kol soweh Cimmo, "whatever suited him; G. Gerleman, Esther, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1973), pp. 69f., who reads m^edubbar, "damit jeder Lehnherr in der Sprache seines Volkes angeredet wurde."

The text of Neh. 13:24 is not clear either, but the expression **כלשון עם** **ועם**, appears to mean "according to the language of the various peoples."¹ Significantly, each of these references has either **עם** or **גוי** as the genitive. One such **עם** is specifically named in the expression **לשון כשדים**, Dan. 1:4.

שפה, when bearing the significance "language", appears with a genitive only twice. Gen. 11:9 speaks of **שפת כל הארץ**. This occurrence, however, is irrelevant to the present discussion. Of great importance is **שפת כנען**, identified in Isa. 19:18 as the language which the Egyptians will speak in the great eschatological day. The expression has been commonly understood to refer to Hebrew.² But Ullendorff proposes, "some Canaanite lingua franca which may have remained in oral use but was obviously excluded from written sources."³ It is possible on the other hand, to recognize here a reference to a general linguistic category, which included not only Hebrew, but also Moabite, Ammonite and Edomite as well, and which in the context may have been intended as a counterpart to Egyptian. As a sign of the radical transformation in Egypt, the language which these other nations had adopted long ago would also become common in this land. Interestingly, in the expression, the language is identified

¹Cf. Est. 1:22; 3:12; 8:9, where **עם ועם** means "each people". In each case the expression is followed by **כלשוננו**. On the construction see Davidson, Syntax, #29 R8.

²So J. Mauchline, Isaiah 1-39: Introduction and Commentary, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: 1962), p. 159; A. S. Herbert, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah 1-39, CBC (Cambridge: 1973), p. 125. The latter adds, "the proper language of worship."

³BJRL, 44 (1961-62), p. 455. Cf. Weinberg, p. 186, who states ". . . the prophesy is too vague to draw any clear linguistic conclusions from it."

with a geographic rather than an ethnic entity.¹

Pronominal suffixes attached to a term for "language" are restricted almost entirely to לִשָּׁן. Deut. 28:49 and Jer. 5:15 are similar in their association of לִשָּׁן with לִשְׁנוֹ. עַם וְעַם appears as the antecedent of לִשְׁנוֹ in Est. 1:22, 3:12, and 8:9. According to Gen. 10:5, each of the אֱלֵי הַגּוֹיִם has לִשְׁנוֹ. Within the same context, both the sons of Ham (v. 20) and the sons of Shem (v. 31) are identified on the basis of, among other factors, לִשְׁנוֹ.² The only instance in which the language of a specific people is identified in this way is Est. 8:9. Here Ahasuerus' message is sent "to every province according to its script as well as שְׂפַת שְׂפָתָם" Gen. 11:7 contains the only example of שְׂפַת (in the linguistic sense) appearing with a suffix. Here the antecedent of שְׂפַתָם is the people of Babel.

Designations for "Nation" and "Language" in Parallelism

In several of the texts in which לִשָּׁן is paralleled with a term for "nation" the former expression represents not the language itself,

¹The Hebrew use of the construct relation to associate language and nation, though unparalleled in Northwest Semitic, has its counterparts in both Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts. From the former see ANET, p. 19, according to which the ruler of Qedem commends himself to Sinuhe with the words, "Thou wilt do well with me, and thou wilt hear the speech of Egypt," a reference, as the following lines suggest, to the Egyptians in his court. From Babylon, Hammurabi writes, "I established justice in the language of the land (*pī mātīm*), thereby promoting the welfare of the people." (V:14ff.). Cf. also the note from Sennacherib's annals, *bīt appāte . . . ša ina li-ša-a-ni Amurri bīt hilāni*, "a portico . . . which they call *bīt hilāni* in the language of Amurru" (OIP 2 97:82). The elements are reversed in VAB 3 103, #2:16 (Darius), *šar mātāti ša naphar li-ša-na-a-ta gabbi*, "king of the countries of all languages." Cf. CAD, 9, p. 214, "all nationalities".

²The antecedent to לִשְׁנוֹ in Ps. 55:10 is not certain, but it appears to be the enemies referred to earlier.

but those who speak it. This is clearly the case in Isa. 66:18, "The time is coming to gather all גוים and לשונות" as well as the numerous occurrences in the Aramaic sections of Daniel in which לשון is juxtaposed with עמ and אמה.¹ The parallelism is not synonymous but complementary in Gen. 10:5,² 20, and 31, where לשון is correlated with ארץ, משפחה, and גוי. Note, however, that in each case לשון is exceptionally singular in form. The identification of the עמ with its שפה is indisputable in Gen. 11:6, הן עם אחד ושפה אחת, the only occurrence of this parallel pair.

Languages Identified by Name

The biblical texts identify specific languages by name only on rare occasions. In Gen. 31:45ff., the significance of the commemorative cairn erected by Jacob and Laban is expressed in the two languages represented by the parties to the agreement, Hebrew³ and Aramaic,⁴ respectively. Nevertheless, the author does not identify them as such.

References to Aramaic occur in three different contexts. In 2 Kings 18:26⁵ the officials of Hezekiah protest against Rabshakeh's use

¹3:29 (עם//אמה//לשון); 3:4,7,31; 5:19; 6:26; 7:14 (all עממיא//לשניא//אמיא).

²Similar usage may also be observed in Akkadian. Cf. Note ABL 238 r:6, lišānāte ma'dāti ina Nippur ina šilli šarri bēliya, "Many foreign peoples (lit. "languages") are in Nippur, under the protection of the king, my lord." From Persian times cf. VAB 3 85, #1:7, ina qacqar agā rapsātu ša mātāte mādētū ina libbišu Parsu Madaya u mātāte sanītima li-ša-nu sanītu, "on this wide earth on which there are many countries, Persia (and) Media (and) other countries, other nationalities". So CAD, 9, p. 214.

³גלעד, "heap of witness".

⁴אגודת, "the cairn of witness". On the linguistic significance of this text, see Weinberg, pp. 187f.

⁵= Isa. 36:11. On the texts, cf. Weinberg, pp. 186f.; Ullendorff, BJRL, 44 (1961-62), pp. 456ff. Here we have an illustration of

of יהודית to defy their king publicly. They advise him to use ארמית instead, a language which they as government officials express competence in, but which the general population, represented by these on the wall, found incomprehensible. Whereas in Dan. 1:4 reference had been made simply to the לשון כשדים, in 2:4 the language spoken by the כשדים in Nebuchadnezzar's court is identified as ארמית. This is not surprising, first because the Chaldeans were ethnically related to the Aramaeans, and probably spoke a similar language,¹ and second, because they were officials of the court. Appropriately, from this point in the book, and until the end of chapter 7, the text is also in Aramaic.² The final occurrence of the name ארמית is found in Ezra 4:7. In contrast to the previous text, which identified the language used within the Babylonian court, this reference speaks of the language used in official written correspondence with the king.³

bilingualism from two perspectives: 1) foreign conquerors who have learned the vernacular of an invaded nation; 2) officials in an invaded land who have learned the imperial language.

¹Cf. Brinkman, PKB, pp. 260ff.

²On the Aramaic of the book of Daniel see esp. K. A. Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," Notes on Some problems in the Book of Daniel, ed. by D. J. Wiseman (London: 1965), pp. 31-79; E. Y. Kutscher, "Aramaic," in Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa, Current Trends in Linguistics, 6, ed. by T. A. Seboek (The Hague & Paris: 1970), pp. 143-46; J. C. Greenfield, "Standard Literary Aramaic," in Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, ed. by A. Caquot and D. Cohen (Paris: 1974), pp. 284ff.; J. A. Fitzmyer, The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1, 2nd rev. ed., Biblica et Orientalia, 18 (Rome: 1971), p. 22, n. 60. For a contrary position see H. H. Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament (Oxford: 1929).

³The meaning of the expression ומתרגם ארמית is not certain. Some interpret it simply as a scribal note indicating to the reader that what follows in the text is in Aramaic (cf. Dan. 2:4). So Brockington, loc. cit., p. 68; J. M. Myers, Ezra-Nehemiah: Introduction, Translation and Notes, Anchor Bible (Garden City: 1965), p. 33.

The name אַרַמִּית as a designation of the language, appears to have been derived from the name of people to whom it was native, i.e., the Aramaeans. This suggests an original identification of language and nation. But few, if any, of those in the Old Testament who are said to use the language were ethnic Aramaeans:¹ Rabshakeh was Assyrian; Nebuchadnezzar's officials were Chaldaean; Tabeel may have been Aramaean, but his associates involved in the letter to Artaxerxes were Persian, Hebrew, Babylonian and Elamite;² Daniel and Ezra, the purported authors of the Aramaic biblical texts were Hebrew. It is apparent that by this time Aramaic had ceased to be a distinctively national language.

Est. 8:9 refers to the יְהוּדִים as possessing their own script and language without actually naming either. The identification of the latter occurs on only two occasions, the Rabshakeh affair referred to above,³ and Neh. 13:24. In the former text יְהוּדִית represents the speech of the common folk of Jerusalem. In the latter, Nehemiah bemoans the loss of the native tongue among the second generation citizens of the new commonwealth.

That the language should have been identified as יְהוּדִית is significant for several reasons: 1) The name is derived from the name of the geo-political entity, which in turn originated with the name of the tribe occupying it. An intimate relationship among people, land and language may therefore, be recognized. 2) The dialect of Judah appears to have been distinguished from that of Northern Israel, whose origins, according to the traditions of the Old Testament, were closely related ethnically

¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 278f. and Bowman, "Arameans, Aramaic and the Bible," *JNES*, 7 (1948), p. 66.

² Ezra 4:9.

³ 2 Kings 18:26 = Isa. 36:11 = 2 Chron. 32:18.

to the Judaeans. Had this distinction not been made, a designation for the language like **ישראלית** after **בני ישראל**, would have been anticipated. But this name was probably reserved for the dialect of the Northern Kingdom, its usage passing from the scene with the end of that state. Interestingly, **עברית**, which in later times establishes itself as the name of the Judaeans dialect, first appears as **Ἑβραϊστῆ** in Ben Sirach's prologue to Ecclesiasticus.¹ 3) Although both historical contexts in which the name is mentioned involve relations with non-Judaeans, in each case the term represents the name of the speaker's own language. 4) The name continues in use even after the political entity has ceased to exist, the territory has been reduced to a small area around Jerusalem, and the region formerly known as Judah has incorporated many ethnic non-Judaeans. Indeed the number of actual Judaeans nationals had been reduced to a mere handful. Although, as was mentioned earlier, the central issue in Neh. 13:24 was actually religious, spiritual fidelity, language, and national identity were so intertwined that to lose the language was to forfeit one's position in the community. The linguistic factor had outlived the territorial,² political, and in this context, even the ethnic factors.³ The maintenance of Judaeans identity was tied to the retention of the language.⁴

¹Ullendorff, *BJRL*, 44 (1961-62), 456, suggests the absence of **עברית** from the Old Testament is "no more than sheer accident . . ." In view of the frequent identification of Israelites as **עבריים** by foreigners (cf. e.g., K. Koch, "Die Hebräer vom Auszug aus Ägypten bis zum Grossreich Davids," *VT*, 19 [1969], pp. 37ff.) their dialect may well have been identified as **עברית** much earlier.

²Cf. the commission to Ezekiel in Babylon to minister to his own people, **בית ישראל**, and not those of foreign speech, 3:5ff.

³In Neh. 13:24, no concern is expressed for the maintenance of racial purity, as it is in Ezra 9:2.

⁴The modern state of Israel presents an interesting study in the

Ashdodite is the only other language named in the Old Testament (Neh. 13:24). The use of אַשְׁדּוּדִית, rather than פְּלִשְׁתִּית probably reflects the dominance of Ashdod in Philistia in the fifth century.¹ In any case, here we have a dialect whose name derives from the name of a city, a rather limited toponym. It is reasonable to propose that wherever dialectal distinctions were associated with a specific territory, that dialect could assume the name of the region.²

Antithetical Expressions

The Greek language possesses one concise expression for "to speak in a foreign language", βαρβαρίζω, from which is derived the noun βάρβαρος, "one who speaks a foreign or strange language".³ The Hebrews used several different phrases to express the same notion.⁴ Probably the most natural, as well as neutral, was לְשׁוֹן אַחֵרָה, literally "another tongue". In

development of names with specialized usages. E.g., the state = Israel; people = Jews; land = Palestine; language = Hebrew; religion = Judaism.

¹So also A. Alt, "Judas Nachbarn zur Zeit Nehemiahs," PJB, 27 (1931), 72 (= KS II, pp. 342f.). Ullendorff, loc. cit., 461, suggests that to the Hebrews the Ashdodites represented the Philistines par excellence.

²Note that in Neh. 13:24 there is no reference to the incomprehensibility of Ashdodite. It is quite likely that the Philistines, like the Hebrews, had adopted the language of Canaan. Cf. the ability already in the period of the Judges for Samson to communicate with the Philistines (Judg. 14-16). Ashdodite here may, therefore, have been nothing more than an easily recognizable dialect, transmitted from mother to children, but which synecdochically represented an entire culture, alien to the Jewish nation. But cf. Ullendorff, JSS, 13 (1968), pp. 133f., who views Ashdodite as standing for "some barbarous and unintelligible tongue . . . selected in this passage as a model of a non-Semitic and totally incomprehensible language."

³Cf. Liddell & Scott, s.v. H. Windisch, "βάρβαρος," TDNT, I, pp. 546f., describes its basic meaning as "stammering, stuttering, uttering unintelligible sounds."

⁴For a helpful discussion of the problem of foreign speech in the

Isa. 28:11, however, this expression is combined with *לעגי שפה*, "stammering tongue". Both are associated with the enigmatic *כי צו לצו צו לצו לצו* of the previous verse.¹ A verb form of *לעג* appears in Isa. 33:19, *עם עמקי שפה משמוע נלעג לשון אין בינה*. Fortunately, the significance of *עמקי שפה* and *נלעג לשון* are spelled out in this instance; both represent expressions for unintelligible speech. In view of the more common use of *לעג* in biblical Hebrew for "to mock, deride",² and the present context, which deals with the oppression of foreign enemies, the choice of the term was probably deliberate, to reflect a nuance of threat. This threat becomes explicit in Deut. 28:49 and Jer. 5:15, both of which speak of a *גוי* speaking "a language you do not know".³ In the former, this characteristic accompanies expressions describing the nation as an enemy who will enslave, one that is distant, of fierce countenance, having

Hebrew writings, biblical and later, see Ullendorff, *JSS*, 13 (1968), 125-35.

¹The expressions are commonly understood as imitations of the incomprehensible babble of babies. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1979), pp. 1060f. Cf. Ullendorff, *loc. cit.*, 131, who interprets v. 11, "in gibberish and barbarous tongue." However G. R. Driver, in *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet*, 3rd ed., revised and edited by S. A. Hopkins (London: 1976), pp. 89f. and W. W. Hallo, "Isaiah 28: 9-13 and the Ugaritic Abecedaries," *JBL*, 77 (1958), pp. 324-38, understand *צו* and *קו* as ancient letter names being used in a spelling lesson. But this interpretation is rejected by Hopkins, editor of *Semitic Writing*, p. 242, who prefers to see *צו* and *קו* as onomatopaeic, partly "reproducing the 'shouts and cries of a party of drunkards', but partly also as echoing the *קיא* 'vomiting' and *צאה* 'excrement' of v. 8".

²Cf. Wildberger, *loc. cit.*, who perceives a reference to dark, mysterious speech. It is a fearful thing to have to deal with a people whom one does not understand.

³Deut. 28:49, *גוי אשר לא תשמע לשנו*; Jer. 5:15, *גוי לא תדע לשנו לא תשמע מה ידבר*. On the textual problems of this verse see J. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, 6 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1973), p. 97.

no respect for the aged and no mercy toward the young, destroying the herds and crops, and besieging the towns until their inhabitants resort to cannibalism. Unintelligible speech is but one of many fearful attributes. In a less foreboding context, Ps. 81:6 modifies the phrase slightly to שפה לא ידעתי אשמע.¹ The expression עם עמקי שפה, literally "deep of lip", which occurs in Isa. 33:19 reappears twice in Ezekiel 3:5-6, both times in conjunction with כבוד לשון, "heavy of tongue".² These phrases have been interpreted as referring to the guttural sound of foreign speech to the Hebrew ear.³ However, this use of עמק is unprecedented. In several other instances the term does signify "deep", in the sense of "difficult, unfathomable".⁴ Furthermore, as Ullendorff notes, there is little evidence to suggest that Akkadian and/or Aramaic were more guttural than Hebrew.⁵ The traditional interpretation, "a people of strange speech and difficult language" remains acceptable.⁶

¹On the construct governing a finite verb see Davidson, Syntax, 25. Cf. also Dahood, Psalms II, p. 264. In the present context, however, the unknown language is not that of foreigners, but divine. So also Kraus, Psalmen, p. 562, Briggs, Psalms II, p. 211. The idea of a divine language differing from that of men was also characteristic of the Hittites. Cf. J. Friedrich, "Göttersprache und Menschensprache im hethitischen Schrifttum," in Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, A. Debrunner Festschrift (Bern: 1954), pp. 135-39.

²On the textual problems involved in these verses see W. Zimmerli, Ezechiel, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1969), p. 11; J. W. Wevers, Ezekiel, NCB (London: 1969), p. 54.

³E.g., G. A. Cooke, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel, ICC (Edinburgh: 1936), p. 39, "a people whose speech sounded guttural and thick to Hebrew ears."

⁴Cf. Ps. 64:7; Qoh. 7:24 (MT עמק); Job 12:22 (MT עמקות). Cf. the common use of עמק meaning "deep" in a physical sense. E.g., Prov. 18:4; 20:5; 22:14; 23:27; etc.

⁵JSS; 13 (1968), pp. 128f.

⁶So AV, RSV. The expression, כבד פה וכבד לשון, in Exod. 4:10 has

Although neither לשון nor שפה appears in Ps. 114:1, the presence of the hapax legomenon, לעז, is of interest to the present discussion. The final words of בצאת ישראל ממצרים בית יעקב מעם לעז are translated in LXX as ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου, "from a people of strange language". A Midrashic interpretation of לעז made the form an abbreviation for לשון עם זר.¹ However, the root is attested with a related sense in Arabic,² Syriac,³ and perhaps also in Akkadian.⁴ According to Ullendorff, in post-biblical Hebrew the word was commonly employed for "any foreign language and especially for that which served, in a particular country and at a particular time, as the foreign tongue par excellence."⁵

quite a different significance, referring there to an inability to speak fluently. See the recent study by J. H. Tigay. "'Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue': On Moses' Speech Difficulty," BASOR, 231 (1978), 57-67. Also Weinberg, loc. cit., pp. 191ff.

¹Ullendorff, JSS, 13 (1968), pp. 130.

²E. W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, 2 Books (London: 1885), Book I, Part 7, p. 266r, "enigmatic, obscure speech."

³R. P. Smith, ed. Thesaurus Syriacus, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1901), Vol. 2, pp. 1961f.

⁴It is possible that לעז is to be associated with Akkadian lâšu, "to mock" (identified by von Soden as a Canaanite loanword, AHw, p. 539), or lezu, "to stutter" (AHw, p. 548). The etymological connection has been suggested by F. R. Kraus, "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform," ZA, 43 (1936), p. 85. Cf. H. J. Kraus, Psalmen, II, p. 114, "Die fremde Sprache gilt im Altertum nicht als richtiges Sprechen, sondern als Stammeln." In view of the appropriateness of the traditional interpretation, and the cognate evidence, Dahood's re-pointing to לעז (Psalms, III, p. 134) appears gratuitous. Several Akkadian expressions for foreign speech, resembling these Hebrew forms, are of interest. E.g., li-ša-an-šu-nu egrū, "their languages are difficult" (UET 1 146 iii-iv:6); lišānu aḫitu atmē lā mithurti, "foreign languages, diverse speech" (Lyon, Sargon, p. 46, line 92f.); for lišānu aḫitum, cf. also R. C. Thompson, The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum, 3 vols. (London: 1900), 62:3; li-šā-na nakirta, "foreign languages" (AOB, 1, 64:45). For additional references cf. CAD, 9, pp. 213f.

⁵JSS, 13 (1961), p. 130.

Unfortunately, all of our evidence for a recognition of foreign languages has derived from Hebrew sources, producing, perhaps an imbalance in our perceptions for the broader region. In the absence of relevant data from Phoenicia or Aram, therefore, this imbalance may be redressed in part by referring to sources preserved from the peoples adjacent to our sphere of primary concern. From Egypt, the following excerpt from the fourteenth century B.C. "Hymn to Aton" recognizes language along with a collective personality and physical qualities as distinctive features of foreign peoples:¹

The countries of Syria and Nubia, the land of Egypt,
 Thou (Aton) settest every man in his place,
 Thou suppliest their necessities:
 Everyone has his food, and his time of life is reckoned.
 Their tongues are separate in speech,
 And their natures as well;
 Their skins are distinguished,
 As thou distinguishest the foreign peoples.²

Of a different genre but even more illuminating because of its chronological correspondence with our investigation, is the 7th century story of the arrival of a rider from Gugu, speaking an incomprehensible language, at the court of Ashurbanipal:

¹Cf. also Isa. 18:2,7, where the Ethiopians are recognized as a יגל/ם fierce, tall and smooth.

²ANET, p. 370. Cf. also the reference to the teaching of Egyptian to the Negro, the Syrian and all types of foreigners in A. Erman, Die Literatur der Aegypter: Gedichte, Erzählungen und Lehrbücher aus dem 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. (Leipzig: 1923), p. 302. Herodotus, in The Histories 2. 2, describes an interesting experiment by Psammeticus to determine the nation of the greatest antiquity. Assuming an identity of language and people, he had arranged for the rearing of two newly-born children without ever being spoken to, thus hoping to discover the natural language of mankind, i.e., that which one speaks without instruction. To his surprise, the first word spoken was Phrygian, thereby forcing the conclusion that the Phrygians were a more ancient people than the Egyptians.

1	[<u>rak</u> bušu it[]	"his rider [set out]
2	<u>ana</u> ša'āl <u>šul</u> [melya	to inquire of my well-being.
3	<u>iṭhā</u> <u>ana</u> <u>misir</u> <u>mātiya</u>	He reached the border of my country
4	<u>nišē</u> <u>mātiya</u> <u>imurūsuma</u>	My men spotted him, and asked him:
5	<u>mannumē</u> <u>atta</u> <u>aḫu</u> <u>iqbūšu</u>	'Who are you stranger, you,
6	<u>ša</u> <u>matēma</u> <u>rakbūkun</u>	whose (country's) rider
7	<u>daraggu</u> <u>lā</u> <u>iškuna</u> <u>ana</u> <u>kisurri</u>	never travelled the road to the frontier?'
8	<u>ana</u> <u>Ninua</u> <u>āl</u> <u>bēlūtiya</u>	They brought him to Niniveh ^e , my royal city,
9	[] <u>ūbilūnišsu</u> <u>ina</u> <u>maḥriya</u>	into my presence.
10	<u>lišāne</u> <u>šit</u> <u>šamši</u> <u>ereb</u> <u>šamši</u>	(But of) all the languages of East and of West,
11	<u>ša</u> <u>Aššur</u> <u>umallu</u> <u>qatū'a</u>	over which the god Ashur has given me control,
12	<u>bēl</u> <u>lišānišu</u> <u>ul</u> <u>ibšima</u>	there was no interpreter of his tongue.
13	<u>lišān</u> [šu] <u>nakratma</u>	His language was foreign, so that
14	<u>lā</u> <u>išemmu</u> <u>atmūšu</u>	his words were not understood.
15	<u>ultu</u> <u>misir</u> <u>mātišu</u>	From his territory . . .
16	[] <u>ittišu</u> <u>ūbi</u> [la]	he brought with him . . . " ¹

The significance of the text is two-fold. On the one hand, it illustrates the importance of language as an indicator of national identity. The rider's origin outside the empire of Ashurbanipal is betrayed by his incomprehensible speech. Presumably the engaging of interpreters was an important feature of neo-Assyrian administration of subjugated peoples.² However, no one in the king's court was capable of translating this person's language. On the other hand, it demonstrates the close association

¹As translated by M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, "Gyges and Ashurbanipal: A Study in Literary Transmission," *Or*, 46 (1977), p. 68; cf. A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal*, AS, 5 (Chicago: 1933), p. 16.

²This is illustrated in the Rabshakeh incident recorded in 2 Kings 18:26 = Isa. 36:11 = 2 Chron. 32:18.

of language and territory observed earlier. In line 10 the extent of the empire is defined in terms of linguistic entities which Ashur had delivered into Ashurbanipal's power. Lišanum here stands for a region or people characterized by a distinctive language. Normally mātum would have been preferred in a context such as this.¹

The Origins of the Linguistic Association

Until recently the biblical Tower of Babel incident in Gen. 11: 1-9 was believed to have been unparalleled in ancient Near Eastern thought. Although Speiser has argued that the account "had a demonstrable source in cuneiform literature," this connection was concentrated primarily in the tower itself, whose construction he related to the building of Esagila, the temple of Marduk, in Babylon. The application of the motif to explain the multiplicity of languages, however, was novel and unique.²

Thanks to the efforts of Gurney, Kramer has now been able to fill in the lacuna of a previously published Sumerian text,³ thereby restoring what he argues to be a genuine parallel to the motif of the division of the languages as well.⁴ The text reads as follows:

¹Cf. the similar use of לשון in the frequent triad עממיה, אמיה, לשניה, in Daniel (e.g., 3:4); and the identification of the עמים by their languages in Esther (e.g., 1:22). It is apparent that the linguistic differences among subject peoples were respected by the neo-Babylonian and Persian monarchs.

²E. A. Speiser, Genesis, pp. 75f.

³S. N. Kramer, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran, Museum Monographs (Philadelphia: 1952), pp. 14/15.

⁴S. N. Kramer, "The 'Babel of Tongues': A Sumerian Version," JAOS, 88 (1968), 108-111. Cf. his earlier article, "Man's Golden Age: A Sumerian Parallel to Genesis XI 1," JAOS, 63 (1943), 191-94, in which he interpreted the text as describing the condition of man before the diffusion of languages, reminiscent of Genesis 11:1. Similarly,

- 136 Once upon a time there was no snake, there was no scorpion,
 There was no hyena, there was no lion,
 There was no wild (?) dog, no wolf,
 There was no fear, no terror,
 140 Man had no rival.

In those days, the lands of Subur (and) Hamazi,
 Harmony-tongued (?) Sumer, the great land of the decrees of prince-
 ship,

- Uri, the land having all that is appropriate (?),
 The land of Martu, resting in security,
 145 The whole universe, the people in unison (?),
 To Enlil in one tongue spoke.

Then a-da the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,
 Enki a-da the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,
 a-da the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,

- 150 Enki, the lord of abundance, (whose) commands are trustworthy,
 The lord of wisdom, who understands the land,
 The leader of the gods,
 Endowed with wisdom, the l[ord] of Eridu,
 Changed the speech in their mouths,
 [brought (?)] contention into it,
 Into the speech of man that (until then) had been one.

The crux of the text is the expression, EME-HA-MUN, in line 142, here rendered "harmony-tongued," which Kramer expands as "one and the same language,"¹ Unfortunately, for our purposes, this translation has found little acceptance, and most see in the phrase a reference either to disunity of mind,² or symmetry of speech.³ In either case, its value as a

J. Van Dijk, "La 'confusion des langues'. Note sur le lexique et sur la morphologie d'Enmerkar, 147-155," Or, n.s., 39 (1970), pp. 302-10.

¹JAOS, 88, p. 111.

²T. Jacobsen, "Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article," JNES, 5 (1946), 148, n., translates the phrase "mutually opposed tongues." "The line then expresses that on one thing the motley of countries and people mentioned could all agree: praise to Enlil. It is unity of mind, not unity of language, with which the ancient poet is concerned." Cf. CAD, 4, p. 361; 9, p. 213, "contradictory statements." The key to the interpretation is a bilingual text, in which the Sumerian expression is juxtaposed with Akkadian lišan mithurti:

EME-HA-MUN MU-AŠ-GIM SI BA-NI-IB-SA-E
lišan mithurti kī istēn su[me tušte]šir

"You straighten out contradictory statements as if they had one (and the same) wording." For the text see P. A. Schollmeyer, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Samaš (Paderborn: 1912), pp. 31 (line 80) and 50 (line 10). (= VR 50,51 I:79-80 and IVR 19:9-10, respectively).

³W. von Soden, in a review of Borst, Der Turmbau von Babel,

parallel to Genesis 11 is nullified.

A Babylonian tradition deriving from the much later historian Berossus (4th century B.C.) has been reconstructed by Schnabel as follows:

1) Together with the first human population, the creator god Bel constructed the wall of Babylon, its temple (Esagila), as well as the tiered tower of the latter (Etemenanki). 2) Under the rule of Bel, men were united and monolingual, and without cities. 3) Nabu, the inventor of writing, however, intervened and taught the inhabitants various languages, thereby causing the first conflict.¹

Although the reason for the intervention of Nabu is not indicated, it would appear to have been motivated by jealousy toward Bel.² However,

Vol. I, BiOr, 16 (1959), p. 132, translates the bilingual text, "du hältst in Ordnung die Symmetrie-Sprache(n) wie einen einzigen 'Namen'." In the Enmerkar text, the reference then is to the Sumerian and Akkadian languages which were found side-by-side in Sumer. Cf. GAG, 56 n (b), where mithurtum is explained as "gegenseitige Entsprechung, Harmonie." For full discussion, see A. Sjöberg, Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung (Stockholm: 1960), Part I, pp. 144f.; idem and E. Bergmann, The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns, TCS, 3 (Locust Valley, N.Y.: 1969), p. 83, where it is suggested that EME-ĦA-MUN could refer, "not only to the languages spoken in Sumer and Akkad but also to the languages in Amurru (line 144) and in the 'whole universe' (line 145)." Consequently, ". . . in spite of the fact that Subur, Ħamazi, Kenge, Akkad, Amurru and all peoples in the entire world spoke (an) eme-Ħa-mun, they gave praise to Enlil 'in one tongue', i.e., 'in one spirit'. eme-Ħa-mun hence means '(of) different tongue'." For a recent full discussion of this text within its literary and proposed historical context see B. Alster, "An Aspect of 'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta'," RA, 67 (1973), pp. 101-109. According to the interpretation proposed, the sense of the passage is actually reversed. Instead of looking back on a time when all the people spoke one language, which subsequently was divided, we have here a vision of the future when all will speak Sumerian.

¹Paul Schnabel, Berossus und die Babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur (Leipzig & Berlin: 1923), pp. 92f.

²So also Borst, p. 84.

if this interpretation is correct, the Babylonian explanation for the diversity of languages differs fundamentally from that of Genesis 11. Instead of serving as a punishment for the arrogance and presumption of human ambition, the division of mankind was the result of divine rivalry. On the other hand, although Schnabel assumes that since the people are ἀλλόεθνοι, they must also be ἀλλόγλωσσοι,¹ the fragmentary nature of the texts, and especially the absence of any specific reference to "language" limit the value of the tradition as a parallel to Genesis 11. In any case the account derives from much later times. Consequently, we are left with no clear parallels to the Babel incident.²

Gen. 11:1 is emphatic that the whole earth was monolingual:

ויהי כל הארץ שפה אחת ודברים אחדים. The transformation of this state to that of linguistic confusion constituted a direct intervention of Yahweh on account of the peoples' misdirected activities. What happened when the speech was confused we can only speculate.³ Whether it involved the creation of new languages, or the confusion of existing linguistic symbols and their meanings does not interest the author. What matters to him is the power of speech in the development of community spirit,⁴ and the total disintegration of the society when communication breaks down.

¹Loc. cit., p. 92.

²For a recent discussion of Gen. 11:1-9 see C. Westermann, Genesis, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1974), pp. 106ff. Full bibliography is provided.

³So also Borst, pp. 118f.

⁴V. 7, "Behold they are one עם and they all have one שפה . . . now they will not be prevented from accomplishing anything which they propose to do." Cf. E. Ullendorff, "C'est de l'Hébreu pour moi!" JSS, 13 (1968), p. 134.

The text does not specifically associate the division of speech with the rise of separate nations. It might be argued, however, that the editor of the material, by placing this account immediately after the Table of Nations, intended some association between the two. According to the Table linguistic (לשן) along with territorial (ארץ), social (משפחה) and political (גוי) realities reflect the genealogical sub-division of the human race. But the replacement of לשן in Genesis 10:5,20,31 with שפה in 11:1,6,7,9 warns against tying the two too closely.¹

¹10:5,20,31 are usually attributed to P ; 11:1-9 to J . Cf. Noth, HPT, pp. 262-63.

Conclusion

According to the linguistic situation of ancient Syria, Gelb's interpretation of the role of language in national self-consciousness requires considerable qualification.¹ In the first instance, the tenacity with which men will cling to their own language as a symbol of ethnic identity has been overestimated. Every first millennium nation of southern Syria appears to have given up its native speech in favour of the prevailing Canaanite. This applies whether they themselves were also of Semitic stock (e.g., the Hebrews, Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites) or of entirely different origin (e.g., the Philistines). There is little evidence to suggest that the adoption of the new language represented a crisis for the group's self-consciousness. In the case of the Hebrews, for whom our data is most complete, the primary threats to the nation were intermarriage and the consequent religious assimilation.² Indeed, of the Canaanite speaking peoples, only the Phoenicians retained their original language, albeit in further evolved dialectical forms.

The situation in northern Syria was somewhat different. The Aramaic speaking peoples which moved into the region managed to impose upon the indigenous population not only their rule, but also their culture, of which the most important aspect was the language. No doubt they will have been aided in this process by the continuing infiltration of additional Aramaic speaking clans from the bordering regions. As a result,

¹So also that of W. R. Smith, loc. cit., pp. 6f., "In general, large groups of men do not readily change their language, but go on from generation to generation speaking the ancestral dialect, with such gradual modification as the lapse of time brings about."

²Deut. 7:1ff.

the indigenous population, in apparent accordance with Gelb's theory, was completely assimilated into this culture. Few traces of their own remain. However, even this silence should be treated with caution. Since linguistic traces of culture presuppose literary ability, perhaps the reason for this predominance of Aramaean texts reflects the cultural superiority of this people in this regard. Consequently, especially in the earlier stages, the absence of literary remains from the native population does not necessarily prove a monolithic culture, nor the loss of their sense of distinction from the Aramaeans. On the other hand, the development of what appears later to have been a relatively uniform culture may be attributed more to the shifting and mixing of ethnic groups during this era than to the simple absorption of the indigenous population by the Aramaeans.

In the second place, the importance of language as an indicator of kinship, especially for this region,¹ should not be overemphasized. Judging by the linguistic realities in southern Syria, if language is taken as the primary criterion of ethnic kinship, it might be concluded that the Philistines, Hebrews and Phoenicians were all closely related. With respect to the first group, this is completely erroneous: concerning the latter two, they appear from external evidence to have been united insofar as both were Semitic, but according to the Hebrew traditions, even this is illusory.² In an investigation into the oriental perceptions of reality, this may not be overlooked. Furthermore, the common Canaanite

¹Cf. Smith, loc. cit.

²The Table of Nations places the Phoenicians in the line of Ham, whereas the Hebrews were descended from Shem.

speech of the Hebrews, Moabites, Ammonites and Edomites, might suggest a common Canaanite origin for these nations. However, although the Hebrew traditions confirm the ethnic kinship, this unity derives from their common origins which ante-date their settlement in the region.

Thirdly, from our study, especially of the southern region, it would appear that language is less a function of nationality than geography. The southern nations gave up their own languages in favour of the one prevailing in the region to which they had immigrated.¹ On the other hand, although the southern states, all represented distinct ethnic groups and nationalities, the dialectical distinctions are surprisingly inconsequential; indeed, they do not appear to have been any greater than the differences among the various Syrian states, though these seem to have been segments of a single nationality.

Nevertheless, the Hebrews at least, seem to have recognized a correlation between nations and their languages. This permitted them to use expressions like *לשן גוי* or *שפת עם*, thereby identifying languages on the basis of ethnic or geographic names, and to distinguish between their own speech patterns and those of foreigners. But this does not mean that the correspondence was one nation: one language. To begin with, even though a language could be designated as Moabite, this need not imply internal uniformity. Indeed, minor regional differences within a nation are to be expected, so that, for example, a resident of Jerusalem could be distinguished, on the basis of dialect, from someone from a small

¹Gen. 31 illustrates the same principle. The roots of both Jacob and Laban lie in Ur of Chaldaea. Yet two generations after the migration out of that region, the separate lands in which the two branches of the family had settled, Canaan and Paddan-Aram, respectively, are reflected in the bilingual statement of the significance of the cairn commemorating their pact.

coastal village.¹ Indeed, it is possible that within Moabite, for example, as a result of physical barriers to communication, dialectical variations may have developed which were as pronounced as those which divided Moabite from Ammonite. A "national language" should therefore be considered as "the most important dialect within a nation".

The question of whether any of the ancient Near Eastern nations ever attempted to define its political boundaries on the basis of linguistic borders may not be answered with certainty. The use of the royal epithet in Damascus מלך כל ארם, as well as the expressions כל ארם, and כל עלי ארם ותחתה,² may point in this direction. On the other hand, ארם may be interpreted here as primarily a geographic name, referring to the territory inhabited by ethnic, as opposed to linguistic, Aramaeans. The same applies in the south. Wherever "all Israel" is referred to in the Old Testament, this is not primarily a linguistic designation. If the boundaries of Edom, Moab, Ammon and Israel tended to coincide with the linguistic borders, the explanation appears to lie elsewhere. Their respective lands incorporated those regions inhabited by people whose sense of unity was more fundamental than mere language.

It would seem that insofar as national languages did develop, these were the result of, rather than the catalyst for, national unity. The prerequisite to the growth of a distinctive dialect is isolation

¹Cf. also the "shibboleth" affair in Judg. 12:1-7, which serves as a grim reminder not only of the political disintegration during the period of the Judges, but also the linguistic fragmentation occurring already at this early stage.

²Sf. 1 A:5-6.

from neighbouring peoples. The establishment of political boundaries may be as effective in restricting communication between adjacent populations as physical barriers. It is natural, therefore, that by the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., when the small states of ancient Syria had been in existence for several centuries, distinctive speech patterns should have arisen between Ammon and Moab, for example, or even Judah and Israel,¹ all of which traditionally shared a common origin.

¹The special features of northern as opposed to Judaeian Hebrew have been widely recognized, especially since the discovery of the Samaria Ostraca. These were first published by G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher and D. G. Lyon, Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: 1924), Vol. I, pp. 227ff. For the most recent study as well as full bibliography of the much-discussed texts see A. Lemaire, Inscriptions Hébraïques, Vol. I: Les ostraca, Litteratures anciennes du proche-orient (Paris: 1977), pp. 23-81. For a discussion of the grammar of the ostraca see A. Jirku, "Das Inschriften Material der amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Samarien," OLZ, 28 (1925), pp. 278-80. The orthography is studied by F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence, AOS, 36 (New Haven: 1952), pp. 48ff.

CONCLUSION

Our efforts to recapture the ancient northwest Semitic understanding of national identity has taken us through winding paths and broad fields. We have not set out to be polemical, nor to defend preconceived ideas. Rather, our objective has been to paint a picture that would correspond to the images in the minds of the ancients. Our analysis of the factors which influenced Levantine perceptions of nationhood has enabled us, on the one hand, to identify elements of continuity with our own, but on the other, to discard various hypotheses which derive more from modern attitudes than ancient views.

It has become apparent that the ancient Near Eastern view of nationality was neither simplistic nor uniform. Not only were the factors contributing to the growth of a nation various, but they were so intertwined and interrelated as to render a coherent picture for all of Syria between 1100 and 500 B.C. impossible. The period was characterized by the emergence of a host of medium-sized states whose drive toward political independence and ascendancy inevitably brought them into conflict with one another (as well as with the world powers in Egypt and Mesopotamia). This was the era in which hitherto insignificant peoples developed into separate nations, each with its own sense of identity and basis of pride.

The factors which contributed to this growing awareness of national identity were several. In southern Syria especially, the most important element appears to have been the conviction that the members of a given nation were ethnically united; i.e., the main body represented the

descendants of a common ancestor. The Old Testament traditions constantly stress this aspect in the development of the Israelite, Moabite, Ammonite and Edomite nations. It is implied by several of the terms used to denote "nation". בַּי, the most common, was essentially a kinship term;¹ אִמָּה derived from tribal contexts in which kinship was recognized as the primary basis of unity.² In the Old Testament, simple national names, like Israel, Ammon, and Moab were understood to have been derived from the respective eponymous ancestors. This essential ethnic cohesion is also assumed when forms such as בְּנֵי-GN,³ בְּיָת-GN,⁴ and זָרַע-GN⁵ are employed by the Hebrew authors. Although the extra-biblical texts appear to be uninterested in the ethnic constitution of the nations, this evidence of ancient Israelite conceptions finds some support in the cognate writings (mostly cuneiform), especially their employment of counterparts to בְּנֵי-GN and בְּיָת-GN with reference to the Chaldaean tribes.⁶

To the north the situation was more complex. The population consisted of two major ethnic groups, the Phoenicians and the Aramaeans. Each of these, however, was fragmented into a series of politically independent states whose power bases lay in the major cities of the region.⁷ It is

¹Cf. supra, pp. 12-83.

²Cf. supra, pp. 138-45.

³Cf. supra, pp. 153-201.

⁴Cf. supra, pp. 202-27.

⁵Cf. supra, pp. 228-42.

⁶Cf. supra, pp. 172 and 215ff.

⁷As latter-day Canaanites the Phoenicians appeared to continue the older, city-based system, no doubt with significant modifications as certain

difficult to decide in these instances whether the term, "nation", should be applied to the larger ethnic entities or to the smaller political divisions. If nationhood is considered to be primarily politically determined (as in modern thought)¹, then the latter would apply. On the other hand, if a nation consists of those acknowledged to be ethnically related, then one could legitimately speak of the Aramaean and the Phoenician nation. According to the "Table of Nations" in Gen. 10, it is clear that the Hebrews at least considered the latter to share descent from a common ancestor Canaan. The case of the Aramaeans is less clear, but the presence of the name Aram in the genealogy of Shem seems to imply a similar perception. An awareness of this basis of unity may also underlie the designation of the ruler of the most important Aramaean state as מלך ארם.²

The prominence of the provision of a homeland for the Israelites in the biblical narratives attests to the importance of the territorial

ones were able to attain greater power than others. The Aramaean situation contrasts with the Babylonian under Kassite rule. In each instance an invading group was able to gain control over the region. In the latter the new rulers established a new kind of state, replacing the city-states with a single territorial kingdom. No longer are the kings designated King of Ur, Isin, Babylon, etc., but King of Babylonia. Cf. Brinkman, "The Monarchy in the Time of the Kassite Dynasty," p. 397. By contrast, the Aramaean region remains divided into a series of kingdoms whose centres lay in the important cities. The contrast was suggested to us by A. R. Millard in private communication.

¹Cf. the Oxford English Dictionary definition of "nation", supra, p. 149; also D. J. Wiseman, following Gelb in the introduction to POTT, p. xv, "'Nation' is largely a political term used of a distinct group of persons 'linked by a state or a common will to a state';" Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation'," p. 157, ". . . nation is mainly a political designation associated as a rule with state and government."

²The name is applied in the Old Testament to Cushan Rishathaim of Aram Naharaim in Judg. 3:10, but otherwise only to the kings in Damascus. Cf. the discussion, supra, pp. 570ff.

association in the development of her national independence.¹ The existence of a nation without its own geographic area appears to have been as unlikely then as now.² Even less sedentary tribes like the Midianites and the Amalekites were associated with specific localities,³ an observation which applies also to the bedouin nomads of the desert today.⁴ It seems, however, that ^amore fixed territorial tie in the form of an agricultural [^]economy was a precondition to independence, security and economic prosperity.

Quite incomprehensible in the modern secular world is the close association between a nation and its patron deity recognized by the ancient Semites. The perspective is illustrated most dramatically by the declaration of Ruth the Moabitess when she resolves to identify with the Hebrew people of her mother-in-law: עִמָּךְ עָמִי וְאֵלֶיךָ אֵלֹהֵי. ⁵ Although the Aramaeans and Phoenicians venerated many gods, local manifestations of the storm god Baal/Hadad tended to be favoured as the guarantors of a state's welfare.⁶ To the south the Ammonites acknowledged Milkom as their patron,⁷ the

¹A. R. Millard, "Methods of Studying the Patriarchal Narratives as Ancient Texts," in Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives, ed. by Millard and D. J. Wiseman (Leicester: 1980), p. 49 aptly notes that "no other people has left us a family history that explains their occupation of their land."

²Cf. the definition of "nation" in Oxford English Dictionary, referred to supra, p. 149.

³Cf. supra, pp. 342ff.

⁴Cf. the references provided supra, p. 391, n. 4.

⁵Ruth 1:16. Cf. Naomi's observation in the previous verse, הִנֵּה שָׁבָה יְבִמְתְּךָ אֵלַי וְאֵלֹהֵיהָ שׁוּבִי אַחֲרַי יְבִמְתְּךָ.

⁶E.g., Baal-Melkart in Tyre, and Hadad-Rimmon in Damascus. Cf. the discussions supra, pp. 405ff.

⁷Cf. supra, pp. 404ff.

Edomites Qaus,¹ and the Moabites Chemosh.² Although Akkadian texts are replete with allusions to divine activities on behalf of the people, especially the kings,³ the Mesha Inscription, with its portrayal of Chemosh's support of the Moabite king, provides the clearest extra-biblical northwest Semitic evidence for the involvement of the gods.⁴ In keeping with their rejection of rival deities, the Hebrew perspective differed somewhat from that of the surrounding peoples. According to Deut. 32:8 all the nations were separated by Elyon/Yahweh and apportioned to their respective **בני אלהים**.⁵ An awareness of Yahweh's involvement in the history of Israel permeates the entire Old Testament. Yahweh had called the patriarch Abraham out of Mesopotamia that his descendants might become a **גוי גדול**.⁶ It was he who had rescued the Israelites from Egyptian bondage and delivered the promised homeland into their hands. Throughout their history he was fighting their wars, electing their rulers, and generally guaranteeing their well-being. At a later time, the withdrawal of his presence from Jerusalem signalled the collapse of the nation, at least as an independent political entity.⁷ It is obvious that in ancient Syria the gods were perceived to play an extremely important role in the development of a nation's identity.

¹Cf. supra, pp. 401f.

²Cf. supra, pp. 403f.

³Cf. the special studies referred to supra, p. 429, n. 1.

⁴KAI 181.

⁵For a detailed study of this text cf. supra, pp. 435ff.

⁶Gen. 12:1f., et passim in Genesis. Cf. supra, pp. 511ff.

⁷Cf. the discussion supra, pp. 473ff. Mesopotamian parallels are discussed supra, pp. 470ff.

The political overtones of the term בית reflect the importance of the political dimension to the Semitic view of nationality. In Israel the first kings were perceived as the saviours of the nation.¹ At the time of the division of the nation Jeroboam represented a focal point for the separatist tendencies of the North, some of which were tribally as well as economically based.² His initial policies were key factors in the ability of the Northern Kingdom to maintain itself as a separate state. The significance of the monarchies in the region may also be recognized by the occasional designation of political (even if not ethnically national) entities by the form byt-RN. Not only were the kings expected to promote the welfare of the state by administering justice within the borders and providing defence against the enemies from without; they embodied the national spirit.

The role of cultural features in the development of national self-consciousness appears to have been somewhat different. Distinctive laws³ and customs⁴ generally reflect rather than determine the sense of identity. The same applies to language. Although one's speech is probably the most important indicator of his national affiliation, and although the possession of a distinctive dialect tends to foster nationalistic fervour, it is doubtful that in ancient Syria any nation was formed on the basis of language alone. Indeed, the insignificance of the mode of speech in a people's

¹ 1 Sam. 8. Cf. supra, pp. 516ff.

² 1 Kings 12.

³ Deut. 4:8ff.

⁴ E.g., the absence of circumcision among the Philistines, and the clipping of the corners of the hair by the Arabs (Jer. 9:26).

self-consciousness is reflected in the fact that every nationality group in southern Syria spoke an adopted language. The view of some that for a nation to give up its language was tantamount to sacrificing its national identity¹ was certainly not shared by these peoples.²

If we understand a "nation" as a significantly large aggregate of persons identifiable as a distinctive people, the notion is general enough to embrace both modern and ancient Near Eastern conceptions. However, especially with respect to the latter, the reasons for the awareness of such distinctions were not uniformly acknowledged. Ethnic cohesion, the tie to a territorial homeland, a patron deity and national cult, political unity usually under a single ruler, as well as special dialects were often present in varying degrees. However, as the history of Israel illustrates, the boundaries encompassed were seldom co-extensive. Indeed here the sense of national unity was able to maintain itself even in the absence of political, religious, territorial or dialectical unity. The prophets especially refused to recognize the existence of two Hebrew nations. The memory of a common ethnic and spiritual heritage withstood the human divisions of the moment.

Diagram 2 illustrates the differences in the relationships between ethnic and geo-political boundaries in northern and southern Syria. In the north single ethnic groups were fragmented into a series of independent territorial states. In the south, on the other hand, a closer correspondence between ethnic and geo-political entities seem to have existed.

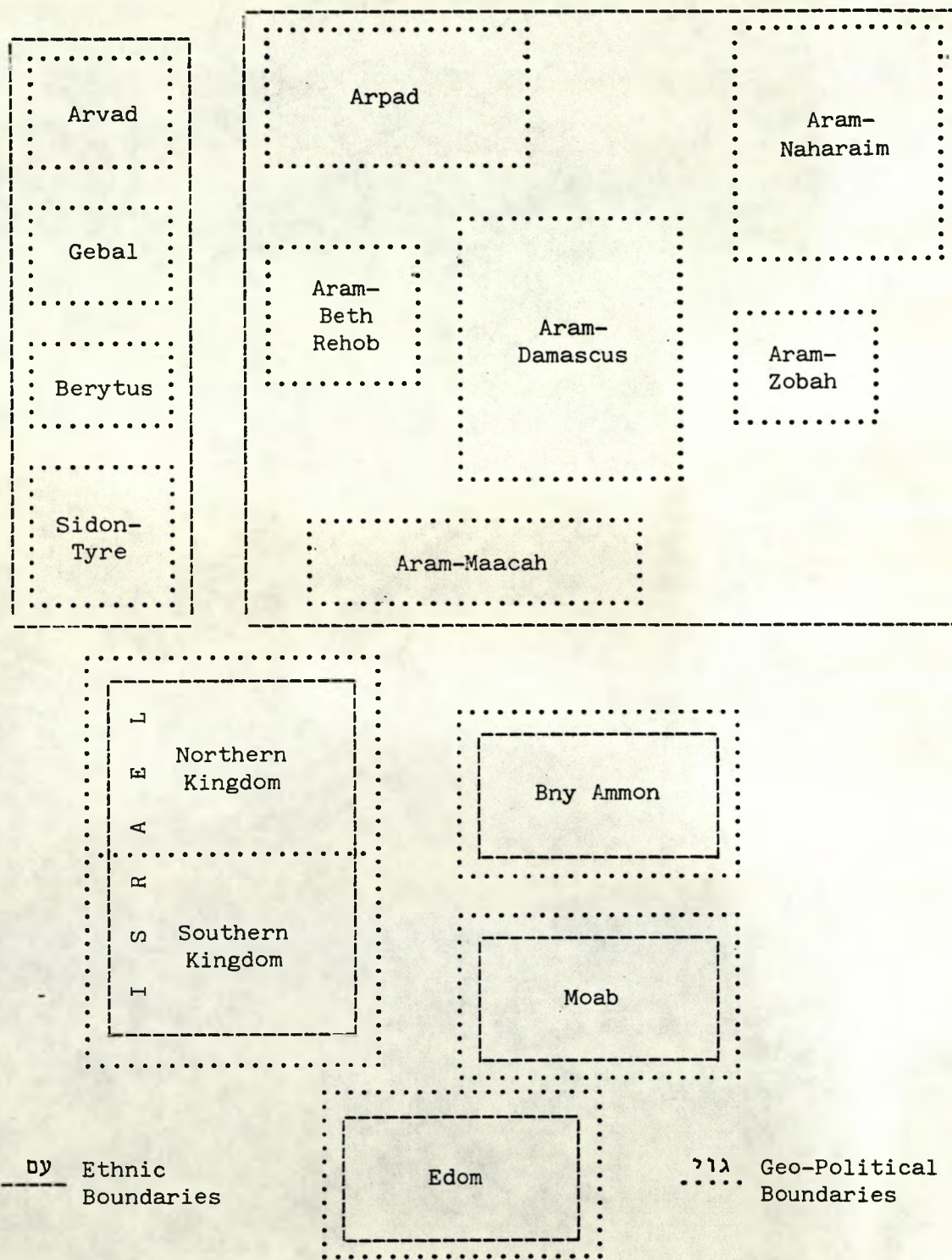
It is appropriate to conclude by suggesting some practical

¹E.g., Gelb, cf. supra, pp. 589f.

²For a full discussion see supra, pp. 592ff.

DIAGRAM 2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC AND GEO-POLITICAL BOUNDARIES IN ANCIENT SYRIA



implications this understanding of the ancient Near Eastern perception of national identity might have on biblical exegesis. Several important hermeneutical principles have emerged.

1) The ancient documents should be permitted to speak for themselves. The temptation to impose upon the biblical texts modern western notions of nationality, with their preoccupation with political factors, and their rejection of the divine involvement in national and international affairs (as in the authors cited above, p. 622, n. 2), can lead only to misrepresentation. Even the common dichotomy between "people" and "nation" seems inappropriate for the ancient Semites. While we have demonstrated the particular political nuances of גו , this does not mean that a גו is something other than a people; it merely represents a specific category of people. The main traits ascribed by Gelb to a people, viz., "community of tradition, customs, religion, culture, language, and geographic position," may apply equally to an ancient Levantine nation. In Israel, as well as among the peoples around, the rise and fall of a nation was determined by the deity(ies). Nor should we expect the ancients to have developed a highly sophisticated theoretical understanding of nationality. Gen. 10 represents the nearest attempt at an explanation for the existence of nations as separate entities. However, it is erroneous to interpret this text as a philosophical discussion of the matter. Such enterprises escaped the interest of the Semites.

2) The northwest Semites had no exact lexical equivalents to the English expression, "nation". The idea was covered by several semantic cognates, each of which brought with it distinctive nuances: גו , the most common term among all of these peoples, was used with great flexibility,

but implied a unity based on consanguinity;¹ גוי was employed in a more formal and political sense;² לאם appears to have been an archaic term, probably seldom used in common parlance, and surviving only in poetry;³ אמה bore marked tribal overtones, but was only rarely used.⁴ Although these expressions, especially the first two, were frequently interchanged and used synonymously in poetic parallelism, their distinctive nuances should not be glossed over.⁵

3) The so-called Table of Nations in Gen. 10 represents an effort unique in the ancient world, to account for the existence of the nations and their relationships to one another, on a level that approaches the theoretical.⁶ But the passage is equally remarkable for the comprehensiveness of its vision, a quality not always recognized. The genealogy is commonly interpreted as an attempt by the Hebrew author(s) to reduce the international world to a simple table.⁷ However, it may be argued

¹Cf. our conclusions, supra, p. 83.

²Cf. supra, p. 127.

³Cf. supra, pp. 136f.

⁴Cf. supra, pp. 145f.

⁵Cf. the misrepresentative and patently erroneous comments by G. Bertram, "ἔθνος, εἰθνητός" TDNT, II, pp. 364f.: "In the OT the main terms for 'people' are עַם and גּוֹי. Both denote a group of men or animals associated visibly and according to experience. There is no emphasis on the particular marks or bases of fellowship, on political or cultural connexions, as in such words as אָרֶץ, לְשׁוֹן, מְשַׁחָה (Gn. 10:31), which can be used for 'people' in a more racial, linguistic or geographical sense. Only in the course of the history of Jewish religion did the words גּוֹי and עַם come to be more precisely distinguished . . ."

⁶For a bibliography of the extensive literature on this text see Westermann, Genesis, pp. 662ff.

⁷Cf. Skinner, Genesis, pp. 187f., "In its present form the chapter is a redactional composition, in which are interwoven two (if not three)

that even the label "Table of Nations" is inaccurate. To be sure, the two-fold reference to the גוים in the concluding colophon (v. 32) lends a certain measure of support to this position. Nevertheless, the fact that in the colophons at the end of each of the three major segments of the genealogy (vs. 5,20,31) גויהם serves as but one of four organizing principles cannot escape notice. Even though גויהם is the final element in each series, there is no grammatical basis for the generally accepted isolation of גוים as the primary focus of attention, and the treatment of the preceding elements as the determining factors in the arrangement of the גוים listed.¹ The uniformity of the pronominal suffixes, as well as the regular prefixing of prepositions before each element (either ב or ל)² suggest that they should all be ascribed basically similar functions in the context (even if some special emphasis may be allowed for גוים 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 is reflected in the association of the various groups of descendants with specific territories (ארצות), languages (לשונות), kinship groups (משפחות), and political entities (גוים). The starting point

successive attempts to classify the known peoples of the world, and to exhibit their origin and mutual relationships in the form of a genealogical tree." Cf. also S. R. Driver, Genesis, p. 112; Gunkel, Genesis, pp. 85f.

¹Consequently, the placing of ארצות in the initial position in v. 5 (cf. משפחות in vs. 20,31) is often taken to imply that here geographical considerations were primary in the organization of the names, whereas in the latter two kinship was of greater significance. So Hulst, THAT, II, pp. 323f.; D. J. Wiseman, "Genesis 10: Some Archaeological Considerations," JTVI, 87 (1954), p. 16.

²Cf. the comment on the interchanging of these prepositions, supra, p. 93, n. 1.

is the sons of Noah, not the "nations" contemporary with the author(s). The sons of Shem, Ham and Japheth may be recognized on the basis of their connections with certain geographical, tribal and linguistic, as well as political bodies. This interpretation will 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.¹

4) The complexity of the ancient Levantine understanding of nationality explains why the promise that Abraham's descendants should become a **גוי גדול** should have been so closely tied to a) the separation of the chosen family and the multiplication of their seed; b) Yahweh's commitment of himself to the nation; c) his provision of a territorial homeland; and d) even the occasional hint that **מלכים** would arise from the patriarchs' descendants. Without any of these Israel's drive toward nationhood would have been interpreted as incomplete.

5) The wisdom of Jeroboam's initial policies at the time of the Northern secession becomes apparent with the recognition of this perception of nationality. By establishing a separate national religion (1 Kings 12: 25ff.), he added the religious dimension to the existing tribal, territorial and political foundations of the new kingdom. He desired not only a separate state, but a nation completely divorced from Judah to the south.

6) The multifaceted nature of the eschatological visions of many of the prophets (in the face of the destructions of 722 and 586 B.C.) gains a new significance in view of the complex oriental understanding of nationhood. If the restoration of the nation was to be complete, it had

¹On the theological significance of the Table cf. Westermann, Genesis, pp. 704ff.

to be described in terms of a) a return to the land; b) a spiritual renewal of the relationship with Yahweh;¹ c) the involvement of the entire house of Jacob;² d) the restoration of an indigenous (messianic) monarchy.³

Without any one of these elements the restoration would have been interpreted as aborted. This observation has important implications for the literary and form criticism of the prophets. To mention only one, the reference to a king in Hos. 3:5 is commonly treated as a Judaistic editorial insertion.⁴ It is true that Hosea was critical of the monarchy,⁵ but it should be remembered that his primary audience was the Northern Kingdom,

¹These first two appear most frequently, with the emphasis usually being placed on the spiritual renewal. Cf. e.g., Ezek. 11:14-21; 34:25-31; 36:22-38; 37:11-14; Joel 2:18ff.; etc.

²Note the emphasis on the unification of the nation in Hos. 2:1-2; Jer. 3:18; 31:1; 33:7,24ff.; 37:15ff. In most prophecies of the restoration the entire united nation is in view, as is indicated by a) the use of Jacob/Israel as the name of the nation (e.g., Amos 9:9ff.; Mic. 4:1-8; 7:14-20 [Jacob//Abraham]; Isa. 14:1f.) (This usage occurs long after the Northern Kingdom has disappeared. Cf. Jer. 30:10; 31:1; 46:27f. Joel 2:27; Zeph. 3:13,15); b) the deliberate juxtaposing of Judah with Israel/Ephraim (Jer. 3:18; 23:6; 30:3; 31:1-37; 33:4ff.; Ob. 15ff. [Jacob//Joseph]; Zech. 10:6 [Judah//Joseph]; c) the use of the expression bn Israel, a deliberate allusion to the nation's premonarchic times (cf. supra, pp. 153ff.) (Hos. 3:4-5; Jer. 16:14f. [Note the contrast with the Exodus from Egypt]); d) reference to "all Israel/Jacob" (Mic. 2:12) or "the whole house of Israel" (Ezek. 11:15; 20:40; 37:11; 39:25).

³Amos 9:11; Hos. 2:2; 3:5; Mic. 2:13 (but cf. L. C. Allen, The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah, NICOT [Grand Rapids: 1976], pp. 300, n. 87, and 303, who argues for divine kingship here on the basis of the parallelism); Jer. 23:5; 30:9,21; 33:15-17; Ezek. 34:23ff.; 37:22ff.; Zech. 10:7ff. All four elements are involved in Hos. 2:1-2; Jer. 23:3ff.; 30:8-11,18-22; 33:4-25.

⁴W. R. Harper, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea, ICC (Edinburgh: 1905), pp. 216,223; J. L. Mays, Hosea: A Commentary, OTL (London: 1969), p. 60; H. W. Wolff, Dodekapropheten 1: Hosea, BKAT, 2nd ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: 1965), pp. 71, 80.

⁵Cf. 5:1; 7:7; 8:4; 10:3ff.; 13:10f.

whose royal history was particularly tainted. Furthermore, neither criticism of the institution nor a prediction of a long period without a king signified a repudiation of the monarchy in principle. In view of our discussion, a restored monarchy in a reconstituted nation is a rather natural expectation. And if this is to be granted, the identification of the dynasty as Davidic is not surprising, since this was the only legitimate house recognized by the writing prophets.¹

Many more exegetical issues than those cited here are affected by our picture of the ancient Near Eastern notion of nationality. The development of Israel as a nation represents the heart of the Old Testament literature. Without an understanding of how nationhood was perceived it is impossible to appreciate the intensity of the struggles and tensions experienced in the course of its first millennium history. The aim of this investigation has been to develop a fuller comprehension of the biblical text within its ancient Near Eastern context, thereby contributing to a clearer picture of that history.

¹Cf. the defence of the authenticity of the reference to the Davidic king by F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, AB (Garden City: 1980), p. 307. They aptly add, "We hardly know enough of Hosea's political thinking to rule out the restoration of the Davidic kingdom as an eschatological expectation." The Jeremianic references to the Davidic king of the future are sometimes similarly depreciated. Cf. J. Bright, Covenant and Promise (London: 1977), p. 193, who sees in 23:5f. only "an oblique allusion" to a restored Davidic monarchy. The prose parallel to this text, 33:14-16, is treated as non-Jeremianic, since it is lacking in LXX. The only clear reference to the Davidic king in 30:8f. is similarly rejected as a prose insert in a poetic context. Cf. also p. 161f. But this treatment should be contrasted with that of A. Weiser, Das Buch Jeremia, ATD, 6th rev. ed. (Göttingen: 1977), p. 269, who defends its authenticity on the basis of its style and its content which tie it closely to the preceding verses. He also points out that these verses contain concepts and expressions found elsewhere in Jeremiah.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Monographs

- Abel, P. F. M. Géographie de la Palestine. 2 vols. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1933.
- Aharoni, Y. כתובות ערד (Arad Inscriptions). Judaeen Desert Studies. Jeruslaem: Bailik Institute and the Israel Exploration Society, 1975.
- _____. The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography. Trans. by A. F. Rainey. London: Burns & Oates, 1967.
- Aharoni, Y and Avi-Yonah, M. The Macmillan Bible Atlas. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- Aistleitner, J. Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch- historische Klasse, 106/3. Berlin: 1963.
- Albrektson, B. History and the Gods: An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and Israel. Coniectanea Biblica, OT series, 1. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1967.
- Albright, W. F. Archaeology and the Religion of Israel. 5th ed. Garden City: Doubleday, 1953.
- _____. From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process. 2nd ed. Garden City: Doubleday, 1957.
- _____. The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. American Oriental Series, 5. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1934.
- _____. Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths. Jordan Lectures, 1965. London: Athlone, 1968.
- Allen, L. C. The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.
- Alt, A. Essays on Old Testament History and Religion. Trans. by R. A. Wilson. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968.
- _____. Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel. 3 vols. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953/1959/1964.
- _____. Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina. Reformatiionsprogramm der Universität. Leipzig: 1925 (= Kleine Schriften, I, 89-125).

- Alt, A. Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina: verfassungsgeschichtliche Studien. Leipzig: E. Edelmann, 1930 (= Kleine Schriften, II, 1-65).
- Amadasi, M. G. G. Le iscrizioni Fenicie e Puniche delle colonie in occidente. Studi Semitici, 28. Rome: Istituto di studi del vicino oriente, 1967.
- Andersen, F. I. and Freedman, D. N. Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1980.
- Astour, M. C. Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.
- Aynard, J. M. Le prisme du Louvre AO 19.939. Paris: University Press, 1957.
- Baldwin, J. G. Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary. Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1978.
- Barr, J. Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- Bauer, H. and Leander, P. Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962. Reprint of 1922 edition.
- Bauer, T. Die Ostkanaanäer: eine philologisch-historische Untersuchung über die Wanderschicht der sogenannten "Amoriter" in Babylonien. Leipzig: Asia Major, 1926.
- Baumgartner, W. ed. Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament. 3rd ed. rev. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.
- Benoit, P. Les grottes de Murabba^cat. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 3. Oxford: University Press, 1961.
- Benz, F. L. Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. Studia Pohl, 8. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972.
- Bergsträsser, G. Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen: Sprachproben und grammatische Skizzen. Munich: M. Hueber, 1928.
- Bertholet, A. Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden. Freiburg & Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896.
- Bevan, A. A. A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel. Cambridge: University Press, 1892.
- Boling, R. G. Judges: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1975.
- Boree, W. Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas. 2nd ed. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1968. Reprint of 1930 edition.

- Borger, R. Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien. Archiv für Orientforschung, 9 Graz: 1956.
- Borst, A. Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker. 4 vols. Vol. I: Fundamente und Aufbau. Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1957.
- Bottéro, J. La religion babylonienne. Paris: University of France, 1952.
- _____. Textes économiques et administratifs. Vol. VII of Archives royales de Mari. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1957.
- Branden, A. van den. Histoire de Thamoud. University of Lebanon, 1960.
- Briggs, C. A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms. International Critical Commentary. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907.
- Bright, J. Covenant and Promise. London: SCM, 1977.
- _____. A History of Israel. Old Testament Library. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972.
- _____. Jeremiah: Introduction, Translation and Notes. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1965.
- Brinkman, J. A. A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C. Analecta Orientalia, 43. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1968.
- Brockington, L. H. Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther. New Century Bible. London: Oliphants, 1966.
- Brown, F., Driver, S. R. and Briggs, C. A. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
- Brueggemann, W. The Land. Overtures to Biblical Theology. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977.
- Buccellati, G. Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria: An Essay on Political Institutions with Special Reference to the Israelite Kingdoms. Studi Semitici, 26. Rome: Istituto di studi del vicino oriente, 1967.
- Buchanan, G. W. The Consequences of Covenant. Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 20. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.
- Burney, C. F. The Book of Judges, with Introduction and Notes. London: Rivingtons, 1918.
- Cagni, L. L'epopea di Erra. Studi Semitici, 34. Rome: Istituto di studi del vicino oriente, 1969.
- _____. The Poem of Erra. Sources from the Ancient Near East, 1/3. Malibu: Undena, 1977.
- Camino, R. A. A Tale of Woe. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1977.

- Camino, R., ed. and trans. Late Egyptian Miscellanies. Egyptological Studies, 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Campbell, E. F. Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1975.
- Caquot, A., Szymer, M. and Herdner, A., eds. Textes Ougaritiques. Vol. I: Mythes et légendes. Les éditions du Cerf. Paris: 1974.
- Cassin, E. Anthroponymie et anthropologie de Nuzi. 2 vols. Vol. I: Les anthroponymes. Malibu: Undena, 1977.
- Cassuto, U. A Commentary on the Book of Genesis. Trans. by I. Abrahams. 2 parts. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1964.
- Charles, R. H., ed. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.
- Civil, M., et al, eds. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1964-.
- Clay, A. T. Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period. Yale Oriental Series, 1. New Haven: Yale University, 1912.
- Clements, R. E. Old Testament Theology: A Fresh Approach. Marshalls Theological Library. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1978.
- Cogan, M. Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 19. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1974.
- Cohen, D. ed. Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques. Paris: Mouton, 1970-.
- Cooke, G. A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936.
- _____. A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions. Oxford: Clarendon, 1903.
- Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum ab academia inscriptionum et litterarum humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Vol. I: Inscriptiones Phoenicias continens. Paris: E. Raipublicae Typographeo, 1881.
- Cowley, A. Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. Oxford: Clarendon, 1923.
- Craigie, P. C. The Book of Deuteronomy. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976.
- Cross, F. M. The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1961.

- Cross, F. M. Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History and Religion of Israel. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- _____. Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence. American Oriental Series, 36. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1952.
- Cross, F. M. and Freedman, D. N. Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry. SBL Dissertation Series, 21. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975.
- Dahood, M. Psalms: Introduction, Translation and Notes. Anchor Bible. 3 vols. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968.
- Dalley, S., Walker, C. B. F. and Hawkins, J. D. The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976.
- Danell, G. A. Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament. Uppsala: Appelbergs, 1946.
- Davidson, A. B. Hebrew Syntax. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912.
- Degen, R. Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. JH. V. CHR. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 38/3. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1969.
- Delitzsch, Franz. A New Commentary on Genesis. 2 vols. Trans. by S. Taylor. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888.
- _____. Psalms. Trans. by F. Bolton. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes. 3 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.
- Delitzsch, Franz and Keil, C. F. Joshua, Judges, Ruth. Trans. by J. Martin. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. Reprint. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950.
- Delitzsch, Friedrich. Wo lag das Paradies? Eine biblisch-assyriologische Studie. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1881.
- Dhorme, E. Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Les anciennes religions orientales, 1. Paris: University of France, 1949.
- Diepold, P. Israels Land. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 95. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1972.
- Dietrich, M. Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648). Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 7. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970.
- Dion, P. E. Le langue de Ya'udi. Editions SR. Corporation for the Publication of Academic Studies in Religion in Canada, 1974.

- Diringer, D. Le iscrizioni antico-Ebraiche Palestinesi. Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1934.
- Donner, H. and Röllig, W. Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften. 4th ed. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1979.
- Dossin, G. Correspondence de Iasmah-Addu. Archives royales de Mari, 5. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1952.
- _____. Correspondence de Šamši-Addu. Archives royales de Mari, 4. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1951.
- _____. Correspondence de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils. Archives royales de Mari, 1. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1950.
- Dothan, T. The Philistines and their Material Culture. (Hebrew). Jerusalem: Bailik Institute and the Israel Exploration Society, 1967.
- Doughty, C. M. Travels in Arabia Deserta. New and definitive ed. 2 vol. New York: Random House, 1936.
- Driver, G. R. Canaanite Myths and Legends. Old Testament Studies, 3. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956.
- _____. Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet. 3rd ed., revised and edited by S. A. Hopkins. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Driver, G. R. and Miles, J. C. The Babylonian Laws. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1952.
- Driver, S. R. The Book of Daniel. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.
- _____. The Book of Genesis. Westminster commentaries. 9th ed. London: Methuen & Co., 1913.
- _____. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902.
- _____. Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel. Oxford: Clarendon, 1890.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. Les Araméens. L'orient ancien illustre, 2. Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1949.
- Dupont-Sommer, A., with the collaboration of Starcky, J. Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré (steles I et II). Mémoires présentés à l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, 15. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1958.
- Dussaud, R. Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament. Paris: Geuthner, 1937.

- Eaton, J. H. Kingship and the Psalms. Studies in Biblical Theology, 2nd series, 32. London: SCM, 1976.
- Edel, E. Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III. Bonner biblische Beiträge, 25. Bonn: 1966.
- Edgerton, W. F. and Wilson, J. A. Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, 12. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1936.
- Eissfeldt, O. Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78, samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose Liedes. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse, 104/5. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958.
- _____. Neue Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit. Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin. Berlin: 1965.
- _____. Ras Schamra und Sanchuniathon. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1939.
- Elias, A. E. Elias' Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English. 9th ed. Cairo: 1962.
- Encyclopedia Miqrith (Hebrew). 7 vols. Jerusalem: Bailik Institute, 1964-.
- Engnell, I. Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East. Uppsala: Almqvist, 1943.
- Epigraphic Expedition, The. Medinet Habu I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III. Oriental Institute Publications, 8. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1930.
- Erichsen, W. Papyrus Harris: Hieroglyphische Transkription. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 5. Brussels: Edition de la fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1933.
- Erlandsson, S. The Burden of Babylon: A Study of Isaiah 13:2-14:23. Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series, 4. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1970.
- Erman, A. Die Literatur der Aegypter: Gedichte, Erzählungen und Lehrbücher aus dem 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1923.
- Erman, A. and Ranke, H. Agypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum. 2nd ed. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923.
- Eusebius (of Caesarea). La préparation évangélique. Ed. and trans. by Sirinelli and E. des Places. Sources chrétiennes, 206. Les éditions du Cerf. Paris: 1974.
- Figulla, H. H. and Weidner, E. F. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Vol. I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1916.

- Fishman, J. A. Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. *Biblica et Orientalia*, 19. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967.
- _____. The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1. *Biblica et Orientalia*, 18. 2nd rev. ed. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971.
- Fohrer, G. and Sellin, E. Introduction to the Old Testament. Trans. by D. Green. London: S.P.C.K., 1970.
- Forrer, E. Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1920.
- Forshey, H. O. "The Hebrew Root NHL and its Semitic Cognates." Ph.D. dissertation. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1973.
- Frankena, R., ed. Briefe aus dem Berliner Museum. *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*, 6. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.
- _____. Briefe aus dem British Museum (LTH und CT2-33). *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung*, 2. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966.
- Frankfort, H. Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Friedrich, J. and Röllig, W. Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. *Analecta Orientalia*, 46. 2nd rev. ed. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970.
- Gadd, C. J. Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East. Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1945. London: British Academy, 1948.
- Galling, K. Die israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt. *Der alte Orient*, 28/3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1929.
- Gardiner, A. H. Ancient Egyptian Onomastica. 2 vols. Oxford: University Press, 1947.
- _____. Late Egyptian Miscellanies. *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, 7. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937.
- Garelli, P., ed. Le palais et la royauté. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- Garstang, J. Joshua Judges. London: Constable & Co., 1931.
- Gelb, I. J. Hurrians and Subarians. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 22. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1944.
- _____. Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region. *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*, 1. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1943.

- Gelb, I. J., Purvis, P. M. and Macrae, A. Nuzi Personal Names. Oriental Institute Publications, 57. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1943.
- Gerleman, G. Esther. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973.
- Gesenius, W. Hebrew Grammar. Ed. by E. Kautsch. 2nd English ed. rev. by A. E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
- Gibson, J. C. L. Canaanite Myths and Legends. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1977.
- _____. Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions. 2 vols. Vol. I: Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions. Corrected ed. Vol. II: Aramaic Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zenjirli. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973/1975.
- Ginsburg, H. L. The Legend of King Keret: A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Studies, 2-3. New Haven: 1946.
- Giveon, R. Les bedouins Shosou des documents égyptiens. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971.
- Glueck, N. The Other Side of the Jordan. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1940.
- Goetze, A. Die Annalen des Muršiliš. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967.
- _____. Kleinasien. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1957.
- Gordis, R. The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies. Morosheth Series, 2. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1978.
- Gordon, C. H. Ugaritic Literature. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949.
- _____. Ugaritic Textbook. Analecta Orientalia, 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
- Gottwald, N. K. The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979.
- Gradwohl, R. Die Farben im Alten Testament: Eine Terminologische Studie. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1963.
- Gray, G. B. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah. International Critical Commentary. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912.
- _____. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903.

- Gray, G. B. The Forms of Hebrew Poetry Considered with Special Reference to the Criticism and Interpretation of the Old Testament. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915.
- _____. Studies in Hebrew Proper Names. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1896.
- Gray, J. Joshua, Judges and Ruth. New Century Bible. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967.
- _____. I & II Kings: A Commentary. Old Testament Library. 2nd rev. ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970.
- _____. The Legacy of Canaan: The Ras Shamra Texts and their Relevance to the Old Testament. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 5. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957.
- Grayson, A. K. Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles. Texts from Cuneiform Sources, 5. Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1975.
- _____. Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. Records of the Ancient Near East. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1972/1976.
- Gröndahl, F. Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. Studia Pohl, 1. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967.
- Grünwald, M. Die Eigennamen des Alten Testaments in ihrer Bedeutung für die Kenntnis des hebräischen Volksglaubens. Breslau: W. Koebner, 1895.
- Gulkowitsch, L. Die Bildung von Abstraktbegriffen in der hebräischen Sprachgeschichte. Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1931.
- Gunkel, H. Genesis. Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910.
- Hall, H. R. The Ancient Near East: From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis. 11th ed. London: Methuen & Co., 1950.
- Hallo, W. W. Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philological and Historical Analysis. American Oriental Series, 43. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1957.
- Hammershaimb, E. The Book of Amos: A Commentary. Trans. by J. Sturdy. Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1970.
- Harden, D. The Phoenicians. Ancient Peoples and Places, 26. London: Thames & Hudson, 1962.
- Harding, G. L. An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions. Near and Middle East Series. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1971.

- Harper, R. F. The Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1892-1914.
- Harper, W. R. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910.
- Harris, Z. S. A Grammar of the Phoenician Language. American Oriental Series, 8. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936.
- Harrison, R. K. Introduction to the Old Testament. London: Tyndale, 1970.
- Hartmann, R. R. K. and Stork, F. C. Dictionary of Language and Linguistics. London: Applied Science Publishers, Ltd., 1972.
- Helck, W. Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 5. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1962. 2nd ed., 1971.
- _____. Zur Vorstellung von der Grenze in der Ägyptischen Frühgeschichte. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1951.
- Held, M. "Studies in Ugaritic Lexicography and Poetic Style." Ph.D. dissertation. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1957.
- Herbert, A. S. The Book of the Prophet Isaiah 1-39. Cambridge Bible Commentaries. Cambridge: University Press, 1973.
- Hermann, J. Ezechiel Übersetzt und erklärt. Kommentar zum Alten Testament. Leipzig: 1924.
- Herodotus. The Histories. Trans. by A. D. Godley. Loeb Classical Libraries. Rev. ed. 4 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Herr, L. G. The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals. Harvard Semitic Monographs, 18. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978.
- Hertzberg, H. W. I & II Samuel: A Commentary. Trans. by J. S. Bowden. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964.
- Hesiod. Hesiodi: Theogonia Opera et Dies Scvttvm. Ed. by R. Merkelbach and M. L. West. Oxford Classical Texts. Oxford: University Press, 1970.
- Hestrin, R. and Dayagi-Mendels, M. Inscribed Seals: First Temple Period. Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1979.
- Hill, G. F. Catalogue of Greek Coins of Phoenicia. London: British Museum, 1910.
- Hillers, D. R. Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets. Biblica et Orientalia, 16. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964.
- Hinke, W. J. A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1907.

- Hoftijzer, J. Die Verheissung an die drei Erzväter. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956.
- Hoftijzer, J. and Kooij, G. van der, eds. Aramaic Texts from Deir ^cAlla. Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui, 19. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976.
- Homer. The Iliad. Ed. by W. Leaf. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1971.
- _____. The Iliad of Homer. Trans. by R. Lattimore. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951.
- Hommel, F. Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1926.
- Hooke, S. H., ed. Myth, Ritual and Kingship. Oxford: Clarendon, 1958.
- Hrozny, B. Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques. 3 vols. Prague: Orientalní Ústav, 1934.
- Huffman, H. B. Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1965.
- Hunger, H. Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 2. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968.
- Ishida, T. The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study in the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 142. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1977.
- Jacobsen, T. The Sumerian King List. Assyriological Studies, 11. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939.
- Jacoby, F. Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Dritter Teil, C. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958. Reprinted 1969.
- Jamme, A. Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis (Mârib). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1962.
- Jastrow, M. A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. 2 vols. New York: Pardes, 1950.
- Jean, C. F. and Hoftijzer, J. Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.
- Jeffrey, A. The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938.
- Jirku, A. Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit. Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1962.

- Johnson, M. The Purposes of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus. Cambridge: University Press, 1969.
- Johnson, A. Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1955.
- Josephus, Flavius. Josephus. Trans. by H. S. J. Thackeray. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1976.
- Jotton, P. P. Ruth: Commentaire philologique et exégetique. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1953.
- Justin, M. Ivniani. Justinus, Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1972.
- Katzenstein, H. J. The History of Tyre from the Beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.E. until the Fall of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 538 B.C.E. Jerusalem: Schocken Institute, 1973.
- Kaufmann, Y. The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine. Trans. by M. Dagut. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1953.
- Keil, C. F. The Twelve Minor Prophets. Trans. by J. Martin. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1874.
- Keiser, C. E. Cuneiform Bullae of the Third Millennium B.C. Part III of Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpoint Morgan. Ed. by A. T. Clay. New York: private printing, 1945.
- Kidner, D. Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary. Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. London: Inter-Varsity, 1967.
- King, L. W. Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum. London: British Museum, 1912.
- Kitchen, K. A. Ancient Orient and Old Testament. Chicago: Inter-Varsity, 1966.
- _____. The Bible in its World: Archaeology and the Bible Today. Exeter: Paternoster, 1977.
- _____. Ramesside Inscriptions. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1968-.
- Kittel, R. and Kahle, P. Biblia Hebraica. 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1937.
- Klengel, H. Zwischen Zelt und Palast: Die Beziehungen von Nomaden und Sesshaften im alten Vorderasien. Vienna: A. Schroll, 1972.
- Kline, M. G. Treaty of the Great King. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963.
- Knudtzon, J. A., ed. Die El-Amarna Tafeln. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 2. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915.

- Korostovec, M. A. Ieraticeskii Papirus 127. Moscow: 1961.
- Kraeling, E. J. The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Haven: Yale University, 1953.
- Kramer, S. N. Enmarkar and the Lord of Aratta: A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran. Museum Monographs. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1952.
- Kraus, F. R. Briefe aus dem Archive des Šamaš-Ḥazir in Paris und Oxford (TCL 7 und OECT 3). Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung, 4. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968.
- _____. Sumerer und Akkader: Ein Problem der alt-mesopotamischen Geschichte. Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde. New Series, 33/8. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1970.
- Kraus, H. J. Psalmen. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament. 2 vols. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960.
- Kupper, J. R. Correspondence de Bahdi-Lim. Archives royales de Mari, 6. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1954.
- _____. Les nomades en Mesopotamie au temps des rois de Mari. Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'université de Liège, 142. Paris: 1957.
- Labischagne, C. J. The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament. Pretoria Oriental Series, 5. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966.
- Lambert, W. G. Babylonian Wisdom Literature. Oxford: Clarendon, 1960.
- Lambert, W. G. and Millard, A. R. Atra-Ḥasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.
- Landes, G. M. "A History of the Ammonites: A Study of the Political Life and Material Culture of the Biblical Land of Ammon as an Autonomous State (Ca. 1300-580 B.C.)." Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1956.
- Landsberger, B. Sam'al: Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstaette Karatepe. 1st ed. Veröffentlichungen der türkischen historischen Gesellschaft, 8th series, 16. Ankara: 1948.
- Lane, E. W. An Arabic-English Lexicon. 2 vols. London: Williams & Norgate, 1874.
- Langhe, R. de. Les textes de Ras Shamra Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament. Paris: Duculot, Gembloux, de Brouwer, 1945.
- Laroche, E. Les noms des Hittites. Études linguistiques, 4. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966.

- Lemaire, A. Inscriptions hebraïques. Vol. I: Les ostraca. Litteratures anciennes du proche-orient. Les éditions du Cerf. Paris: 1977.
- Leuze, O. Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromland von 520-320. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1935.
- Lewis, B. The Arabs in History. 4th ed. London: Hutchinson, 1966.
- Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R. C. A Greek-English Lexicon. New ed., rev. by H. S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon, 1940.
- Lidzbarski, M. Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik. Vol. III. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1915.
- _____. Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften. 2 vols. Vol. I: Texte. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962. Reprint of 1898 edition.
- Lie, A. G. The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria. Paris: 1929.
- Lipinski, E. Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastica. Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, 1. Leuven: University Press, 1975.
- Lipsky, G. A. Saudi Arabia: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. New Haven: Hraf Press, 1959.
- Lisowsky, G. Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958.
- Lowie, R. H. The Origin of the State. New York: Russell & Russell, 1962.
- Lowth, R. Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews. Trans. by G. Gregory. New ed. New York: Flagg & Gould, 1829.
- Luckenbill, D. D. Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. 2 vols. New York: Greenwood, 1968. Reprint of 1927 edition.
- _____. The Annals of Sennacherib. Oriental Institute Publications, 2. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1924.
- Luke, J. T. "Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period: A Re-examination of the Character and Political Significance of the Major West Semitic Tribal Groups on the Middle Euphrates." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Michigan, 1965.
- Lyon, D. G. Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, Königs von Assyrien (722-705 v. Chr.). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1883.
- McCarthy, D. J. Treaty and Covenant. Analecta Biblica, 21. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963.
- McKenzie, J. L. The World of the Judges. London: G. Chapman, 1967.
- Mallowan, M. E. L. Nimrud and its Remains. 2 vols. London: Collins, 1966.

- Mandelkern, S. Veteris Testamenti concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae. Jerusalem: Schocken, 1971.
- Martin-Achard, R. A Light to the Nations: A Study of the Old Testament Conception of Israel's Mission to the World. Trans. by J. P. Smith. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962.
- Mauchline, J. Isaiah 1-39: Introduction and Commentary. Torch Bible Commentaries. London: SCM, 1962.
- _____. 1 and 2 Samuel. New Century Bible. London: Oliphants, 1971.
- Mayes, A. D. H. Deuteronomy. New Century Bible. London: Oliphants, 1979.
- _____. Israel in the Period of the Judges. Studies in Biblical Theology. Second series, 29. London: SCM, 1974.
- Mays, J. L. Hosea: A Commentary. Old Testament Library. London: SCM, 1969.
- Meek, T. J. Hebrew Origins. Rev. ed. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950.
- Meissner, B. Babylonian und Assyrien. 2 vols. Heidelberg: C. Winters, 1925.
- Mendenhall, G. E. The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1973.
- Mercer, S. A. B. The Tell El-Amarna Tablets. 2 vols. Toronto: Macmillan, 1939.
- Mettinger, T. N. D. King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings. Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series, 8. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1976.
- Meyer, E. Geschichte des Altertums. 2nd rev. ed. 2 vols. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1931.
- Miller, P. D. The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. Harvard Semitic Monographs, 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1973.
- Montgomery, J. A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927.
- Moor, J. C. de. The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba^Clu: According to the Version of Ilimilku. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 16. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971.
- Moore, C. A. Esther: Introduction, Translation and Notes. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1971.
- Moore, G. F. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898.

- Moore, G. F. Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1927.
- Morenz, S. Ägyptische Religion. Vol. VIII of Die Religionen der Menschheit. Ed. by C. M. Schröder. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960.
- Morris, L. and Cundall, A. E. Judges, Ruth. Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. Chicago: Intervarsity, 1968.
- Moscatti, S. The Semites in Ancient History: An Inquiry into the Settlement of the Beduin and their Political Establishment. Cardiff: University of Wales, 1959.
- _____. The World of the Phoenicians. Trans. by A. Hamilton. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968.
- Mowinckel, S. The Psalms in Israel's Worship. Trans. by D. R. Ap-Thomas. 2 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- Mowinckel, S., et al. The Sacral Kingship. Supplements to NVMEN. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.
- Musil, A. The Northern Hegáz: A Topographical Itinerary. New York: Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts, and C. R. Crane, 1926.
- Myers, J. M. I Chronicles: Introduction, Translation and Notes. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1965.
- _____. Ezra Nehemiah: Introduction, Translation and Notes. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1965.
- _____. The Linguistic and Literary Form of the Book of Ruth. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955.
- Naveh, J. The Development of the Aramaic Script. Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 5/1. Jerusalem: 1970.
- Nestle, E. Die israelitische Eigennamen nach ihrer Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung. Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1876.
- Noth, M. Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde. Ed. by H. W. Wolff, 2 vols. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971.
- _____. The History of Israel. 2nd ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1960.
- _____. A History of Pentateuchal Traditions. Trans. by B. W. Anderson. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1972.
- _____. Die israelitische Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 3/10. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928.

- Noth, M. Könige. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament. 2 vols. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968.
- _____. Leviticus: A Commentary. Trans. by J. E. Anderson. Old Testament Library. London: SCM, 1965.
- _____. Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 4/1. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930.
- North, C. R. The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Commentary to Chapters XL-LV. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964.
- Nougayrol, J. ed. Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol. III: Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales. Mission de Ras Shamra, 6. 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1955.
- _____. Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol. IV: Textes accadiens des archives sud. Mission de Ras Shamra, 9. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1956.
- _____. Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol. VI: Textes cunéiformes babyloniens de archives du grand palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit. Mission de Ras Shamra, 12. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1970.
- Nyberg, H. S. Studien zum Hoseabuch: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Klärung des Problems der Alttestamentlichen Textkritik. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 6. Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1935.
- O'Callaghan, R. T. Aram Naharaim: A Contribution to the History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium B.C. Analecta orientalia, 26. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1948.
- Oded, B. Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1979.
- Oppenheim, A. L. Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead civilization. Rev. ed. by E. Reiner. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977.
- _____. Letters from Mesopotamia. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1967.
- Ottoson, M. Gilead: Tradition and History. Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series, 3. Trans. by J. Gray. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1969.
- The Oxford English Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.
- Oxtoby, W. G. Some Inscriptions of the Safaite Bedouin. American Oriental Series, 50. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1968.
- Parrot, A., ed. Studia Mariana. Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui, 4. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950.

- Parpola, S. Neo-Assyrian Toponyms. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, 6. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker Keveläer, 1970.
- Pedersen, J. Israel: Its Life and Culture. 4 vols. in 2. London: Oxford University, 1926.
- Pei, M. Glossary of Linguistic Terminology. Garden City: Doubleday, 1966.
- Plöger, J. G. Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. *Bonner biblische Beiträge*, 26. Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1967.
- Piepkorn, A. C. Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal. *Assyriological Studies*, 5. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1933.
- Pindar. The Odes of Pindar. Trans. by J. Sandys. Loeb Classical Library. London: Loeb, 1924.
- Pohl, A. and Follet, R. Codex Hammurabi: transcriptio et versio Latina. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1950.
- Praag, A. van. Droit matrimonial assyro-babylonien. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandische Uitgevers Matschappij, 1945.
- Pritchard, J. B., ed. The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament. Princeton: Princeton University, 1954.
- _____. Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. 3rd ed. with supplement. Princeton: Princeton University, 1969.
- ^c
^ Proksch, O. Die Genesis übersetzt und erklärt. Kommentar zum Alten Testament. Erlangen: W. Schroll, 1924.
- _____. Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1933.
- Rad, G. von. Deuteronomy: A Commentary. Trans. by J. Marks. Old Testament Library. London: SCM, 1966.
- _____. Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs. *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, 4/26. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.
- _____. Genesis: A Commentary. Trans. by J. H. Marks. Old Testament Library. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972.
- Ranke, H. Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-called Hammurabi Dynasty (B.C. 2000). *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series D/III*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1905.

- Rashi. Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtorah and Prayers for Sabbath and Rashi's Commentary. Ed. by A. M. Silbermann. 5 vols. London: Shapiro, Vallentine, 1934.
- Redford, D. B. A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37-50). Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 20. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.
- Reisner, G. A., Fisher, C. S. and Lyon, D. G. Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910. 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1924.
- Roberts, J. J. M. The Earliest Semitic Pantheon: A Study of the Semitic Deities Attested in Mesopotamia Before Ur III. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1972.
- Rost, P. Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III. Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1893.
- Rowley, H. H. The Aramaic of the Old Testament. Oxford: University Press, 1929.
- _____. From Joseph to Joshua: Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archaeology. Oxford: University Press, 1950.
- Ryckmans, G., ed. Répertoire d'epigraphie sémitique. 6 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1935.
- Ryckmans, J. L'institution monarchique en Arabie meridionale avant l'Islam. Bibliotheque du museon, 28. Louvain: Oriental Institute, 1951.
- Saggs, H. W. F. The Greatness that was Babylon: A Sketch of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1962.
- _____. The Encounter with the Divine in Mesopotamia and Israel. Jordan Lectures, 1976. London: Athlone, 1978.
- Schiffer, S. Die Aramäer: historisch-geographische Untersuchungen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911.
- Schlumberger, P. La Palmyrene du nord-ouest. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1951.
- Schnabel P. Berosus und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur. Leipzig & Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1923.
- Schollmeyer, P. A. Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1912.
- Schramm, W. Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften. Part 2: 934-722 v. Chr. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Leiden/Köln: E. J. Brill, 1973.

- Schwarzenbach, A. Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des Alten Testaments. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954.
- Seebass, H. Der Erzvater Israel und die Einführung der Jahveverehrung in Kanaan. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 98. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1966.
- Segert, S. Altaramäische Grammatik, mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1975.
- Seters, J. van. Abraham in History and Tradition. Yale Oriental Series. New Haven: Yale University, 1975.
- Sethe, K. Urkunden der 18. Dynasty. Urkunden, IV. Leipzig: 1907.
- Silius Italicus. Punica (La Guerre Punique). Ed. by P. Miniconi. 2 vols. Paris: Société d'édition 'Les belles lettres', 1979.
- Simons, J. Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament: A Concise Commentary in XXXII Chapters. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.
- _____. Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937.
- Sjöberg, A. and Bergmann, E. The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1969.
- Sjöberg, A. Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960.
- Skinner, J. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis. International Critical Commentary. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930.
- Smend, R. Die Bundesformel. Zurich: EVZ-Verlag, 1963.
- Smith, R. P. Thesaurus Syriacus. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1901.
- Smith, S. Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon. London: Methuen & Co., 1924.
- _____. The Statue of Idrimi. London: British Museum, 1949.
- Smith, W. R. Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. New ed. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894.
- Snaith, N. H. Leviticus and Numbers. The Century Bible, new edition. London: Thomas Nelson, 1967.
- Soden, W. von. Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1959-.
- _____. Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik, samt Ergänzungsheft zum

- Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. *Analecta orientalia*, 33/47. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969.
- Soden, W. von. Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft. Special Edition. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965.
- Soggin, J. A. Das Königtum in Israel: Ursprünge, Spannungen, Entwicklung. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 104. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1967.
- Sollberger, E. and Kupper, J. R. Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes. Editions du Cerf. Paris: 1971.
- Speiser, E. A. Genesis: Introduction, Translation and Notes. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1964.
- Stadelmann, L. J. The Hebrew Conception of the World: A Philological and Literary Study. *Analecta Biblica*, 39. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970.
- Stamm, J. J. Die akkadische Namengebung. Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft, 44. Leipzig: 1939.
- Stark, J. K. Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.
- Strabo. Strabon Géographie. Ed. by G. Aujac and F. Lasserre. 8 vols. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres", 1969.
- Streck, M. Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Nineveh's. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 7. 3 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1916.
- Täubler, E. Biblische Studien: Die Epoche der Richter. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1958.
- Tallqvist, K. L. Assyrian Personal Names. *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 43/1. Helsingfors: 1914.
- Teixidor, J. The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East. Princeton: Princeton University, 1977.
- Thomas, D. W., ed. Documents from Old Testament Times. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958.
- Thompson, J. A. The Book of Jeremiah. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980.
- _____. Deuteronomy: An Introduction and Commentary. Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. London: Tyndale, 1974.

- Thompson, J. A. The Structure of Ancient Near Eastern Treaties and the Old Testament. London: Tyndale, 1964.
- Thompson, R. C. The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum. Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series, 16. 2 vols. London: Luzac & Co., 1900.
- Thompson, T. L. The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 133. Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1974.
- Unger, M. F. Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus: A Study in Archaeological Illumination of Bible History. London: Evangelical Theological Society, 1957.
- Ungnad, A. Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynasty. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 6. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1914.
- Vaux, R. de. Ancient Israel. 2 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
- _____. The Early History of Israel. Trans. by D. Smith. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1978.
- Veijola, T. Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B, 198. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977.
- Vergil (P. Vergili Maronis). Aeneidos, Liber Primus. Ed. by R. G. Austin. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.
- Virolleaud, C. La légende de Keret roi des Sidoniens. Mission de Ras Shamra, 2. Paris: Librairie orientaliste P. Geuthner, 1936.
- _____. La légende phénicienne de Danel. Mission de Ras Shamra, 1. Paris: Librairie orientaliste P. Geuthner, 1936.
- _____. Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol. V: Textes en cunéiformes alphabétique des archives sud, sud-ouest et du petit palais. Mission de Ras Shamra, 11. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1965.
- Waterman, L. ed. Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire: Translated into English, with a Translation of the Text and Commentary. 2 vols. Ann Arbor: University of Chicago Press, 1930.
- Watters, W. R. Formula Criticism and the Poetry of the Old Testament. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 38. New York/Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1976.
- Weinfeld, M. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.

- Weidner, E. F. Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien: Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1923.
- Weippert, M. "Edom: Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Edomiten auf Grund schriftlicher und archäologischer Quellen." Ph.D. dissertation. Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Tübingen, 1971.
- _____. The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. Studies in Biblical Theology, second series, 21. London: SCM, 1971.
- Weiser, A. Das Buch Jeremia. Das Alte Testament Deutsch, 21. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977.
- _____. The Psalms. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962.
- Weissbach, F. H. Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911.
- Wenham, G. J. The Book of Leviticus. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979.
- Westermann, C. Genesis. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974.
- _____. The Promises to the Fathers: Studies in the Patriarchal Narratives. Trans. by D. E. Green. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980.
- Wevers, J. W. Ezekiel. New Century Bible. London: Oliphants, 1969.
- Whitaker, R. E. A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1972.
- Whybray, R. N. Isaiah 40-66. New Century Bible. London: Oliphants, 1975.
- Widengren, G. Die Religionen Irans. Die Religionen der Menschheit, 14. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965.
- Wijngaards, J. N. M. The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomistic Schools. Oudtestamentische Studiën, 16. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969.
- Wildberger, H. Jahwes Eigentumsvolk: Eine Studie zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des Erwählungsgedankens. Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 37. Zurich/Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1960.
- _____. Jesaja. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979.
- Williamson, H. G. M. Israel in the Books of Chronicles. Cambridge: University Press, 1977.

- Wilson, R. R. Genealogy and History in the Biblical World. Yale Near Eastern Researches, 7. New Haven: Yale University, 1977.
- Winckler, H. Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach der Papierabklatschen und Originalen neu herausgegeben. Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1889.
- Winnett, F. V. and Reed, W. L. Ancient Records from North Arabia. Near and Middle East Series, 6. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970.
- Wiseman, D. J. The Alalakh Tablets. Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 2. London: 1953.
- Wiseman, D. J. ed. Peoples of Old Testament Times. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- Wolff, H. W. Dodekapropheten. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament. Vol. I: Hosea. Vol. II: Joel und Amos. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965/1969.
- Würthwein, E. Der ^Cam ha'rez im Alten Testament. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, IV/17. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936.
- Zimmerli, W. Ezechiel. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament. 2 vols. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969.
- Zorelli, F. Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1957.
- Zyl, A. H. The Moabites. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960.

Articles and Essays

- Aharoni, Y. "A New Ammonite Inscription." Israel Exploration Journal, 1 (1950), 219-22.
- _____. "The Settlement of Canaan." In The World History of the Jewish People. First Series: Ancient Times. Vol. III: Judges, 94-128. Ed. by B. Mazar. London: W. H. Allen, 1971.
- _____. "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 97 (1970), 16-42.
- Albrecht, K. "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter." Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 15 (1895), 313-25; 16 (1896) 41-121.
- Albright, W. F. "Abraham the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 163 (1961), 36-54.
- _____. "A Babylonian Geographical Treatise on Sargon of Akkad's Empire." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 45 (1925), 193-245.
- _____. "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm LXVIII)." Hebrew Union College Annual, 23/1 (1950-1951), 1-39.
- _____. "The Date of the Kapara Period at Gozan (Tell Halaf)." Anatolian Studies, 6 (1956), 75-85.
- _____. "Dedan." In Geschichte und Gegenwart, 1-12. A. Alt Festschrift. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 16. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953.
- _____. "The Eastern Mediterranean about 1060 B.C." In Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson. Vol. I, 223-31. Ed. by G. E. Mylonas. 2 vols. Saint Louis: Washington University, 1951.
- _____. "Egypt and the Early History of the Negeb." Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, 4 (1924), 131-61.
- _____. "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age." Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 6 (1924-1925), 13-74.
- _____. "The Names 'Israel' and 'Judah' with an Excursus on the Etymology of Todah and Torah." Journal of Biblical Literature, 46 (1927), 151-85.
- _____. "The Names Shaddai and Abram." Journal of Biblical Literature, 54 (1935), 173-204.
- _____. "New Canaanite Historical and Mythological Data." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 63 (1934), 23-32.

- Albright, W. F. "New Light on the History of Western Asia in the Second Millennium B.C." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 78 (1940), 23-31.
- _____. "Northeast Mediterranean Dark Ages and the Early Iron Age Art of Syria." In The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman, 144-64. Ed. by S. Weinberg. Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1956.
- _____. "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century, B.C." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 74 (1954), 222-33.
- _____. "Notes on Ammonite History." In Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach, 131-36. Montserrat: 1954.
- _____. "The Oracles of Balaam." Journal of Biblical Literature, 63 (1944), 207-33.
- _____. "Ostrakon No. 6043 from Ezion-Geber." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 82 (1941), 11-15.
- _____. "Recent Progress in North-Canaanite Research." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 70 (1938), 18-24.
- _____. Review of F. M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine. Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, 15 (1935), 187-88.
- _____. "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization." In The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright, 328-62. Ed. by G. E. Wright. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.
- _____. "Some Archaeological and Topographical Results of a Trip through Palestine." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 11 (1923), 3-14.
- _____. "Some Canaanite Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom." In Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, 1-15. H. H. Rowley Festschrift. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 3. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955.
- _____. "Some Comments on the ^cAmman Citadel Inscription." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 198 (1970), 38-40.
- _____. "Some Important Recent Discoveries: Alphabetic Origins and the Idrimi Statue." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 118 (1950), 11-20.
- _____. "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII." Vetus Testamentum, 9 (1959), 339-46.

Albright, W. F. "Syria, the Philistines, and Phoenicia." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. II/2: History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C., 507-36. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1975.

_____. "Two Little Understood Amarna Letters from the Middle Jordan Valley." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 89 (1943), 7-17.

_____. "A Votive Stele Erected by Ben Hadad I of Damascus to the God Melcarth." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 87 (1942), 23-29.

Alster, B. "An Aspect of 'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta.'" Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 67 (1973), 101-109.

Alt, A. "Emiter und Moabiter." Palästinajahrbuch, 36 (1940), 29-43 (= Kleine Schriften, I, 203-15).

_____. "The God of the Fathers." In Essays on Old Testament History and Religion, 1-100. Trans. by R. A. Wilson. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968. Originally published as "Der Gott der Väter." Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, 12 (1929) (= Kleine Schriften, I, 1-78).

_____. "Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums." In Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Vol. II, 250-75. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953.

_____. "Judas Nachbarn zur Zeit Nehemias." Palästinajahrbuch, 27 (1931), 66-74 (= Kleine Schriften, II, 338-45).

_____. "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah." In Essays on Old Testament History and Religion, 311-35. Trans. by R. A. Wilson. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968. Originally Published as "Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Judah." Vetus Testamentum, 1 (1951), 2-22 (= Kleine Schriften, II 116-34).

_____. "Menschen ohne Namen." Archiv Orientalni, 18 (1950), 9-24.

_____. "Der Stadtstaat Samaria." Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse, 101/5 (1954), 5-64 (= Kleine Schriften, III, 258-302).

_____. "Das Stützpunktsystem der Pharaonen an der phönizischen Küste und im syrischen Binnenland." Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 68 (1951), 97-133.

_____. "Die syrische Staatenwelt vor dem Einbruch der Assyrer." Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländische Gesellschaft, 88 (1934), 233-58 (= Kleine Schriften, III, 214-32).

- Alt, A. "Zwei neue Philisternamen." Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 6 (1929), 250-51.
- Anbar, M. "'eres ha-^Cbrim, le pays des Hebreux." Orientalia, 41 (1972), 383-86.
- Andersen, F. I. "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure." The Bible Translator, 1 (1969), 29-39.
- Anderson, G. W. "Israel: Amphictyony: ^CAM; KĀHĀL; ^CEDĀH." In Translating and Understanding the Old Testament, 135-52. H. G. Mays Festschrift. Ed. by H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- Ap-Thomas, D. R. "The Phoenicians." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 259-86. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- Artzi, P. "'Vox Populi' in the El-Amarna Tablets." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 58 (1964), 159-66.
- Astour, M. C. "Calneh." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume, 124-25. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.
- _____. "A North Mesopotamian Locale of the Keret Epic." Ugarit Forschungen, 5 (1973), 29-39.
- _____. "The Origin of the Terms 'Canaan,' 'Phoenician,' and 'Purple.'" Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 24 (1965), 346-50.
- _____. "The Partition of the Confederacy of Mukiš-Nuḥašše-Nii by Suppililiuma: A Study in Political Geography of the Amarna Age." Orientalia, 38 (1969), 381-414.
- _____. "Second Millennium B.C. Cypriot and Cretan Onomastica Reconsidered." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 84 (1964), 240-54.
- _____. "Sepharvaim." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume, 807. Nashville: Abingdon, 807.
- _____. "Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists." In Festschrift Elmar Edel, 12 März 1979, 17-34. Ed. by M. GÜrg and E. Pusch. Bamberg: 1979.
- Augustine, St. "Epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio." In Patrologiae Latinae, Vol. 35, cols. 2087-2106. Ed. by J. P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris: 1878.
- Avigad, N. "Ammonite and Moabite Seals." In Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, 284-95. Ed. by J. A. Sanders. Garden City: Doubleday, 1970.
- _____. "New Moabite and Ammonite Seals at the Israel Museum." Eretz-Israel, 13 (1977), 108-110.

- Avigad, N. "Seals and Sealing." Israel Exploration Journal, 14 (1964), 190-94.
- _____. "Seals of Exiles." Israel Exploration Journal, 15 (1965), 222-32.
- _____. "Two Ammonite Seals Depicting the Dea Nutrix." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 225 (1977), 63-66.
- Badawi, A. M. "Die neue historische Stele Amenophis' II." Annales du service dea antiquités de l'Egypte, 42 (1943), 1-23.
- Baly, D. "The Geography of Monotheism." In Translating and Understanding the Old Testament, 184-228. H. G. Mays Festschrift. Ed. by H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- Barnett, R. D. "Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. II/2: History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C., 417-42. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1975.
- Barr, J. "Etymology and the Old Testament." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 19 (1974), 1-28.
- _____. "Philo of Byblos and his 'Phoenician History'." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 57 (1974), 17-68.
- _____. "Semantics and Biblical Theology--A Contribution to the Discussion." Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 22 (1972), 11-19.
- Barthélemy, J. D. "Les tiqquné sopherim et las critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament." Congress Volume. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 9 (1963), 285-304.
- Bartlett, J. R. "The Edomite King-List of Genesis XXXVI. 31-39 and 1 Chron. I. 43-50." Journal of Theological Studies, new series, 16 (1965), 301-14.
- _____. "From Edomites to Nabataeans: A Study in Continuity." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 111 (1979), 53-66.
- _____. "The Land of Seir and the Brotherhood of Edom." Journal of Theological Studies, new series, 20 (1969), 1-20.
- _____. "The Moabites and Edomites." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 229-58. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- _____. "The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Edom." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 104 (1972), 26-37.
- _____. "Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites." Vetus Testamentum, 20 (1970), 257-77.

- Bartlett, J. R. "Yahweh and Qaus: A Response to Martin Rose." Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, 5 (1978), 29-38.
- Bauer, H. "Ein aramäischer Staatsvertrag aus dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Die Inschrift der Stele von Sudschin." Archiv für Orientforschung, 8 (1932-33), 1-16.
- Baumgärtel, F. "σάρξ, σαρκίνοσ" In Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Vol. VII, 105-108. Ed. by G. Friedrich. Trans. by G. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971.
- Beek, G. van. "Sabeans." The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. IV, 144-46. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- Bennett, C. M. "Fouilles d'Umm El-Biyara: rapport préliminaire." Revue Biblique, 73 (1966), 372-403.
- Bertram, G. "ἔθνοσ, ἔθνικόσ." In Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Vol. II, 364-69. Ed. by G. Kittel. Trans. by G. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.
- Besters, A. "L'expression 'Fils d'Israël' en Ex. I_XIV: un nouveau criterie pour la distinction des sources." Revue Biblique, 74 (1967), 321-55.
- _____. "'Israël' et 'Fils d'Israël' dans les livres historiques (Genese-II Rois)." Revue Biblique, 74 (1967), 5-23.
- Bin-Nun, S. R. "Formulas from Royal Records of Israel and Judah." Vetus Testamentum, 18 (1968), 414-32.
- Birnbaum, S. A. "The Beth Mashku Document." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 87 (1955), 21-33.
- Biro, M. "Textes Économiques de Mari (III)." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 49 (1955), 15-31.
- _____. "Trois textes économiques de Mari (I)." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 47 (1953), 121-30.
- Boehmer, J. "Dieses Volk." Journal of Biblical Literature, 45 (1926), 134-48.
- Boling, R. G. "Synonymous Parallelism in the Psalms." Journal of Semitic Studies, 5 (1960), 221-55.
- Bordreuil, P. and Lemaire, A. "Nouveau sceaux hébreux, araméens et ammonites." Semitica, 26 (1976), 45-63.
- Borger, R. "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Sulgi als Propheten zwei prophetische Texte." Bibliotheca Orientalis, 28 (1971), 1-24.
- Bowman, R. A. "Aramaeans, Aramaic and the Bible." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 7 (1948), 65-90.
- Bräunlich, E. "Beiträge zur Gesellschaftsordnung der arabischen Beduinestämme." Islamica, 6 (1938), 68-111; 182-229.

- Branden, A. van den. "La chronologie de Dedan et de Lihyân." Bibliotheca Orientalis, 14 (1957), 13-16.
- Brekelmans, C. "𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤍 *hēræm* Bann." Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 635-39. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- Brinkman, J. A. "The Early Neo-Babylonian Monarchy." In Le palais et la royauté, 409-15. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- _____. "The Monarchy in the Time of the Kassite Dynasty." In Le palais et la royauté, 395-408. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- _____. "Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in Southern Babylonia in the Early Seventh Century B.C." Orientalia, 46 (1977), 304-25.
- Broome, E. C. "Nabaiti, Nebaioth and the Nabataeans: The Linguistic Problem." Journal of Semitic Studies, 18 (1973), 1-16.
- Buccellati, G. "The Enthronement of the King and the Capital City in the Texts from Ancient Mesopotamia and Syria." In Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, 54-61. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964.
- Buit, M. du. "Qos." In Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible. Fascicle 50B, 674-78. Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1977.
- Caquot, A. "La littérature ugaritique." In Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible. Fascicle 53, 1361-1417. Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1979.
- _____. "Remarques sur la 'loi royale' du Deuteronome." Semitica, 9 (1959), 21-33.
- _____. "Une inscription araméenne d'époque assyrienne." In Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer, 9-16. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1971.
- Caquot, A. and Lemaire, A. "Les textes Araméens de Deir ^CAlla." Syria, 54 (1977), 189-208.
- Carmichael, C. "A New View of the Origin of the Deuteronomic Credo." Vetus Testamentum, 19 (1969), 273-89.
- Caskel, W. "Die alten semitischen Gottheiten in Arabien." In Le antiche divinite semitiche, 95-118. Ed. by S. Moscati. Studi Semitici, 1. Rome: Istituto di studi orientali, 1958.
- Caspari, W. "Sprachliche und religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Namens Israel." Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete, 3 (1924), 194-211.

- Cassuto, U. "The Song of Moses." In Biblical and Oriental Studies. 2 vols. Vol. I: Bible, 41-46. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973.
- Cazelles, H. "Israel du Nord et arche d'alliance (Jer. III 16)." Vetus Testamentum, 18 (1968), 147-58.
- Childs, B. S. "The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature." Interpretation, 32 (1978), 46-55.
- Clements, R. E. "גֹּיִם gōy." In Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 971-73. Ed. by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (= Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. II, 426-33. Trans. by G. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).
- Clines, D. J. A. "X, X ben Y, ben Y: Personal Names." Vetus Testamentum, 22 (1972), 266-87.
- Coates, G. W. "A Structural Transition in Exodus." Vetus Testamentum, 22 (1972), 129-42.
- Cody, A. "When is the Chosen People Called a Goy?" Vetus Testamentum, 14 (1964), 1-6.
- Cogan, M. and Tadmor, H. "Gyges and Ashurbanipal: A Study in Literary Transmission." Orientalia, new series, 46 (1977), 65-85.
- Cooper, J. S. "Sumerian and Akkadian in Sumer and Akkad." Orientalia, new series, 42 (1973), 239-46.
- Coote, R. "The Meaning of the Name Israel." Harvard Theological Review, 65 (1972), 137-46.
- Cornelius, F. "ERIN-Manda." Iraq, 25 (1963), 167-70.
- Craigie, P. C. "A Reconsideration of Shamgar ben Anath (Judg 3:31 and 5:6)." Journal of Biblical Literature, 91 (1972), 239-40.
- Cross, F. M. "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon." Andrews University Seminary Studies, 13 (1975), 1-20.
- _____. "An Ammonite Ostrakon from Heshbon." Andrews University Seminary Studies, 7 (1969), 223-39.
- _____. "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 12 (1953), 274-77.
- _____. "Epigraphic Notes on the Amman Citadel Inscription." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 193 (1969), 13-18.
- _____. "Heshbon Ostrakon II." Andrews University Seminary Studies, 11 (1973), 126-31.

- Cross, F. M. "Heshbon Ostrakon XI." Andrews University Seminary Studies, 14 (1976), 145-49.
- _____. "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 238 (1980), 1-20.
- _____. "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sirān." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 212 (1973), 12-15.
- _____. "The Song of Miriam." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 14 (1955), 237-50.
- Curtois, J. C. "Archéologie." Part I of "Ras Shamra (Ugarit ou Ougarit)." Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible. Fascicle 52, 1126-95. Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1979.
- Dahood, M. "Biblical Geography." Gregorianum, 43 (1962), 73-74.
- _____. "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography." Biblica, 53 (1972), 386-403.
- Dajani, R. W. "The Amman Theatre Fragment." Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, 12-13 (1967-68), 65-67.
- Deimel, P. A. "The Wengler Text, No. 22." Orientalia, old series, 2 (1920), 62-63.
- Denny, F. M. "Ummah in the Constitution of Medina." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 36 (1977), 39-47.
- Dhorme, E. "Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire." Revue Biblique, 37 (1928), 367-85; 503-18.
- Dijk, J. van. "La 'confusion des langues.' Note sur le lexique et sur la morphologie d'Enmerkar, 147-155." Orientalia, new series, 39 (1970), 302-10.
- Dion, P. E. "Notes d'épigraphie Ammonite." Revue Biblique, 82 (1975), 24-33.
- Diringer, D. and Brock, S. P. "Words and Meanings in Early Hebrew Inscriptions." In Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas, 39-45. Ed. by P. Ackroyd and B. Lindars. Cambridge: University Press, 1968.
- Donner, H. "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Staates Moab in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrh. v. Chr." Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung, 5 (1957), 155-84.
- Dossin, G. "Les bédouins dans les textes de Mari." In L'antica società beduina, 35-51. Ed. by F. Gabrieli. Studi Semitici, 2. Rome: Istituto di studi orientali, 1959.

- Dossin, G. "Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari." In Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud. Vol. II, 981-96. Bibliothéque archéologique et historique, 30. 2 vols. Paris: 1939.
- _____. "L'inscription de fondation de Iahdun-Lim, roi de Mari." Syria, 32 (1955), 1-28.
- _____. "A propos du nom des Benjaminites dans les 'Archives de Mari.'" Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 52 (1958), 60-62.
- _____. "Une mention de Cananéens dans une lettre de Mari." Syria, 50 (1973), 277-82.
- Dostal, W. "The Evolution of Bedouin Life." In L'antica società beduina, 11-34. Ed. by F. Gabrieli. Studi Semitici, 2. Rome: Istituto di Studi Orientali, 1959.
- Draffkorn, A. E. "ILANI/ELOHIM." Journal of Biblical Literature, 76 (1957), 216-24.
- Dreyfus, F. "Le thème de l'héritage dans l'Ancien Testament." Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques, 42 (1958), 1-49.
- Drioton, E. "Apropos de stele Balou'." Revue Biblique, 42 (1933), 353-65.
- Driver, G. R. "L'interprétation du texte Masorétique a la lumière de la lexicographie hébraïque." Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis, 26 (1950), 337-53.
- _____. "Problems of the Hebrew Text and Language." In Alttestamentliche Studien, 46-61. Nötscher Festschrift. Bonner biblische Beiträge, 1. Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1950.
- _____. Review of A. van Zyl, The Moabites. Journal of Theological Studies, 12 (1961), 64-67.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. "L'ostracon araméen d'Assour." Revue d'Assyriologie et archéologie orientale, 24 (1944-1945), 24-61.
- _____. "Sur les débuts de l'histoire araméenne." Congress Volume. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 1 (1953), 40-49.
- _____. "La tablette cunéiforme araméenne de Warka." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 39 (1942-1944), 34-62.
- Ebeling, E. "Adini." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie. Vol. I, 36. Ed. by E. Ebeling and B. Meissner. Berlin & Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1932.
- Edel, E. "KBo I 15 + 19, ein Brief Ramses' mit einer Schilderung der Kadesschlacht." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 49 (1950), 195-212.

- Edel, E. "Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 69 (1953), 97-176.
- Edwards, I. E. S. "The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. I/2, 1-70. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1971.
- Edzard, D. O. "Mari und Aramäer." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 46 (1964), 142-49.
- _____. "Die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader." In Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient, 17-140. Ed. by H. W. Haussig. Vol. I of Wörterbuch der Mythologie. Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1965.
- _____. "Sumerer und Semiten in der frühen Geschichte Mesopotamiens." In Genava, 241-58. Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1960.
- _____. "Die Tontafeln von Kāmid el-Lōz." In Kamid el-Lōz - Kumidi: Schriftdokumente aus Amid el-Lōz, 55-62. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 7. Bonn: R. Habelt, 1970.
- Eichrodt, W. "Gottes Volk und die Völker." Evangelisches Missionsmagazin, new series, 86/5 (1942), 129-45.
- Eissfeldt, O. "El and Yahweh." Journal of Semitic Studies, 1 (1956), 25-37.
- _____. "The Hebrew Kingdom." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. II/2: History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C., 537-605. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1975.
- _____. "Renaming in the Old Testament." In Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas, 69-80. Ed. by P. Ackroyd and B. Lindars. Cambridge: University Press, 1968.
- El-Amin, M. "Die Reliefs mit Beischriften von Sargon II." Sumer, 10 (1954), 23-42.
- Elliger, K. "Die Nordgrenze des Reiches Davids." Palästinajahrbuch, 32 (1936), 34-73.
- Emerton, J. A. "Some False Clues in the Study of Genesis XIV." Vetus Testamentum, 21 (1971), 24-47.
- Ephal, I. "'Ishmael' and 'Arab(s)': A Transformation of Ethnological Terms." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 35 (1976), 225-35.
- _____. "The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C." Orientalia, new series, 47 (1978), 74-89.

- Euler, K. F. "Königtum und Götterwelt in den altaramäischen Inschriften Nordsyriens." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 56 (1938), 272-313.
- Fairman, H. W. "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at ^CAmara West; Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 25 (1939), 139-44.
- Fales, F. M. "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power." Die Welt des Orients, 10 (1979), 6-22.
- Falkenstein, A. "Fluch über Akkade." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 57 (1965), 43-124.
- _____. Review of Archives royales de Mari, I-VI. Bibliotheca Orientalis, 11 (1954), 112-17.
- _____. Review of Archives royales de Mari, VII, VIII. Bibliotheca Orientalis, 17 (1960), 175-79.
- Fensham, F. C. "Medina in Ezra and Nehemiah." Vetus Testamentum, 25 (1975), 795-97.
- Fenton, T. L. "Comparative Evidence in Textual Study: M. Dahood on 2 Sam. 1 21 and CTA 19 (1 Aqht), I, 44-45." Vetus Testamentum, 29 (1979), 162-70.
- Fichtner, J. "Die etymologische Aitiologie in den Namengebungen der geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments." Vetus Testamentum, 6 (1956), 372-96.
- Finkelstein, J. J. "Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 20 (1966), 95-117.
- _____. "'Mesopotamia.'" Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 21 (1962), 73-92.
- _____. "The So-called 'Old Babylonian Kutha Legend.'" Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 11 (1967), 83-88.
- _____. "Subartu and Subarians in Old Babylonian Sources." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 9 (1955), 1-18.
- Fitzgerald, A. "Btwlt and bt as Titles for Cities." Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 37 (1975), 167-83.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. "The Phoenician Inscription from Pygri." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 86 (1966), 285-97.
- Forrer, E. "Aram." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie. Vol. I, 131-39. Ed. by E. Ebeling and B. Meissner. Berlin & Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1932.

- Forshey, H. O. Abstract of "The Hebrew Root NHL and its Semitic Cognates." Harvard Theological Review, 66 (1973), 505-506.
- _____. "The Construct Chain nah^alat YHWH/'^elōhim." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 220 (1975), 51-53.
- _____. "Segulah and Nachalah as Designations of the Covenant Community." Hebrew Abstracts, 15 (1974), 85-86.
- Fraenkel, M. "Zur Deutung von M^edina, 'Bezirk, Staat'." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 77 (1965), 215.
- Franken, H. J. "Texts from the Persian Period from Tell Deir ^CAlla." Vetus Testamentum, 17 (1967), 480-81.
- Frankena, R. "The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 14 (1965), 122-54.
- Freedman, D. N. "The Original Name of Jacob." Israel Exploration Journal, 13 (1963), 125-26.
- Friedrich, J. "Göttersprache und Menschensprache im hethitischen Schrifttum." In Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, 135-39. A. Debrunner Festschrift. Bern: Francke, 1954.
- _____. "Punische Studien." Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 107, new series, 32 (1957), 282-98.
- Fritz, V. "Kadesch in Geschichte und Überlieferung." Biblische Notizen, 9 (1979), 45-49.
- Fronzaroli, P. "L'ordinamento gentilizio semitico e i testi di Mari." Archivio glottologico Italiano, 45 (1960), 37-58; 127-49.
- Fulco, W. J. "The ^CAmman Citadel Inscription: A New Collation." Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, 230 (1978), 39-43.
- _____. "The Amman Theatre Inscription." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 38 (1979), 37-39.
- Gadd, C. J. "The Cities of Babylonia." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. I/2, 93-144. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1971.
- _____. "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus." Anatolian Studies, 8 (1958), 35-92.
- _____. "On Two Babylonian Kings." Studia Orientalia, 1 (1925), 25-33.

- Gadd, C. J. "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak." Iraq, 7 (1940), 22-66.
- Galling, K. "Das Königsgesetz im Deuteronomium." Theologische Literaturzeitung, 76 (1951), 133-38.
- _____. "Die Kopfzier der Philister in den Darstellungen von Medinet Habu." Ugaritica, 6 (1969), 247-65.
- Garbini, G. "Ammonite Inscriptions." Journal of Semitic Studies, 19 (1974), 159-68.
- _____. "L'aramaico antico." Atti della accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Series VIII. Vol. 7, fascicle 5 (1956), 235-85.
- Gelb, I. J. "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 15 (1961), 24-47.
- _____. "The Function of Language in the Cultural Process of Expansion of Mesopotamian Society." In City Invincible: A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East, 315-28. Ed. by C. H. Kraeling and R. M. Adams. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960.
- _____. "Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 32 (1973), 70-98.
- _____. "Sumerians and Akkadians in their Ethno-Linguistic Relationship." In Genava, 258-71. Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1960.
- _____. "A Tablet of Unusual Type from Tell Asmar." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 1 (1942), 219-26.
- _____. "Two Assyrian King Lists." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 13 (1954), 209-29.
- Geraty, L. T. "The Khirbet el-Köm Bilingual Ostrakon." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 220 (1975), 56-61.
- Gerleman, G. "יִשְׂרָאֵל Jisrā'el Israel." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 782-85. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Zurich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- _____. "Der Nicht-Mensch: Erwägungen zur hebräischen Wurzel N B L." Vetus Testamentum, 24 (1974), 147-58.
- Gese, H. "Die Religionen Altsyriens." In Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer, 1-232. Vol. X/2 of Die Religionen der Menschheit. Ed. by C. M. Schröder. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1970.
- Gibson, J. C. L. "Light from Mari on the Patriarchs." Journal of Semitic Studies, 7 (1962), 44-62.

- Gibson, J. C. L. "Observations on Some Important Ethnic Terms in the Pentateuch." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 20 (1961), 217-38.
- Ginsburg, H. L. "The North Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 97 (147), 3-10.
- _____. "Two Religious Borrowings in Ugaritic Literature." Part II: "The Egyptian God Ptah in Ugaritic Mythology." Orientalia, new series, 9 (1940), 39-44.
- _____. "A Ugaritic Parallel to 2 Sam. i,21." Journal of Biblical Literature, 57 (1938), 209-13.
- Giveon, R. "'The Cities of our God' (II Sam 10 12)." Journal of Biblical Literature, 83 (1964), 415-16.
- _____. "Toponyms ouest-asiatiques à Soleb." Vetus Testamentum, 24 (1964), 239-55.
- Glueck, N. "The First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 71 (1938), 3-17.
- _____. "Some Ancient Towns in the Plains of Moab." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 91 (1943), 7-28.
- _____. "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions." In Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright, 225-42. Ed. by H. Goedicke. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1971.
- Görg, M. "Aram und Israel." Vetus Testamentum, 26 (1976), 499-500.
- Goetze, A. "The Hittites and Syria (1300-1200 B.C.)." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. II/2: History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C., 252-73. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards. Cambridge: University Press, 1975.
- _____. "Hulibar of Duddul." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 12 (1953), 114-23.
- _____. Review of J. R. Kupper, Les nomades en Mesopotamie au temps des rois de Mari. Journal of Semitic Studies. 4 (1959), 142-47.
- _____. "Sakkanakus of the Ur III Empire." Journal of Cuneiform Studies 17 (1963), 1-31.
- Gordon, C. H. "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets." Biblical Archaeologist, 3 (1940), 1-12.
- _____. "Homer and the Bible: The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature." Hebrew Union College Annual, 26 (1955), 43-108.
- Goring-Moriss, A. N. and Mintz, E. "Archaeology: Excavation Surveys in Southern Sinai." Israel Exploration Journal, 26 (1976), 137-38.

- Gowan, D. E. "The Beginnings of Exile-Theology and the Root glh." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 87 (1975), 204-207.
- Goyon, G. and Montet, P. "Les obelisques de Ramses II. Les fouilles de Tanis: rapports et études, première et deuxième parties." Kemi, 5 (1935-37), 104-14.
- Gray, G. B. and Cary, M. "The Reign of Darius." In The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. IV: The Persian Empire and the West, 173-228. Ed. by J. B. Bury, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1927.
- Gray, J. "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice." Vetus Testamentum, 2 (1952), 193-220.
- _____. "The Desert God Attar in the Literature and Religion of Canaan." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 8 (1949), 27-34.
- _____. "Sacral Kingship in Ugarit." Ugaritica, 6 (1969), 289-302.
- Grayson, A. K. "Assyria and Babylonia." Orientalia, new series, 49 (1980), 140-94.
- _____. "The Early Development of the Assyrian Monarchy." Ugarit-Forschungen, 3 (1971), 311-19.
- _____. "Grenze." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie. Vol. III, 640-43. Ed. by E. Ebeling and B. Meissner. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1957-71.
- Grdseloff, B. "Edom, d'après les sources égyptiennes." Revue de l'histoire juive en Egypte, 1 (1947), 69-100.
- Greenberg, M. Review of H. J. van Dijk, Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre (Ez. 26,1-28,19): A New Approach. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 40 (1970), 536-40.
- Greenfield, J. C. "The Aramaean God Ramman/Rimmon." Israel Exploration Journal, 26 (1976), 195-98.
- _____. "Standard Literary Aramaic." In Actes du premier congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique, 280-89. Ed. by A. Caquot and D. Cohen. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1974.
- Greenstein, E. L. and Marcus, D. "The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi." Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University, 8 (1976), 59-96.
- Grohman, E. D. "Moab." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. III, 409-19. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

- Haag, H. "יָד." In Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 668-79. Ed. by J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (= Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. II, 147-59. Trans. by G. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).
- Haldar, A. "Canaanites." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. I, 494-98. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- _____. "Israel, Names and Associations of." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. II, 765-66. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- Hall, R. A. Jr. "Pidgins and Creoles as Standard Languages." In Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings, 142-53. Ed. by J. B. Pride and J. Holmes. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1972.
- Hallo, W. W. "Isaiah 28:9-13 and the Ugaritic Abecedaries." Journal of Biblical Literature, 77 (1958), 324-38.
- Harris, R. "The Archive of the Sin Temple in Khafajah (Tutub)." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 9 (1955), 31-88; 91-120.
- Haugen, E. "Dialect, Language, Nation." In Sociolinguistics: Selected Readings, 97-111. Ed. by J. B. Pride and J. Holmes. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1972. Reprint from American Anthropologist, 68 (1966), 222-35.
- Haupt, P. "Die Etymologie von Aram." Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 61 (1907), 194-95.
- Hawkins, J. D. "Hamath." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Vol. IV, 67-70. Ed. by E. Ebeling, et al. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1972.
- _____. "Jahan." Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Vol. V, 238-39. Ed. by D. O. Edzard. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1977.
- Hawkins, J. D. and Davies, A. M. "On the Problems of Karatepe: The Hieroglyphic Text." Anatolian Studies, 28 (1978), 103-19.
- Heidel, A. "A Special Usage of the Akkadian Term ^vsadu." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 8 (1949), 233-35.
- Helck, W. "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in den syrischen Besitzungen." Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 92 (1960), 1-14.
- _____. "Die Bedrohung Palästinas durch einwandernde Gruppen am Ende der 18. und am Anfang der 19. Dynasty." Vetus Testamentum, 18 (1968), 472-80.

Helck, W. "Grenze, Grenzsicherung." In Lexikon der Agyptologie. Vol. II, 896-97. Ed. by W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1976.

_____. "Grenzsteine." In Lexikon der Agyptologie. Vol. II, 897. Ed. by W. Helck and W. Westendorf. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1976.

_____. Review of E. Edel, Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 221 (1969), 72-86.

Heller, J. "Ursprung des Namens Israel." Communio Viatorum (1964), 263-64.

Henninger, J. "La société bédouine ancienne." In L'antica società beduina, 69-93. Ed. by F. Gabrieli. Studi Semitici, 2. Rome: Istituto di studi orientali, 1959.

Henshaw, R. A. "The Office of saknu in Neo-Assyrian Times." Part I: Journal of the American Oriental Society, 87 (1967), 517-25. Part II: Journal of the American Oriental Society, 88 (1968), 461-83.

Hicks, L. "Tidal." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. IV, 641. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

Höfner, M. "Südarabien (Saba', Qataban u.a.)." In Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient, 483-552. Ed. by H. W. Haussig. Vol. I of Wörterbuch der Mythologie. Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1965.

_____. "Die vorislamische Religion Arabiens." In Die Religionen Alt-syriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer, 234-405. Vol. X/2 of Die Religionen der Menschheit. Ed. by C. M. Schröder. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1970.

Hoffner, H. A. "𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁 bayith." In Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. II, 629-38. Ed. by G. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (= Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. II, 107-16. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).

_____. "The Hittites and Hurrians." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 197-228. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.

Honigman, E. "Damaskus." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie. Vol. II, 104. Ed. by E. Ebeling and B. Meissner. Berlin/Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1938.

Horn, S. H. "The Amman Citadel Inscription." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 193 (1969), 2-13.

Horsfeld, G. and Vincent, L. H. "Une stèle égypto-moabite au Balou'a." Revue Biblique, 41 (1932), 441-44.

- Horst, F. "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz): נחלה und ארצה." In Verbannung und Heimkehr. 135-56. C. W. Rudolph Festschrift. Ed. by A. Kuschke. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961.
- Horwitz, W. J. "Were there Twelve Horite Tribes?" Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 35 (1973), 69-71.
- Hrouda, B. "Halaf, Tell." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie. Vol. IV, 54. Ed. by E. Ebeling, et al. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1972.
- Hrozný, B. "L'inscriptions 'hittite'-hiéroglyphique de 'Apamée.'" Syria, 20 (1939), 134-35.
- _____. "Naram-Sin et ses enemis d'apres un texte Hittite." Archiv Orientalni, 1 (1929), 65-76.
- Hulst, A. R. "אֲמֹרִיָּא ^Cam/gōy Volk." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. II, 290-325. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1976.
- _____. "Der Jordan in der alttestamentliche Überlieferung." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 14 (1965), 162-68.
- _____. "Der Name 'Israel' im Deuteronomium." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 9 (1951), 65-106.
- Hyatt, J. P. "Circumcision." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. I, 629-31. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- _____. "Were there an Ancient Historical Credo and an Independent Sinai Tradition?" In Translating & Understanding the Old Testament: Essays in Honor of Herbert Gordon May, 152-70. Ed. by H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- Ikeda, Y. "Royal Cities and Fortified Cities." Iraq, 41 (1979), 79-84.
- Irvine, A. K. "The Arabs and Ethiopians." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 287-311. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- Ishida, T. "The Structure and Historical Implications of the Lists of Pre-Israelite Nations." Biblica, 60 (1979), 461-90.
- _____. "'The House of Ahab.'" Israel Exploration Journal, 25 (1975), 135-37.
- Jacobsen, T. "The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 59 (1939), 485-95. Reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, 187-92.

- Jacobsen, T. "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 52 (1957), 91-140. Reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, 132-56.
- _____. "Note sur le rôle de l'opinion publique dans l'ancien Mésopotamie d'après un passage du poème d'Enmerkar." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 58 (1964), 157-58.
- _____. "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 2 (1943), 159-72. Reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, 157-72.
- _____. "Rezeph." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. IV, 74. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- _____. "Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 5 (1946), 128-52. Reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, 104-31.
- _____. "Toward the Image of Tammuz." History of Religions, 1 (1961), 189-213. Reprinted in Toward the Image of Tammuz, 73-103.
- Jamme, A. "On a Drastic Current Reduction of South-Arabian Chronology." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 145 (1957), 25-30.
- _____. "Safaitic mlk, 'Lord' of the Tribe." Orientalia, new series, 39 (1970), 504-11.
- Jean, C. "Vocabulaire du Louvre A06447." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 32 (1935), 161-74.
- Jenni, E. "בַּיִת ^{בַּיִת} bajit Haus." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 307-13. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- Jensen, P. "Die Götter כְּמוֹשׁ und מֶלֶךְ und die Erscheinungsformen Kammus und Malik des assyrisch-babylonischen Gottes Nergal." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 42 (1934), 235-37.
- Jepsen, A. "Israel und Damaskus." Archiv für Orientforschung, 14 (1942), 153-72.
- Jirku, A. "Das Inschriften-Material der amerikanischen Ausgrabungen in Samarien." Orientalische Literaturzeitung, 28 (1925), 278-80.
- Johnstone, W. "Old Testament Technical Expressions in Property Holding: Contributions from Ugarit." Ugaritica, 6 (1969), 319-17.
- Junge, P. "Satrapie und Natio." Klio, 34/19 (1941), 1-55.

- Juynboll, T. W. "Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Camm." In Orientalische Studien: Th. Nöldeke gewidmet zum 70. Geburtstag, 353-56. Ed. by C. Bezold. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1906.
- Kallai, Z. "The Boundaries of Canaan and the Land of Israel in the Bible." N. Glueck Memorial Volume. Eretz-Israel, 12 (1975), 27-34.
- _____. "The United Monarchy of Israel—A Focal Point in Israelite Historiography." Israel Exploration Journal, 27 (1977), 103-109.
- Kamp, K. A. and Yoffee, N. "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Prospectives." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 237 (1980), 85-104.
- Kassis, H. E. "Gath and the Structure of the Philistine Society." Journal of Biblical Literature, 84 (1965), 259-71.
- Katzenstein, H. J. "Tyre in the Early Persian Period." Biblical Archaeologist, 42 (1979), 23-34.
- Kellermann, D. "גִּיר gur; גֵּר ger; גֵּרֻת geruth; מְגֻרִים m^eghurim." In Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. II, 439-49. Ed. by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.
- Kilmer, A. Draffkorn. "The First Tablet of malku = sarru Together with its Explicit Version." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 83 (1963), 421-46.
- Kitchen, K. A. "Ancient Orient, 'Deuteronism,' and the Old Testament." In New Perspectives on the Old Testament, 1-24. Ed. by J. B. Payne. Waco: Word, 1970.
- _____. "Aram, Aramaeans." In The Illustrated Bible Dictionary. Vol. I, 88-92. Revision edited by N. Hillyer. 3 vols. Leicester: Intervarsity, 1980.
- _____. "The Aramaic of Daniel." In Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel, 31-79. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. London: Tyndale, 1965.
- _____. "The Philistines." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 53-78. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- _____. Review of R. Giveon, Les bedouins Shosou des documents egyptiens. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 58 (1972), 322-23.
- _____. "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II." Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 50 (1964), 47-70.
- Klengel, H. "Zu einigen Problemen des altvorderasiatischen Nomadentum." Archiv Orientalni, 30 (1962), 585-96.

- Koch, K. "Die Hebräer vom Auszug aus Ägypten bis zum Grossreich Davids." Vetus Testamentum, 19 (1969), 37-81.
- _____. "Saddaj." Vetus Testamentum, 26 (1976), 199-332.
- Koehler, L. "Der Berg als Grenze." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 62 (1939), 124-25.
- _____. "Der Name Ammoniter." Theologische Zeitschrift, 1 (1945), 154-56.
- Kopf, L. "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch." Vetus Testamentum, 8 (1958), 161-215; 9 (1959), 247-87.
- Koschaker, P. "Eheschliessung und Kauf nach alten Rechten, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der älteren Keilschriftrechte." Archiv Orientalni, 18/3 (1950), 210-96.
- _____. "Zur Interpretation des Art. 59 des Codex Bilalama." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 5 (1951), 104-22.
- Krahmalkov, C. "An Ammonite Lyric Poem." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 223 (1976), 55-57.
- Kramer, C. "Pots and Peoples." In Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia, 91-112. Ed. by L. D. Levine and T. C. Young. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, 7. Malibu: Undena, 1977.
- Kramer, S. N. "The 'Babel of Tongues': A Sumerian Version." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 88 (1968), 108-11.
- _____. "Kingship in Sumer and Akkad: The Ideal King." In Le palais et la royauté, 163-76. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- _____. "Man's Golden Age: A Sumerian Parallel to Genesis XI, 1." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 63 (1943), 191-94.
- _____. "Sumerian Historiography." Israel Exploration Journal, 3 (1953), 217-32.
- Kraus, F. R. "Das altbabylonische Königtum." In Le palais et la royauté, 235-61. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- _____. "Könige die in Zelten wohnten." Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, new series, 28/2 (1965), 123-42.
- _____. "Provinzen des neusumerischen Reiches von Ur." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 51 (1955), 45-75.
- _____. "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 43 (1936), 77-113.

- Kraus, H. J. "Gilgal: Ein Beitrag zur Kultusgeschichte Israels." Vetus Testamentum, 1 (1951), 181-99.
- Krenkel, M. "Das Verwandtschaftswort dy." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 8 (1888), 280-84.
- Kühlewein, J. "ḏā ben Sohn." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 316-25. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- Kupper, J. R. "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. II/1, 1-41. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1973.
- Kutscher, E. Y. "Aramaic." In Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa, 347-412. Ed. by T. A. Seboek. Current Trends in Linguistics, 6. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1970. Reprinted in Kutscher, E. Y. Hebrew and Aramaic Studies. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977. 90-155.
- Lambert, W. G. "The Babylonians and Chaldaeans." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 179-96. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- _____. "Destiny and Divine Intervention in Babylon and Israel." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 17 (1972), 65-72.
- _____. "The Seed of Kingship." In Le palais et la royauté, 426-34. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- Landes, G. "Ammon." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. I, 108-14. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- _____. "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites." Biblical Archaeologist, 24 (1961), 66-86.
- Landsberger, B. "Assyrische Königsliste und 'dunkles Zeitalter.'" Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 8 (1954), 31-45; 47-73; 106-33.
- _____. "Über Farben im Sumerisch-Akkadischen." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 21 (1967), 139-73.
- _____. "Über die Völker Vorderasiens im dritten Jahrtausend." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 35 (1924), 213-38.
- Landsberger, B. and Bauer, T. "Zu neuveröffentlichten Geschichtsquellen der Zeit von Asarhaddon bis Nabonid." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 37 (1927), 61-98.
- Laroche, E. "Études sur les hiéroglyphes Hittites." Syria, 35 (1958), 263-75.
- Larsen, M. T. "The City and its King: On the Old Assyrian Notion of

- Kingship." In Le palais et la royauté, 285-300. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- Lehmann, O. H. and Stern, S. M. "A Legal Certificate from Bar Kochba's Days." Vetus Testamentum, 3 (1953), 391-96.
- Lemaire, A. "Asriel, šr'l, Israel et l'origine de la confederation Israelite." Vetus Testamentum, 23 (1973), 239-43.
- Leslau, W. "Observations on Semitic Cognates in Ugaritic." Orientalia, new series, 37 (1968), 347-66.
- Lewy, H. "Assyria c. 2600-1816 B.C." In The Cambridge Ancient History. 3rd ed. Vol. I/2, 729-70. Ed. by I. E. S. Edwards, et al. Cambridge: University Press, 1971.
- Lewy, J. "The Old West-Semitic Sun-God Hammu." Hebrew Union College Annual, 18 (1943-44), 329-36.
- _____. "Tabor, Tibar, Atabyros." Hebrew Union College Annual, 23/1 (1950-1951), 357-86.
- Lindsay, J. "The Babylonian Kings and Edom, 605-550 B.C." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 108 (1976), 23-39.
- Lipinski, E. "Etymological and Exegetical Notes on the Meša Inscription." Orientalia, new series, 40 (1971), 325-40.
- Liverani, M. "The Amorites." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 100-33. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- _____. "La royauté syrienne de l'age du bronze récent." In Le palais et la royauté, 329-56. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- Lohfink, N. "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks עַם יְהוָה." In Probleme biblischer Theologie, 275-305. G. von Rad Festschrift. Ed. by H. W. Wolff. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- Loretz, D. "Die ammonitische Inschrift von Tell Siran." Ugarit Forschungen, 9 (1977), 169-71.
- _____. "Die Vorgeschichte von Deuteronomium 32,8f. 43." Ugarit Forschungen, 9 (1977), 355-57.
- Luckenbill, D. D. "The Black Stone of Esarhaddon." American Journal of Semitic Literature, 41 (1925), 165-73.

- Maag, V. "Jakob-Esau-Edom." Theologische Zeitschrift, 13 (1957), 418-29.
- MacLaurin, E. C. B. "Anak/'Anax." Vetus Testamentum, 15 (1965), 468-74.
- McNamara, M. "De populi Aramaeorum primordiis." Verbum Domini, 35 (1957), 128-42.
- Maisler, B. "Beth She^Carim, Gaba, and Harosheth of the Peoples." Hebrew Union College Annual, 24 (1952-53), 75-84.
- _____. "Canaan and the Canaanites." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 102 (1946), 7-12.
- _____. "Shamgar ben ^CAnath." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 66 (1934), 192-94.
- Malamat, A. "Amos 1:5 in the Light of the Til Barsip Inscription." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 129 (1953), 25-26.
- _____. "The Aramaeans." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 134-55. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- _____. "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 22 (1963), 1-6.
- _____. "Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel." In La civilization de Mari, 129-38. Ed. by J. R. Kupper. XV^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: Société d'édition "les belles lettres," 1967.
- _____. "Cushan Rishathaim and the Decline of the Near East Around 1200 B.C." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 13 (1954), 231-42.
- _____. "The Egyptian Decline in Canaan and the Sea-Peoples." In Judges, 23-38. Ed. by B. Mazar. Vol. III of The World History of the Jewish People. First Series: Ancient Times. London: W. H. Allen, 1971.
- _____. "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and the Biblical Genealogies." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 88 (1968), 163-73.
- _____. "The Kingdom of David and Solomon in its Contact with Egypt and Aram-Naharaim." Biblical Archaeologist, 21 (1958), 96-102. Reprinted in The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, Vol. II, 127-51. Ed. by E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman. Missoula: Scholars Press, n.d.
- _____. "Mari." Biblical Archaeologist, 34 (1971), 2-22.
- _____. "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 82 (1962), 143-50.

- Malamat, A. "The Period of the Judges." In Judges, 129-63. Ed. by B. Mazar. Vol. III of The World History of the Jewish People. First Series: Ancient Times. London: W. H. Allen, 1971.
- _____. "Tribal Societies: Biblical Genealogies and African Lineage Systems." Archiv européennes de sociologie, 14 (1973), 126-36.
- Mantius, W. "Das Stehende Heer der Assyrer Könige und seine Organization." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 24 (1910), 97-149.
- Martin-Achard, R. "נְכָרִי nēkār Fremde." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. II, 66-68. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1976.
- _____. "זָר zār fremd." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 520-22. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- _____. "גֵּר gūr als Fremdling weilen." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 409-12. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- Mauchline, J. "Implicit Signs of a Persistent Belief in the Davidic Empire." Vetus Testamentum, 20 (1970), 287-303.
- Mazar, B. "The Aramaean Empire and its Relations with Israel." Biblical Archaeologist, 25 (1962), 98-120. Reprinted in The Biblical Archaeologist Reader. Vol. II, 127-51. Ed. by E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman. Missoula: Scholars Press, n.d.
- _____. "The Exodus and the Conquest." In Judges, 69-93. Ed. by B. Mazar. Vol. III of The World History of the Jewish People. First Series: Ancient Times. London: W. H. Allen, 1971.
- _____. "The Middle Bronze Age in Palestine." Israel Exploration Journal, 18 (1968), 65-97.
- _____. "The Philistines and their Wars with Israel." In Judges, 164-79. Ed. by B. Mazar. Vol. III of The World History of the Jewish People. First Series: Ancient Times. London: W. H. Allen, 1971.
- Melamed, E. Z. "Breakup of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device." In Scripta Hierosolymitana. Vol. VIII, 115-53. Ed. by C. Rabin. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961.
- Mendelsohn, I. "The Canaanite Term for 'Free Proletarian'." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 83 (1941), 36-39.
- _____. "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of Akkadian Documents from Ugarit." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 143 (1956), 17-22.

- Mendenhall, G. E. "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law." Biblical Archaeologist, 17 (1954), 26-46.
- _____. "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition." Biblical Archaeologist, 17 (1954), 50-76.
- Meyer, R. "Die Bedeutung von Deuteronomium 32, 8f. 43 (4Q) für die Auslegung des Moseliedes." In Verbannung und Heimkehr, 197-209. C. W. Rudolph Festschrift. Ed. by A. Kuschke. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961.
- Meyers, E. M. "Secondary Burials in Palestine." Biblical Archaeologist, 30 (1970), 2-29.
- Michel, E. "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III (858-824)." Part 2: Die Welt des Orients, 1 (1952), 105-22. Part 8: Die Welt des Orients, 2 (1956), 221-33. Part 11: Die Welt des Orients, 4 (1967-68), 29-37.
- _____. "Ein neuentdeckter Annalen-Text Salmanassars III." Die Welt des Orients, 1 (1952), 454-75.
- Milgrom, J. "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel." The Jewish Quarterly Review, 68 (1978), 65-81.
- Milik, J. T. "Nouvelles inscriptions nabatéennes." Syria, 35 (1958), 227-51.
- Milik, J. T. and Starcky, J. "Nabataean, Palmyrene and Hebrew Inscriptions." In Ancient Records from North Arabia, 140-63. Ed. by F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed. Near and Middle East Series, 6. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970.
- Millard, A. R. "Adad-nirari, Aram, and Arpad." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 105 (1973), 161-64.
- _____. "The Canaanites." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 28-52. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- _____. "Epigraphic Notes, Aramaic and Hebrew." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 110 (1978), 23-26.
- _____. "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Ashurbanipal." Iraq, 30 (1968), 98-111.
- _____. "Kir." In The Illustrated Bible Dictionary. Vol. II, 860. Revision edited by N. Hillyer. 3 vols. Leicester: Intervarsity, 1980.
- _____. Review of J. A. Brinkman, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722. Orientalia, new series, 39 (1970), 445-50.
- _____. "A Wandering Aramaean." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 39 (1980), 153-55.

- Millard, A. R. "YW and YHW Names." Vetus Testamentum, 30 (1980), 208-12.
- Millard, A. R. and Tadmor, H. "Adad-nirari III in Syria: Another Fragment and the Dates of his Campaign." Iraq, 35 (1973), 57-64.
- Mitchell, T. C. "Philistia." In Archaeology and Old Testament Study, 405-28. Ed. by D. Winton Thomas. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.
- Montalbano, F. J. "Canaanite Dagan: Origin, Nature." Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 13 (1951), 381-97.
- Moor, J. C. de. "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra." Ugarit Forschungen, 1 (1969), 167-88.
- Moscatti, S. "The Aramaean Ahlamu." Journal of Semitic Studies, 4 (1959), 303-307.
- Müller, H. P. "Einige alttestamentliche Probleme zur aramäischen Inschrift von Der ^cAllā." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 94 (1978), 56-67.
- _____. "Gott und die Götter in den Anfängen der biblischen Religion: Zur Vorgeschichte des Monotheismus." In Monotheismus im alten Israel und seiner Umwelt, 99-142. Ed. by O. Keel. Biblische Beiträge, 14. Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980.
- Müller, W. "Neuentdeckte Sabäische Inschriften aus Al-Huqqa." In Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik. Vol. I, 103-21. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1972.
- Muhly, J. D. "Homer and the Phoenicians: The Relations between Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages." Berytus, 19 (1970), 19-64.
- Mulder, M. J. "בַּעַל ba^cal." In Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. II, 181-200. Ed. by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.
- Mullo Weir, C. J. "Nuzi." In Archaeology and Old Testament Study, 73-86. Ed. by D. Winton Thomas. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.
- Na'aman, N. "Looking for KTK." Die Welt des Orients, 9 (1978), 220-39.
- Napier, B. D. "Uz." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. IV, 741. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- Naor, M. "יִשְׂרָאֵל und יַעֲקֹב." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 49 (1931), 317-21.
- Naveh, J. Review of J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, eds., Aramaic Texts from Deir ^cAllā. Israel Exploration Journal, 29 (1979), 133-36.

- Nelson, H. H. "The Naval Battle at Medinet Habu." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 2 (1943), 40-55.
- Nestle, D. E. "Miscellen." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 16 (1896), 321-27.
- Nicholsen, E. W. "The Meaning of the Expression יְהוָה עַם in the Old Testament." Journal of Semitic Studies, 10 (1965), 59-66.
- Nöldeke, T. "Glossen zu H. Bauer's Semitischen Sprachproblemen." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 30 (1915/1916), 164-70.
- Norin, S. "Jo-Namen und J^eho-Namen." Vetus Testamentum, 19 (1979), 87-97.
- Noth, M. "Die Ansiedlung des Stammes Juda auf dem Boden Palästinas." Palästinajahrbuch, 30 (1934), 31-47 (= Aufsätze, I, 183-96).
- _____. "Eine siedlungs-geographische Liste in 1 Chr. 2 und 4." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 55 (1932), 97-124.
- _____. "God, King, and Nation in the Old Testament." In The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies, 145-78. Trans. by A. R. Ap-Thomas. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967.
- _____. "Der historische Hintergrund der Inschriften von Sefire." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 77 (1961), 118-72.
- _____. "Der Jordan in der alten Geschichte Palästinas." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 72 (1956), 123-48.
- _____. "Das Land Gilead als Siedlungsgebiet israelitischer Sippen." Palästinajahrbuch, 37 (1941), 56-101 (= Aufsätze, I, 347-90).
- _____. "Mari und Israel: Eine Personennamensstudie." In Geschichte und Altes Testament, 127-52. A. Alt Festschrift. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, 16. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1953.
- _____. "Die Nachbarn der israelitischen Stämme im Ostjordanland." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 68 (1946-51), 1-50 (= Aufsätze, I, 434-75).
- _____. "Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 65 (1942), 9-67.
- _____. "Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen." Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschungen des Landes Nordrhein Westfalen, 94 (1961), 9-40 (= Aufsätze, II, 244-72).
- North, C. R. "The Old Testament Estimate of the Monarchy." American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, 48 (1931), 1-19.

- North, C. R. "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 50 (1932), 8-38.
- Nougayrol, J. "Documents de Habur, 1. Une nouvelle tablette du Hana." Syria, 37 (1960), 205-209.
- _____. "Guerre et paix a Ugarit." Iraq, 25 (1963), 110-23.
- _____. "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne conservée au Musée du Louvre." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 40 (1946), 56-97.
- Oded, B. "Egyptian References to the Edomite Deity Qaus." Andrews University Seminary Studies, 9 (1971), 47-50.
- Oppenheim, A. "A New Look at the Structure of Mesopotamian Society." Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, 10/1 (1967), 1-11.
- Orlinsky, H. "Nationalism-Universalism and Internationalism in Ancient Israel." In Translating and Understanding the Old Testament: Essays in Honor of Herbert G. May, 206-36. Ed. by H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- _____. "The Tribal System of Israel and Related Groups in the Period of the Judges." In Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman, 375-87. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.
- Ottoson, M. "אֶרֶץ 'erets." In Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 421-36. Ed. by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (= Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. I, 388-405. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974).
- _____. "גְּבוּלֵי g^ebhul; גְּבָהַל gābhal; גְּבוּלָהּ g^ebhulāh." In Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 896-902. Ed. by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (= Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. II, 361-66. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975).
- Page, S. "Joash and Samaria in a New Stela Excavated at Tell Al Rimah." Vetus Testamentum, 19 (1969), 483-84.
- _____. "A Stela of Adad-nirari III and Nergal-ereš from Tell Al Rimah." Iraq, 30 (1968), 139-53.
- Pettinato, G. "Polytheismus und Henotheismus in der Religion von Ebla." In Monotheismus im alten Israel und seiner Umwelt, 31-48. Ed. by O. Keel. Biblische Beiträge, 14. Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980.
- _____. "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla." Biblical Archaeologist, 39 (1976), 44-52.

- Plöger, J. G. "אֲדָמָה 'a^adāmāh." In Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 95-105. Ed. by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (= Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. I, 88-98. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974).
- Pirenne, J. "L'inscription 'Ryckmans 535' et la chronologie sud-Arab." Le-Muséon, 69 (1956), 165-81.
- Pohl, A. "Kurze Bemerkungen zu den Ortsnamen der Tafel Wengler 22." Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschungen, 4 (1965), 363-64.
- Pope, M. H. "Am Ha'arez." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. I, 106-107. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- Pope, M. H. and Röllig, W. "Die Mythologie der Ugariter und Phönizier." In Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient, 217-312. Ed. by H. W. Haussig. Vol. I of Wörterbuch der Mythologie. Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1965.
- Postgate, J. N. "Harran." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie. Vol. IV, 122-25. Ed. by E. Ebeling, et al. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1973.
- _____. "Royal Exercise of Justice under the Assyrian Empire." In Le palais et la royauté, 417-26. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- Puech, E. "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah." Levant, 9 (1977), 11-20.
- _____. "Milkom le dieu Ammonite, en Amos I 15." Vetus Testamentum, 27 (1977), 117-25.
- _____. "Un ivoire de Bit-Gusi (Arpad) a Nimrud." Syria, 55 (1978), 162-69.
- Puech, E. and Rofé, A. "L'inscription de la citadel d'Amman." Revue Biblique, 80 (1973), 531-46.
- Pury, A. de. "Genèse XXXIV et l'histoire." Revue Biblique, 76 (1969), 1-49.
- Rad, G. von. "מְלָכּוֹת and מְלָכּוֹת in the Old Testament." In Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Vol. I, 565-71. Ed. by G. Kittel. Trans. by G. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.
- _____. "Verheissenes Land und Jahwes Land im Hexateuch." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 66 (1943), 191-204 (= "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch." In The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, 79-93. Trans. by E. W. Trueman Dicken. London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966).
- Rahtjen, B. D. "Philistine and Hebrew Amphictyonies." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 24 (1965), 100-104.

- Rainey, A. F. "A Canaanite at Ugarit." Israel Exploration Journal, 13 (1963), 43-45.
- _____. "The Kingdom of Ugarit." Biblical Archaeologist, 28 (1965), 102-25. Reprinted in The Biblical Archaeologist Reader. Vol. III, 76-99. Ed. by E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman. Garden City: Doubleday, 1970.
- _____. "Sela (of Edom)." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Old Testament. Supplementary Volume, 800. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.
- _____. "Ugarit and Canaanites Again." Israel Exploration Journal, 14 (1964), 101.
- Redford, D. B. "The 'Land of the Hebrews' in Gen XL 15." Vetus Testamentum, 15 (1965), 529-32.
- Richter, W. "Die Uberlieferung um Jephthah, Ri 10,17-12,6." Biblica, 47 (1966), 485-556.
- Ringgren, H. "אֲבִי 'abh." In Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 1-19. Ed. by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973 (= Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Vol. I, 1-19. Trans. by J. T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974).
- _____. "Monotheism." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume, 602-604. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.
- Roberts, J. J. M. "Nebuchadnezzar's Elamite Crisis in Theological Perspective." J. J. Finkelstein volume. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 19 (1977), 183-87.
- Rose, M. "Yahweh in Israel - Qaus in Edom?" Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, 4 (1977), 28-34.
- Rost, L. "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im Alten Testament." In Das Kleine Credo und andere Studien zum Alten Testament, 76-101. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1965. Originally published in Festschrift für Otto Proksch (1934), 125-48.
- Rowton, M. B. "Autonomy and Nomadism in Western Asia." Orientalia, new series, 42 (1973), 247-58.
- _____. "The Physical Environment and the Problem of the Nomads." In La civilisation de Mari, 109-21. Ed. by J. R. Kupper. XV^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: Société d'édition "les belles lettres," 1967.
- _____. "The Topological Factor in the Hapiru Problem." In Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday April 21, 1965, 375-88. Ed. by H. G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen. Assyriological Studies, 16. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965.

- Ruprecht, E. "Der Traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der einzelnen Elemente von Genesis XII 2-3." Vetus Testamentum, 29 (1979), 444-64.
- Rutten, M. "Un lot de tablettes de Mananâ." Revue d'Assyriologie et archéologie orientale, 52 (1958), 208-25; 53 (1959), 77-96; 54 (1960), 19-40, 147-52.
- Sachsse, E. "Die Etymologie und älteste Aussprache des Namens יִשְׂרָאֵל." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 34 (1914), 1-15.
- _____. "Der Ursprung des Namens Israel." Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete, 4 (1926), 63-69.
- Sæbo, M. "Grenzbezeichnung und Landideal im Alten Testament mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der min-^cad-Formel." Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 90 (1974), 14-37.
- Saggs, H. W. F. "The Assyrians." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 156-78. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- _____. "The Nimrud Letters, 1952 - Part II." Iraq, 17 (1955), 126-60.
- _____. "The Nimrud Letters, 1952 - Part V." Iraq, 21 (1959), 158-79.
- Sasson, V. "The ^cAmman Citadel Inscription as an Oracle Promising Divine Protection: Philological and Literary Comments." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 111 (1979), 117-25.
- Sauneron, S. and Yoyotte, J. "Traces d'établissements asiatiques en Moyenne-Égypt sous Ramsès II." Revue d'Égyptologie, 7 (1950), 66-70.
- Sauren, H. and Kestemont, G. "Keret, roi de Ḫubur." Ugarit Forschungen, 3 (1971), 181-221.
- Sayce, A. H. "Edom, Edomites." In Hastings Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. I, 644-46. Ed. by J. Hastings. 4 vols., plus supplement. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905.
- Scheil, V. "Cylindres et légendes inédits." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 13 (1916), 5-25.
- Schmid, H. H. "יָרֵחַ 'hz ergreifen." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 107-10. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- _____. "אֶרֶץ 'æræs Erde, Land." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 228-36. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- Schneider, N. "Aram und Aramäer in der Ur III Zeit." Biblica, 30 (1949), 109-11.

- Schoors, A. "Literary Phrases." In Ras Shamra Parallels. Vol. I, 1-70. Ed. by L. Fisher. Analecta Orientalia, 49. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972.
- Selms, A. van. "The Canaanites in the Book of Genesis." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 12 (1958), 182-213.
- _____. "Judge Shamgar." Vetus Testamentum, 14 (1964), 294-309.
- _____. "Some Remarks on the ^C Ammān Citadel Inscription." Bibliotheca Orientalis, 32 (1975), 5-8.
- Seters, J. van. "The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament." Vetus Testamentum, 22 (1972), 64-81.
- Shea, H. "Milkom as the Architect of Rabbath-Ammon's Natural Defences in the Amman Citadel Inscription." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 111 (1979), 17-25.
- _____. "The Siran Inscription: Amminadab's Drinking Song." Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 110 (1978), 107-12.
- Simons, J. "'The Table of Nations' (Gen X): Its General Structure and Meaning." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 10 (1954), 155-84.
- Simmons, S. D. "Early Babylonian Tablets from Harmal and Elsewhere." Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 13 (1959), 71-93, 105-19 (Nos. 1-45a); 14 (1960), 23-32 (Nos. 46-66), 49-55 (Nos. 67-91), 75-87, 117-25 (Nos. 92-110); 15 (1961), 49-58 (Nos. 111-35), 81-83 (Nos. 136-40).
- Skehan, P. "A Fragment of the Song of Moses (Deut. 32) from Qumran." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 136 (1956), 12-15.
- _____. "Qumran and the Present State of the Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text." Journal of Biblical Literature, 78 (1959), 21-25.
- _____. "The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy (Deut. 32. 1-43)." Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 13 (1951), 153-63.
- Snaith, N. H. "The Meaning of שְׁעִירִים." Vetus Testamentum, 25 (1975), 115-18.
- Snell, D. Review of P. E. Dion, La langue de Ya'udi. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 68 (1976), 220-24.
- Snijders, L. A. "The Meaning of גַּי in the Old Testament: An Exegetical Study." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 10 (1954), 1-154.
- Soden, W. von. "Die erste Tafel des altbabylonischen Atramḥasis-Mythus. 'Haupttext' und Parallelversionen." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 68 (1978), 50-94.

- Soden, W. von. "Etemenanki vor Asarhaddon nach der Erzählung vom Turmbau zu Babel und dem Erra-Mythus." Ugarit Forschungen, 3 (1971), 253-63.
- _____. "Neue Bände der Archives royales de Mari." Orientalia, new series, 22 (1953), 193-209.
- _____. Review of A. Borst, Der Turmbau von Babel. Vol. I.: Fundamente und Aufbau. Bibliotheca Orientalis, 16 (1959), 129-33.
- Soggin, J. A. "Jeremias XII 10a: Eine Parallelstelle zu Deut. XXXII 8/LXX?" Vetus Testamentum, 8 (1958), 304-305.
- _____. "מֶלֶךְ mælæk König." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. I, 907-20. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971.
- Sollberger, E. "Princes fantomes." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 64 (1970), 173-34.
- _____. "The Temple in Babylonia." In Le temple et le culte, 31-34. Compte rendu de la vingtième rencontre assyriologique internationale, 20. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archeologisch Institut, 1975.
- Speiser, E. A. "Background and Function of the Biblical Nāsī'." Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 25 (1963), 111-17.
- _____. "'Damascus' as Sa-imērišu." Journal of the American Oriental Society, 71 (1951), 257-58.
- _____. "Horite." In The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Vol. II, 645. Ed. by G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- _____. "The Name Phoinikes." Language, 12 (1936), 121-26. Reprinted in Oriental and Biblical Studies: Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser, 324-31. Ed. by J. J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1967.
- _____. "One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts." Part II: "Translation and Commentary." Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 16 (1936), 57-168.
- _____. "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel." Journal of Biblical Literature, 79 (1960), 157-63.
- _____. "The Shibboleth Incident (Judges 12:6)." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 85 (1942), 10-13.
- Sperber, D. "Nations." Encyclopaedia Judaica. Jerusalem: Keter, 1971. Vol. 12, 882-86.
- Stamm, J. J. "B^erit^c am bei Deuterocesaja." In Probleme biblischer Theologie, 510-24. G. von Rad Festschrift. Ed. by H. W. Wolff. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1970.

- Stamm, J. J. "Hebräische Ersatznamen." In Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday April 21, 1965, 413-24. Ed. by H. G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen. Assyriological Studies, 16. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965.
- _____. "Zum Ursprung des Namens der Ammoniter." Archiv Orientalni, 17/2 (1949), 379-82.
- _____. "Zwei alttestamentliche Königsnamen." In Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright, 443-49. Ed. by H. Goedicke. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1971.
- Starcky, J. "Petra et la Nabatène." In Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible. Vol. VII, 886-1017. Ed. by H. Cazelles, et al. Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1966.
- _____. "Le temple nabatéen de Khirbet Tannur; à propos d'un livre récent." Revue Biblique, 75 (1968), 206-35.
- Steindorff, G. "The Stauette of an Egyptian Commissioner in Syria." Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 25 (1939), 30-33.
- Stolper, M. W. "A Note on Yahwistic Personal Names in the Murašû Texts." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 222 (1976), 25-28.
- Stolz, F. "Monotheismus in Israel." In Monotheismus im alten Israel und seiner Umwelt, 144-89. Ed. by O. Keel. Biblische Beiträge, 14. Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980.
- _____. "𐤒𐤔𐤍 ns' aufheben, tragen." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. II, 109-17. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1976.
- Tadmor, H. "Assyria and the West: The Ninth Century and its Aftermath." In Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East, 36-48. Ed. by H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1975.
- _____. "Azriyahu of Yaudi." In Scripta Hierosolymitana. Vol. VIII, 232-71. Ed. by C. Rabin. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961.
- _____. "Historical Implications of the Correct Rendering of Akkadian dāku." Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 17 (1958), 129-41.
- _____. "A Note on the Saba'a Stele of Adad-nirari III." Israel Exploration Journal, 19 (1969), 46-48.
- _____. "Philistia under Assyrian Rule." Biblical Archaeologist, 29 (1966), 86-102.
- _____. "'The People' and Kingship in Ancient Israel: The Role of

- Political Institutions in the Biblical Period." Journal of World History, 11/1-2 (1968), 46-68.
- Tadmor, H. "The Southern Border of Aram." Israel Exploration Journal, 12 (1962), 114-22.
- Thomas, D. W. "'A Drop of a Bucket'? Some Observations on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah 40 15." In Memoriam Paul Kahle, 214-221. Ed. by M. Black and G. Fohrer. Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 103. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1968.
- Thompson, H. O. and Zayadine, F. "The Tell Siran Inscription." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 212 (1973), 5-11.
- _____. "The Works of Amminadab." Biblical Archaeologist, 37 (1974), 13-19.
- Thompson, R. C. "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-32." Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, 20 (1933), 71-186.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. "Nouvelles lettres d'El-Amarna." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 19 (1922), 91-108.
- _____. "Une Inscription de Narâm-Sin." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 8 (1911), 199-200.
- _____. "Une tablette bilingue de Ras Shamra." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 37 (1940-1941), 97-118.
- Tigay, J. H. "'Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue': On Moses' Speech Difficulty." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 231 (1978), 57-67.
- Tocci, F. M. "Damasco e Ša Imerišu." Revista degli studi orientali, 35 (1960), 129-33.
- Tournay, R. "Les Psaumes complexes." Part I. Revue Biblique, 56 (1949), 37-60.
- Tsevat, M. "God and the Gods in Assembly: An Interpretation of Psalm 82." Hebrew Union College Annual, 40-41 (1969-1970), 123-37.
- Ullendorff, E. "C'est de l'Hébreu pour moi!" Journal of Semitic Studies, 13 (1968), 125-35.
- _____. "Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 34 (1971), 241-55.
- _____. "The Knowledge of Languages in the Old Testament." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 44 (1961-1962), 455-65.
- Unger, E. "Arrap̄a." In Reallexikon der Assyriologie. Vol. I, 154. Ed. by E. Ebeling and B. Meissner. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1932.

- Ungnad, A. "Jaua, mār Ĥumri." Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 4 (1906), 224-26.
- Vattioni, F. "A propos du nom propre syriaque Gusai." Semitica, 16 (1966), 39-41.
- Vaux, R. de. "Les Hurrites de l'histoire et les Horites de la Bible." Revue Biblique, 74 (1967), 481-503.
- _____. "La Palestine et la Transjordanie au II^e millénaire et les origines Israélites." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 56 (1938), 225-38.
- _____. "Les patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes." Revue Biblique, 55 (1948), 321-47.
- _____. "Le pays de Canaan." In Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser. Ed. by W. W. Hallo. Journal of the American Oriental Society, 83 (1968), 23-30.
- _____. "Le sens de l'expression 'peuple du pays' dans l'Ancien Testament et le rôle politique du peuple en Israël." Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, 58 (1964), 167-72.
- _____. "The Settlement of the Israelites in Southern Palestine and the Origins of the Tribe of Judah." In Translating and Understanding the Old Testament: Essays in Honor of Herbert G. May, 108-34. Ed. by H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- Vink, J. G. "The Date and Origin of the Priestly Code in the Old Testament." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 15 (1969), 1-144.
- Virolleaud, C. "Les nouvelles tablettes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra (XIX^e campagne, 1955)." Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres (1956), 60-67.
- Voegelin, C. F. and Harris, Z. S. "Methods of Determining Intelligibility among Dialects of Natural Languages." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 95 (1951), 322-29.
- Vogt, E. "Nomen Israel in tabulis Ugariticus." Biblica, 38 (1957), 375.
- Vollers, K. "Der Name Moab." Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 21 (1908), 237-40.
- Vriezen, T. H. "The Edomite Deity Qaus." Oudtestamentische Studiën, 14 (1965), 330-53.
- Wächter, L. "Israel und Jeschurun." In Schalom, Studien zu Glaube u. Geschichte Israels, 58-64. A. Jepsen Festschrift. Ed. by K. H. Bernhard. Stuttgart: Calwer, 1971.

- Wallis, G. "Die Tradition von den drei Ahrvätern." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 81 (1960), 18-40.
- Wanke, G. "נחלה, nah^alā Besitzanteil." In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. II, 55-59. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1976.
- Weidner, E. F. "Die Annalen des Königs Aššurbēl-kala von Assyrien." Archiv für Orientforschung, 6 (1930-1931), 75-94.
- _____. "Die Feldzüge und Bauten Tiglathpileasers I." Archiv für Orientforschung, 18 (1957-1958), 342-60.
- _____. "Neue Bruchstücke des Berichts über Sargons achten Feldzug." Archiv für Orientforschung, 12 (1937-1939), 144-48.
- _____. Review of A. Poebel, The Second Dynasty of Isin According to the New King-List Tablet VIII. 17 (1956), 383-85.
- _____. "Simurrin und Zaban." Archiv für Orientforschung, 15 (1945-1951), 75-80.
- _____. "Der Staatsvertrag Aššurnirāris VI von Assyrien mit Mati'ilu von Bit-Agusi." Archiv für Orientforschung, 8 (1932-1933), 17-34.
- Weinberg, J. P. "Das Beit 'abōt im 6.-4. JH. V. U. Z." Vetus Testamentum, 23 (1973), 400-414.
- Weinberg, W. "Language Consciousness in the OT." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 92 (1980), 185-204.
- Weippert, M. "Abraham der Hebräer? Bemerkungen zu W. F. Albrights Deutung der Vater Israels." Biblica, 52 (1971), 407-32.
- _____. "Erwägungen zur Etymology des Gottesnamens 'El Shaddaj." Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländische Gesellschaft, 111 (1961), 42-62.
- _____. "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien: Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des 'Heiligen Krieges' im alten Israel." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 84 (1972), 460-93.
- _____. Review of G. Buccellati, Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria: An Essay on Political Institutions with Special Reference to the Israelite Kingdoms. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 89 (1973), 84-96.
- _____. Review of T. Dothan, Ha-Pēlišṭim wē-tarbūtām ha-homrit (The Philistines and their Material Culture). Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 223 (1971), 1-20.
- _____. "שַׁדַּי Saddaj (Gottesname)". In Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Vol. II, 874-81. Ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1976.

- Weippert, M. "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends. Über die Š3šw der Ägyptischen Quellen." Biblica, 55 (1974), 265-80, 427-33.
- Wellhausen, J. "Die Ehe bei den Arabern." Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen, 11 (1893), 431-81.
- Wenham, G. J. "The Religion of the Patriarchs." In Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives, 157-88. Ed. by A. R. Millard and D. J. Wiseman. Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1980.
- Widengren, G. "The Persians." In Peoples of Old Testament Times, 312-57. Ed. by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- Wildberger, H. "Israel und sein Land." Evangelische Theologie, 16 (1956), 404-422.
- Wilcke, C. "Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit." In Le palais et la royauté, 177-232. Ed. by P. Garelli. XIX^e rencontre assyriologique internationale. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1974.
- Williams, R. J. "The 'Israel Stele' of Merneptah." In Documents from Old Testament Times, 137-41. Ed. by D. W. Thomas. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1958.
- Windisch, H. "Βαββαρος." In Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Vol. I, 546-53. Ed. by G. Kittel. Trans. by G. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.
- Winnett, F. V. "The Arabian Genealogies in the Book of Genesis." In Translating and Understanding the Old Testament: Essays in Honor of Herbert G. May, 171-96. Ed. by H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- Winter, P. "Der Begriff 'Söhne Gottes' im Moselied Dtn. 32:1-43." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 67 (1955), 40-48.
- Wiseman, D. J. "A Fragmentary Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III from Nimrud." Iraq, 18 (1956), 117-29.
- _____. "Genesis 10: Some Archaeological Considerations." Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, 87 (1955), 14-24, 113-18.
- _____. "Horites, Horim." In The Illustrated Bible Dictionary. Vol. II, 660-61. Revision edited by N. Hillyer. 3 vols. London: Inter-Varsity, 1980.
- _____. "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon." Iraq, 20 (1958), 1-100.
- Wright, G. E. "Fresh Evidence for the Philistine Story." Biblical Archaeologist, 29 (1966), 70-86.

- Wright, G. E. "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32." In Essays in Honor of J. Muilenburg, 26-67. Ed. by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson. London: SCM, 1962.
- _____. "Philistine Coffins and Mercenaries." Biblical Archaeologist, 22 (1959), 54-66.
- _____. "Shechem." In Archaeology and Old Testament Study, 355-70. Ed. by D. W. Thomas. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.
- Yadin, Y. "The Historical Significance of Inscription 88 from Arad: A Suggestion." Israel Exploration Journal, 26 (1976), 9-14.
- Yeivin, S. "Ya^cqobel." Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 45 (1959), 16-18.
- Yellin-Kallai, Y. "Notes on the New Ammonite Inscription." Israel Exploration Journal, 3 (1953), 123-26.
- Zadok, R. "Geographical and Onomastic Notes." Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University, 8 (1976), 113-26.
- _____. "Phoenicians, Philistines, and Moabites in Mesopotamia." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 230 (1978), 57-65.
- Zayadine, F. and Thompson, H. O. "The Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran." Berytus, 22 (1973), 115-40.
- Zayadine, F. "Note sur l'inscription de la statue d'Amman J. 1656." Syria, 51 (1974), 129-36.
- Zimmerman, F. "Folk Etymology of Biblical Names." Vetus Testamentum, 16 (1966), 311-26.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AASOR Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- AB Anchor Bible.
- AbB Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung.
- ABC A. K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975).
- ABL R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (1892-1914).
- ADAJ Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.
- AfO Archiv für Orientforschung.
- AHw W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (1959-).
- AI J. C. L. Gibson, Aramaic Inscriptions. Vol. II of Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions (1975).
- AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
- ANEP J. B. Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament (1954).
- ANET J. B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. 3rd edition with supplement (1969).
- ANG J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung (1939).
- AnOr Analecta Orientalia.
- AnSt Anatolian Studies.
- Ant. Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews.
- AO Der alte Orient.
- AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament.
- AOS American Oriental Society.
- AOTS D. W. Thomas, ed., Archaeology and Old Testament Study (1967).
- APN K. L. Tallqvist, Assyrian Personal Names (1914).

- APNM H. B. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts (1965).
- AR J. H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, 5 vols. (1906-1907).
- ARAB D. D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, 2 vols. (1926).
- Aram. Aramaic.
- ARI A. K. Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, 2 vols. (1972/1976).
- ARM Archives royales de Mari.
- ARNA F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed, Ancient Records from North Arabia (1970).
- ArOr Archiv Orientalni.
- AS Assyriological Studies.
- ASAE Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte.
- AT D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (1953).
- ATD Das Alte Testament Deutsch.
- ATNT Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
- AUSS Andrews University Seminary Studies.
- BA Biblical Archaeologist.
- BANE G. E. Wright, ed., The Bible and the Ancient Near East (1961).
- BAR The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, 3 vols.
- BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- BB A. Ungnad, Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynasty (1914).
- BBB Bonner biblische Beiträge.
- BDB F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (1952).
- BHK R. Kittel and P. Kahle, eds., Biblia Hebræica, 3rd edition (1937).
- BHS K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., Biblia Hebræica Stuttgartensia (1967/1977).
- Bib Biblica.

- BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis.
- BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
- BKAT Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament.
- BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
- BWANT Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament.
- BWL W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (1960).
- BZ Biblische Zeitschrift.
- BZAW Beiträge zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (1956-).
- CAH The Cambridge Ancient History.
- CB Century Bible.
- CBC Cambridge Bible Commentary.
- CBOT Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament.
- CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
- CH Code of Hammurabi.
- CIS Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum (1881-).
- CML G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (1956).
- CML² J. C. L. Gibson, Canaanite Myths and Legends, 2nd edition (1977).
- CRAIBL Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres.
- DBS Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible.
- DISO C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des inscriptions semitiques de l'ouest (1965).
- DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.
- DN Divine name.
- DOTT D. W. Thomas, Documents from Old Testament Times (1958).
- DRS D. Cohen, Dictionnaire des racines semitiques ou attestées dans les langues semitiques (1970-).

- EA J. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (1908-1915).
- EBPN H. Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-called Hammurabi Dynasty (B.C. 2000) (1905).
- EHI R. de Vaux, The Early History of Israel (1978).
- EHO F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence (1952).
- EI Eretz-Israel.
- EvT Evangelische Theologie.
- FSAC W. F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity (1957).
- GAG W. von Soden, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik (1969).
- GGA Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.
- GK W. Gesenius-E. Kautsch, Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (1910).
- GN Geographic name.
- GTTOT J. Simons, Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament (1959).
- HAT Handbuch zum Alten Testament.
- HDB J. Hastings, ed., Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, 5 vols. (1888-1894).
- HMI J. C. L. Gibson, Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions. Vol. I of Textbook of Syrian Inscriptions (1973).
- HPN G. B. Gray, Studies in Hebrew Proper Names (1896).
- HPT M. Noth, A History of the Pentateuchal Traditions (1972).
- HTR Harvard Theological Review.
- HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual.
- IBD The Illustrated Bible Dictionary, 3 vols. (1980).
- ICC International Critical Commentary.
- IDB The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, 4 vols. (1962).
- IDBS The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, supplementary volume (1976).
- IEJ Israel Exploration Journal.

- IPN M. Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung (1928).
- JANES Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JB Jerusalem Bible.
- JBL Journal of Biblical Literature.
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
- JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
- JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.
- JKF Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung.
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
- JPOS Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
- JQR Jewish Quarterly Review.
- JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies.
- JTS Journal of Theological Studies.
- JTVI Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute.
- JWH Journal of World History.
- KAI H. Donner and W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, 3 vols. (1976).
- KAR Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.
- KAT Kommentar Altes Testament.
- KB L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner, Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament, 3rd edition (1967).
- KS A. Alt, Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel, 3 vols. (1953-1959).
- LC J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan (1957).
- LXX Septuagint.
- MAD Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary.

- Mandelkern S. Mandelkern, Veteris Testamenti concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae (1974).
- MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
- MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.
- MKNAWL Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde.
- MRS Mission de Ras Shamra.
- mss Manuscripts.
- MT Masoretic Text.
- MVAG Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
- NASB New American Standard Bible.
- NCB New Century Bible (including the Century Bible, New Edition/ Series).
- NEB New English Bible.
- NICOT New International Commentary on the Old Testament.
- NIV New International Version.
- NK The Northern Kingdom of Israel.
- NPN I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purvis and A. A. MacRae, Nuzi Personal Names (1943).
- NTS Supplements to Novum Testamentum.
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications.
- OLZ Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
- Or Orientalia.
- OTL Old Testament Library.
- OTS Oudtestamentische Studiën.
- PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
- Phoen. Phoenician.
- PJB Palästina-jahrbuch.
- PKB J. A. Brinkman, A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C. (1968).

- PN Personal name.
- PNCP A. T. Clay, Personal Names from the Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period (1912).
- PNPPI F. L. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions (1972).
- POTT D. J. Wiseman, ed., Peoples of Old Testament Times (1973)
- Praep. Evang. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica.
- PTU F. Gröndahl, Die Personennamen der Texta aus Ugarit (1967).
- Q Qumran.
- RA Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
- RAI Rencontre assyriologique internationale.
- RB Revue Biblique.
- RES Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique.
- RLA Reallexikon der Assyriologie.
- RN Royal name.
- RSO Revista degli studi orientali.
- RSPT Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques.
- RSV Revised Standard Version.
- SAIO E. Lipinski, Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastica (1975).
- Sam. Samaritan Pentateuch.
- SANE Sources from the Ancient Near East.
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.
- SBL Society of Biblical Literature.
- SBT Studies in Biblical Theology.
- StOr Studia Orientalia.
- TCL Textes cunéiform du Louvre.
- TDNT G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, trans. by G. Bromiley. 10 vols. (1964-1976).

- TDOT G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds., Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, trans. by J. T. Willis (1974-).
- THAT E. Jenni and C. Westermann, eds., Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament, 2 vols. (1971/1976).
- ThLZ Theologische Literaturzeitung.
- TOTC Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries.
- TUOT H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed, eds., Translating and Understanding the Old Testament. H. G. May Festschrift (1970).
- TWAT G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds., Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament (1970-).
- TZ Theologische Zeitung.
- UF Ugarit-Forschungen.
- UT C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (1965).
- VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
- Vg. Vulgate.
- VT Vetus Testamentum.
- VTE Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon.
- VTS Supplements to Vetus Testamentum.
- WC Westminster Commentaries.
- WHJP The World History of the Jewish People.
- WM H. W. Haussig, ed., Wörterbuch der Mythologie.
- WO Die Welt des Orients.
- WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
- ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
- ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- ZDPV Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
- ZSVG Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete.
- // "parallel to."