Studies in Historical Geography & Biblical Historiography
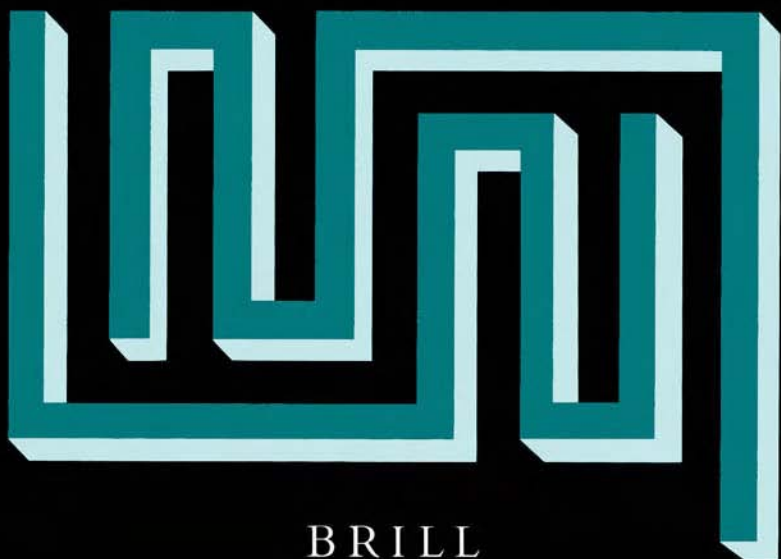
Presented to Zecharia Kallai

Edited by
Gershon Galil &
Moshe Weinfeld

BRILL

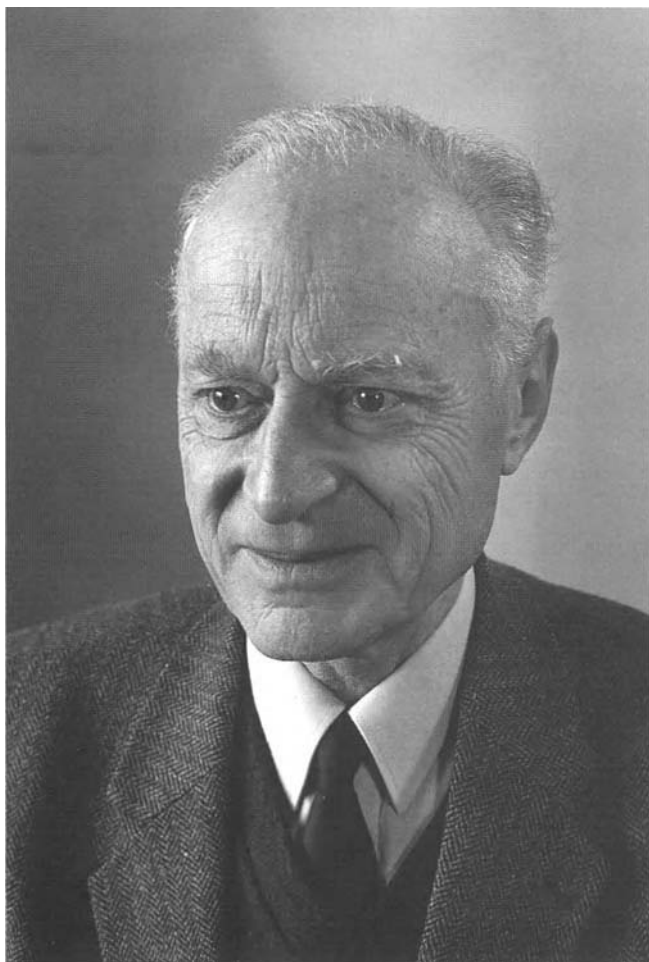STUDIES IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
AND BIBLICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

SUPPLEMENTS

TO

VETUS TESTAMENTUM

Prof. Zecharia Kallai

This page intentionally left blank

STUDIES IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND BIBLICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Presented to Zecharia Kallai

EDITED BY

GERSHON GALIL

AND

MOSHE WEINFELD

CONTENTS

PART ONE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

PART TWO

BIBLICAL HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

PART THREE

TEXTS AND TEXTUAL STUDIES

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

This volume is presented to Professor Zecharia Kallai (Kleinmann) by his students and friends. Kallai, one of the leading scholars of Historical Geography of the Bible, was born in Vienna, Austria in 1923. Two years later his family moved to Berlin and in 1934 he immigrated to Palestine with his parents. In 1945 he began his studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Kallai's studies were interrupted by his military service during the 1948 war. After demobilization he continued studying receiving his MA in 1954 with a thesis entitled: "The Northern Boundaries of Judah from the Settlement of the Tribes until the beginning of the Hasmonaean Period", written under the supervision of B. Mazar. In 1963 he received his Ph.D. at the Hebrew University with a dissertation, "The Tribes of Israel: A Study in the Historical Geography of the Bible", also written under the supervision of B. Mazar. He was awarded the Klausner prize in 1954/5 and the Ben-Zvi prize in 1968.

Kallai commenced his teaching career in the departments of Jewish History and Archaeology at the Hebrew University in 1965 as a Research Fellow and Guest Lecturer. Three years later he became Senior Lecturer and in 1974 he was appointed Associate Professor. In 1984 he became Professor. He retired in 1991.

Kallai has published many articles and books in Hebrew and in English. His Hebrew books include: *The Northern Boundaries of Judah from the Settlement of the Tribes until the beginning of the Hasmonaean Period* (1960) and *The Tribes of Israel: A Study in the Historical Geography of the Bible* (1967). The English revised version of this book was published in 1986 entitled *Historical Geography of the Bible: The Tribal Territories of Israel*. He also published in English a collection of studies: *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography* (1998).

The basis of Kallai's examination of the geographical lists in the Bible is the premise that these descriptions constitute a picture of once-existing reality and are not the fabrication of an ancient writer, nor a prophetic vision or theory. This conclusion is supported by the precise convoluted lines of the territorial descriptions, as well as the diversity of the systems formed by the various lists, since theoretical or idealized portrayals would be much more streamlined and consistent.

In his *opus magnum*, published in 1986, Kallai offered one of the most careful studies of the geographical data in the Bible. On the one hand, he separated geographical analysis from historical considerations, and on the other he proposed a comprehensive synthesis reaching the following main conclusions: The tribal boundary system in the Book of Joshua reflects the situation as it was consolidated during the first half of Solomon's reign. David's census and the list of Solomon's districts also belong to this complex. In his opinion, the town-lists of the northern and of the Transjordanian allotments in the book of Joshua are contemporary with the boundary system and complemented the descriptions of the allotments. The town-lists of Simeon and Dan also belong to this period, while the town list of Benjamin is dated to the period of Abijah and the town-list of Judah to the days of Hezekiah. The lists of the Levitic cities, in his opinion also reflect reality and are not a pure fabrication. Kallai fixed the date of this system one generation following the situation mirrored in the boundary system.

Kallai has also written basic papers on the interaction of historical geography and territorial history with literary frameworks elucidating phenomena of scribal tradition involved in biblical historiography that laid the groundwork for later research by others in these fields.

In his current research he studies territorial history as a key to historiographical composition. His research in this field shows that territorial history provides tangible data employed in ancient Israelite historiography that are prominent due to the paramount importance of the land. The prolific use of these data in the form of normative patterns, formalized concepts and in stylized representation reveals important modes of scribal tradition. In his opinion historical concepts govern the arrangement of data which have been used selectively by the ancient authors, displaying sophisticated literary activity that culls its material from sources of diverse stages of literary transformation.

Gershon Galil and Moshe Weinfeld

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	*Anchor Bible.*
ABL	R.F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, I–IV, London-Chicago 1892–1914.
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.*
ADD	C.H.W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Document*, I–IV (Cambridge, 1899–1923).
ADPV	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins.*
AfO	*Archiv fuer Orienforschung.*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJS	*American Journal of Sociology.*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.*
AMI	*Archeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies.*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J.B. Pritchard.
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt.*
AOAT	Alter Orient und altes Testament.
ARAB	*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, ed. D.D. Luckenbill.
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute.*
ATD	*Das Alte Testament Deutsch.*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist.*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader.*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
BEThL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium.*
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (= Yediot).*
BiOr	*Biblica et Orientalia.*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche.*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Alter Testament.
BN	*Biblische Notizen.*
BR	*Bible Review.*
BTAVO	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary.
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly.*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum.*
CRAiBL	*Comptes rendus des seances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettrés*
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum* (London).
CTN III	S.J. Dalley and J.N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*, (Oxford, 1984).
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
HALAT	W. Baumgartner et al., *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testamento.*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs.
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review.*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual.*
IB	*Interpreter's Bible.*
ICC	International Critical Commentary.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal.*

JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JCS	*Journal of cuneiform Studies.*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society.*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review.*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies.*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods.*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.*
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament—Supplement Series.
KAI	H. Donner and W. Roellig, *Kanaanaeische und aramaeische Inschriften.*
NCB	New Century Bible.
NTS	*New Testament Studies.*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis.
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta.
OLP	Orientalia lovaniensia periodica.
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus.*
OTL	Old Testament Library.
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën.*
PEF	*Palestinie Exploration Fund.*
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. J.-P. Migne, Series Graeca.
PJB	*Palaestina-Jahrbuch.*
POT	*Princeton Oriental Texts.*
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyklopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.*
RB	*Revue biblique.*
RIMA 3	A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC, II (858–745 BC)*, (Toronto, 1996).
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie.* eds. E. Ebeling et al., (1932–).
RSF	*Rivista di Studi Fenici.*
SAA	*State Archives of Asyria.*
SAA VI	T. Kwasman and S. Parpola, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Niniveh*, I (Helsinki, 1991).
SANE	Sources from the Ancient Near East.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology.
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East.
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity.
ThB	*Theologische Blätter.*
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources.
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopaedie.*
TSSI	J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, (3 vols., 1971–1982).
TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds.
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen.*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum.*
VTS	*Vetus Testamentum, Supplements.*
WBC	World Biblical Commentary.
WMANT	Wissenchaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament.
WO	*Die Welt des Orients.*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins.*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

PART ONE

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

This page intentionally left blank

ZEBULUN AND THE SEA

SHMUEL AḤITUV
Beer Sheva

The blessing of Jacob describes Zebulun as a maritime tribe (Gen 49,13). This, and the description of Zebulun and Issachar in the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33,18–19), led the Rabbis to assume that the tribe of Zebulun was engaged in commerce, including overseas trade (*Tanhuma, Vayehi* 11, p. 197). The *Midrash* on the flags of the tribes in their encampment in the desert has that of Zebulun with a ship on a white background (*Num Rabah* 2,6, p. 5b). Artists drew Zebulun's ship in full sail, and an organization of sea-scouts in present-day Israel is named *Zebulun*. Modern Hebrew toponomy names the southern part of the Bay of Acre *Emek Zevulun*, the valley of Zebulun (after *BT Bava Batra* 122a, allotting to the tribe of Zebulun the region/province of Acre).

The verses describing Zebulun as a coastal tribe are problematic, and their background is most obscure. There is nowhere in the Scriptures any other hint at a maritime history of Zebulun. Its inheritance is not on the coast but inland. It never came near the Phoenician city of Sidon, as alluded in Jacob's Blessing.

The inheritance of Zebulun is described in Josh 19,10–16 as separated from the sea by the inheritance of the tribe of Asher (Josh 19,24–31). The western border of Asher is described thus: "Then the border turned it, north of Ḥanaton, and its extreme limits were the Valley of Iphtaḥ-el" (v. 14). The boundary circumvented "it", probably the territory of the above-mentioned Nea (v. 13)—whose location is however unknown, rising at a certain point north of Ḥanaton (Tel Ḥanaton = *Tell el-Badawiyeh*; 174/243) to reach the Valley of Iphtaḥ-el. Nahal Iphtaḥ-el (*wādi el-Khalladiyeh*) cuts its course in a narrow valley, drains the Beth-Netopha Valley (*Sahal el-Batuf*), and empties into Naḥal Ṣippori (*wādi el-Malik*) which runs westward. Emerging from the hills of the lower Galilee, the border turns southwest, passing north of Tel Regev (*Tell el-Harbaj*; 158/240), near Kefar Ḥassidim. The continuation of the border till Yokneam is missing, but we can guess that it wound according to the topography. The

Zebulun border is further defined by the eastern boundary of Asher and its list of cities (Josh 19,24–31). Notwithstanding the many topographical problems in defining the particularities of the borders of Zebulun and Asher, it is clear that the allotment of Zebulun was enclosed between the inheritance of Asher in the west and the inheritances of Naphtali, Issachar, and Manasseh in the east and south, never approaching the Mediterranean coast.

How then are we to interpret the content of the blessing for Zebulun in Genesis and Deuteronomy?

The blessing to Zebulun in Gen 49,13 says:

> Zebulun, by the shore of seas shall dwell
> and he by the shore of ships
> and his flank – by Sidon.

The blessing surely describes Zebulun as dwelling near the seashore (חוֹף יָמִים): the second hemistich is governed by the verb of the first hemistich (שׁכ״ן), which serves both of them (מוֹשֵׁךְ עצמו ואחר עמו in the medieval Hebrew grammatical terms). A shore of ships is a haven for ships, for in ancient times boats were hauled ashore instead of lying at anchor. "His flank", his border touching Sidon, does not mean that Zebulun's inheritance extended northward as far as Sidon. Sidon stands for the northern, maritime Canaanites, namely the Phoenicians. In Gen 10,15 Sidon is the firstborn of Canaan, and in 1 Kgs 5,20 Sidonians stand for Phoenicians, under the jurisdiction of Hiram King of Tyre. Ethbaal the Tyrian is called "King of Sidonians" in 1 Kgs 16,31. Likewise Hiram II is called "King of Sidonians" in a Phoenician inscription on a copper bowl from Limassol in Cyprus.[1]

The blessing to Zebulun and Issachar in Deut 33 is less explicit, but it too alludes to the maritime position of Zebulun:

> And of Zebulun he said
> Rejoice, O Zebulun on your outgoing/journeys
> And Issachar in your tents
> They invite (their) kin to the Mountain

---

[1] H. Donner – W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, (Wiesbaden, 1962–1964), no. 31; O. Masson, "La dédicace à Ba'al du Liban (*CIS*, I, 5) et sa provenance probable de la région de Limassol", *Semitica* 35 (1985), pp. 33–46; M. Sznycer, "Brèves remarques sur l'inscription phénicienne de Chypre, CIS, I, 5". *Semitica*, 35 (1985), pp. 47–50.

There they offer sacrifices of success
For they shall suck the riches of the seas
And the hidden hoards of the sand (vv. 18–19).

These verses are enigmatic. What situation is meant by the description of Issachar dwelling in the tents of Zebulun, namely amidst Zebulun? Does it indicate a stage that Zebulun and Issachar shared a common territory, or were still two clans of one tribe?

It is customary to interpret that the holy mountain where they invited עמים, probably their kinfolk, to celebrate and offer זבחי צדק, sacrifices of success (this is the meaning of צדק here, as in צדקה in Isa 61,10), was none other than Mount Tabor, in the inheritance of Issachar. The assumption that Mount Tabor was holy is based on this verse, as well as Hos 5,1, where Tabor and Mizpah are equated. Mizpah is known as a cultic site (Judg 20,1; 21,5,8; 1 Sam 7,5–7; 10; 17), and so might Tabor be. O. Eissfeldt compared Mount Tabor with Mount Atabyris in the island of Rhodes. On its peak there was a Phoenician temple, on which a Hellenistic temple was later built. Zeus Atabyrios was worshiped in the eastern Mediterranean.[2]

But Mount Carmel is as good a candidate for this mountain, as observed by George Adam Smith who however did not decide but wrote: "The mountain may have been Carmel or Tabor".[3] That Mount Carmel is that mountain is argued by B. Mazar.[4] He showed that there is enough evidence for Mount Carmel as a cultic site: Elijah and the altar of Yahweh (1 Kgs 18); Elisha stayed at Mount Carmel (2 Kgs 2,25; 4,25). In the Hellenistic period Zeus was worshiped there under the name of "Zeus of Carmel the Heliopolitanian", as stated on a fragment of his statue.[5]

What are the "outgoing" or "journeys" of Zebulun, the riches of the seas that they (Zebulun and Issachar?) shall suck, and the hidden (hoards) in the sand? Since the Rabbis, most commentators have interpreted these verses as alluding to the mercantile activities of Zebulun and the exploitation of the sea-purple and glass made from the sand.[6]

---

[2] O. Eissfeldt, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 31 (1934), pp. 14–41.

[3] G.A. Smith, *Deuteronomy* (CB; Cambridge, 1918), p. 372.

[4] B. Mazar, "Carmel the Holy Mountain", *Biblical Israel: State and People* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 127–133.

[5] Mazar, *Biblical Israel: State and People*, p. 132.

[6] *Sifri, Beracha* (ed. M. Ish-Shalom [Vienna, 1864], p. 147a); *Yalkut* # 960–961,

But the verb יצא and its derivatives are very non-specific, and the interpretation of trading ventures is less good than others. The intention here seems more going out to rejoice in pilgrimage to the mountain, to celebrate with sacrifices in thanksgiving for the abundance of the sea and the sand on its shore.

As the manufacture of purple is not attested on the southern coast of Phoenicia till the Persian period,[7] and the glass industry in this region is mostly of the Roman-Byzantine Period, we must rule out these interpretations, whose setting is a late period. Verse 19b probably refers to revenues from maritime commerce, although we do not know what exactly lies behind the enigmatic ושפני טמני חול "the (hoards/treasures) hidden (שפני in apposition to טמני, like Job 20,17 נהרי נחלי דבש .ספני (<סף׳ = שפ׳) are "the covered," טמני—"the hidden") in the sand.

Curiously, Asher's blessing has no reference to his allotment by the sea, from Mount Carmel northward, not in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49,20) nor in the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33,24–25). Instead, his fertile inheritance is mentioned. Only in the Song of Deborah is Asher described as a coastal tribe (Judg 5,17b):

> Asher dwelt at the seacoast
> And on its landings resided.

This description is quite similar to that of Zebulun in the Blessing of Jacob. How should the contradiction between the blessings to Zebulun with the description of the allotments of the tribes in Josh 19, and the description of Asher in the Song of Deborah, be resolved? J. Skinner writes: "We must therefore suppose that the tribal boundaries fluctuated greatly in early times, and that at the date of the poem Zebulun had access at some point to the sea".[8] A similar interpretation is given by B. Mazar,[9] who thinks that such a situation existed at the time of the Omrides, when Zebulun took part in the Tyrian commerce; and the blessing to Zebulun and Issachar dates

---

p. 343a = 685; *TJ* a.l.; of the new commentaries cf. *inter alia* Smith, *Deuteronomy*, p. 373; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; London, 1966), p. 207; S.R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1895), pp. 409–410.

[7] Cf. M. Elat, "Tkheleth veArgaman (Blue and Red Purple)", *Encyclopaedia Miqraith* 8 (Jerusalem, 1982), cols. 545–546, (Hebrew).

[8] J. Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1910), p. 526.

[9] Mazar, *Biblical Israel: State and People*, pp. 129–130.

to the time of Jehoram son of Ahab, who still was an ally of Tyre, although a true worshiper of Yahweh.

But there is no hint in the Bible that Zebulun ever approached the sea, or that the allotment of Asher was somewhere else. The allotment of Asher is really problematic; being the southern part of Phoenicia, it was in Israelite hands only in the days of David and the first half of the reign of Solomon, who transferred it to Hiram of Tyre (1 Kgs 9,10–13).[10]

I think that the description of Zebulun as a maritime tribe reflects the ninth district of Solomon (1 Kgs 4,16), which comprised of Asher and Zebulun (ובעלות is meaningless. The best solution is to read with A. Alt and F.M. Cross זבולון. Cross argued that בעלות > *בעלתי is a corruption of זבולון in the Jewish script of the Second Commonwealth Period).[11] It is the only possible situation in which Zebulun can be described as a maritime tribe dwelling by the seacoast. The reign of Solomon, who collaborated in the Tyrian commerce, can explain how Zebulun suits a blessing of benefit from the abundance of the sea and the treasures of its coast.

This does not imply that the Blessings of Jacob and Moses date from the United Monarchy. Administrative divisions established under the United Monarchy might have persisted for some time in the Kingdom of Israel, and the blessings of Zebulun reflect such a later date. But till we have further evidence we can say no more.

---

[10] Cf. Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible*, (Jerusalem-Leiden, 1986), p. 283. A. Lemaire, "Asher et le royaume de Tyr", *Phoenicia and the Bible*, ed. E. Lipinski (*OLA* 44; Leuven, 1991), pp. 135–152; E. Lipinski, *ibid.*, pp. 153–166.

[11] G.E. Wright, "The Provinces of Solomon", *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967), p. 59; A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II (München, 1953), pp. 76–89; idem, *Kleine Schriften*, III (München, 1959), pp. 198–213 and n. 8.

THE CHRONICLER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMON
BORDER OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH

AARON DEMSKY

Bar-Ilan, Ramat Gan

In his first major work, *The Northern Boundaries of Judah* (Jerusalem,
1960), Zechariah Kallai studied one of the central problems of the
historical geography of Eretz-Israel, namely, the delineation of ancient
tribal and national borders. He analyzed the complex interplay
between natural topography, demographic developments, and man-
made political demands all factors, which over the generations pro-
duced a fluidity in the demarcation lines along the northern border
of the Judean monarchy.[1] Furthermore, as an astute student of bib-
lical history, he is aware of and sensitive to the textual problems of
the Bible produced by the different versions, the various formulations,
and in particular the historiographic tendencies found in our sources.
Kallai takes all of these aspects into consideration in his studies,
which have become a model for all serious work in the field. As a
modest expression of my appreciation of his scholarship and of our
long friendship, I dedicate this clarification of a small point on the
shared border of Ephraim and Manasseh.

The Chronicler has joined two difficult and independent genealo-
gies of the tribes of Manasseh[2] and Ephraim in 1 Chron 7,14–27.
He has then added in vv. 28–29 a description of their borders begin-
ning from the south: "Their possessions and settlements were Bethel
and its dependencies, and on the east Naaran, and on the west Gezer
and its dependencies, Shechem and its dependencies, and 'Aiah and
its dependencies; also along the borders of the Manassites, Beth-

---

[1] For further discussion of these issues, see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A
Historical Geography* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 64–80: Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of
the Bible* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1986), passim; N. Na'aman, *Borders and Districts in Biblical
Historiography* (Jerusalem, 1986); A. Demsky, "'From Kziv to the River near the
Amanah' (Mish. Shevi'it 6:1): A Clarification of the Northern Border of the Returnees
from Egypt", *Shnaton* 10 (1990), pp. 71–81 (Hebrew); idem, "The Genealogy of
Asher", *Eretz Israel* 24 (1993), pp. 68–73 (Hebrew).

[2] A. Demsky, "The Genealogies of Manasseh and the Location of the Territory
of Milcah Daughter of Zelophehad", *Eretz Israel* 16 (1982), pp. 70–75 (Hebrew).

Shean and its dependencies, Taanach and its dependencies, Megiddo and its dependencies, Dor and its dependencies. In these dwelt the sons of Joseph son of Israel".

The description in verses 28–29 seems to be a composite of several sources since the southern border is formulated on the principle of citing a central fixed point, from which emanated two extremes in opposite directions, first to the east and then to the west. This type of demarcation is found in some of the tribal borders described in the book of Joshua for the tribes of Zebulun (19,12), Issachar (19,27), and Naphtali (19,34). On the other hand, the northern side of Manasseh described in v. 29 is a series of points on a boundary running from east to west and is reminiscent of, though not identical to, Josh 17,11; Judg 1,27 (Beth-Shean, Jibleam, Dor + En-Dor, Taanach, Megiddo), which seems to be two parallel lines "comprising three districts".

The mention of Shechem between the two descriptions would indicate the Chronicler's attempt to note a common point shared by both tribes. Indeed, Shechem is identified as an eponym of one of the clans of Manasseh (Num 26,31; Josh 17,2; Samaria Ostraca #44) and a Levitical city in the terrritory of Ephraim (Josh 21,20; 1 Chron 6,52). The question is, what is the function of the city of ʿAiah in this list?

Zechariah Kallai has returned to this problem on several occasions.[3] Following the better versions of the Masoretic Text supporting the reading עיה, he identifies the site with HaʿAi (Gen 12,8; Josh 7,2; Ezra 2,28; Neh 7,32), ʿAiath (Isa 10,28), and especially ʿAiah (Neh 11,31), located to the east of Bethel. The toponym ʿAiah preserves the name of the older settlement destroyed by Joshua, commonly identified with et-Tel (1747/1472). Kallai's solution to the problem is that the Chronicler, by citing both Shechem and ʿAiah on a north-south axis, is indicating the depth of the territory of Ephraim, somewhat like the formular "from Dan to Beer-sheba". The ancient historian may even have been influenced by the north-south boundary of these two tribes noted in Josh 17,7: "The boundary of Manasseh ran from . . . Michmethath, which lies near Shechem. The boundary

---

[3] Kallai, *The Northern Boundaries*, pp. 41–42; idem, *The Tribes of Israel: A Study in the Historical Geography of the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 133–134 (Hebrew); idem, "Bet-el–Luz and Beth-Aven", *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel*, R. Liwak and S. Wagner, eds., (Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 171–188.

continued to the south toward the inhabitants of En-tappuah".[4] In defense of his suggestion, Kallai reviews and dismisses the alternative solutions. An example is that of W. Rudolph,[5] who proposed that the line Shechem—ʿAiah is actually the common laditudinal border of both tribes so the latter site should be sought along that line. Of course, there is no proper candidate for such an identification. Futhermore, some of the Masoretic mss. and printed editions, as well as some versions of the Septuagint plus the Vulgata and Targum Jonathan, do preserve an alternative reading, עזה, namely, Gaza, which seems improbable in this geographic context. Kallai's inter-pretation is the one generally accepted by most modern commentaries.[6]

Actually, there is another opinion that is a synthesis of the above two alternatives that I would like to explore. It was suggested over two centuries ago by Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon of Vilna in his com-ment on this verse. Though a pre-modern, the Gaon had all the biblical and rabbinic texts at total recall and especially had an acute interest and understanding of biblical geography as can be seen in his collected commentaries published by his students in the book *Tsurat Haʾaretz* (Shklov, 1802) as well as in many of his notes to the Chronicler's genealogical chapters. Above all, Rabbi Elijah was of independent mind, and suggested novel interpretations, some of which can now be confirmed. Probably influenced by Targum Jonathan and the variant Masoretic readings, he writes: "'Until 'Azzah'— which was (located) at the west-northern corner of Ephraim. This is the עזה of Ephraim and not the עזה of Judah". This amazing com-ment should be considered in the light of the textual evidence against it and the problem of finding a suitable identification.

For instance, Jedediah Solomon of Norzi, the author of the *Minhath Shai* (16th–17th cents.), whose work was known to the Gaon, came out quite strongly against the reading עזה on the basis of external evidence, namely, other better manuscripts. It seems even to be a matter of principle for him: "A great error has fallen in many books

---

[4] Apparently, the Chronicler was not interested in the sparcely inhabited east-ern portion of the joint border which went through Teʾanath Shiloh (Kh. Tana el Foqa), Yanoah (Yanun), Naʿarah/Naʿaran to Jericho and the Jordan River (Josh 16:6–7).

[5] W. Rudolph, *Chronikbucher* (Tübingen, 1955), pp. 73–74.

[6] See S. Japhet *I and II Chronicles—A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, 1993), p. 184; S. Ahituv, "2. ʿAi" *Encyclopedia Miqraʾit* 6, (Jerusalem, 1971), (Hebrew), col. 182; see also B. Mazar, *Cities and Districts in Eretz Israel* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 84 (Hebrew).

(printed editions) where it is written 'until Azzah'. It is clear as the sun that this is a printer's error for in all the best checked manuscripts as well as in the old printed editions it is written עדה with a *yod* and so in the Masoretic notations . . .". In the same vein, we might add that among the better textual sources which now support this reading are the Keter Aram Zobah and Leningrad Codex.

On the other hand, in support of the reading עזה we find not only Targum Jonathan but also most of the Septuagint versions as well as the Vulgata, which read "Gaza". Thus עזה is an old and reliable tradition. We can explain the appearance of the variant readings by assuming that some confusion arose because of the similarity of *zayin* and *yod* either in the Old Hebrew script or more probably in the later Jewish square script that was before the Targum.[7] Some of the Masoretes living in Eretz-Israel, who obviously saw the incongruence of "Gaza" within the borders of Ephraim, rejected this variant, preferring what would be considered the better reading. Similarly, most of the moderns, echoing Rudolph, would say *"Gaza, sachlich unmoeglich"*. From a text-critical approach of the Hebrew mss., this is a parade example of the rule of *lectio difficilior*, of which we might add is *praeferenda*.[8]

The only way to decide the intrinsic value of the two readings and which one is the original is by turning to the contextual evidence derived from the principles of the study of the historical geography of Eretz-Israel. In essence, Rabbi Elijah has already made that recommendation in his intuitive comment on this verse.

About ten years ago, I took my students from Bar-Ilan University on a field trip to Samaria. Our first stop was Kh. Jama'in (1569/1752), a small Iron Age II Israelite agricultural settlement with grain, oil, and wine installations, located north of Nahal Qanah and just south of the Qalqiliyeh-Nablus Road. The site had been abandoned sometime during the Assyrian occupation of Samaria in the late 8th–7th centuries BCE.[9]

---

[7] For instance compare עירו and עזרה in 1 Chron 4:15,17.

[8] See the enlightening study by E. Tov, "Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules", *HTR* 75 (1982), pp. 429–448, esp. 445ff.

[9] S. Dar, "Khirbet Jama'in—An Iron Age Village in Western Samaria", *Mehqerei Shomron*, S. Dar and Z. Safrai, eds. (Tel Aviv, 1986), pp. 13–73 (Hebrew); see also H. Tadmor, "Some Aspects of the History of Samaria during the Biblical Period", *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3 (1983), pp. 1–11; Demsky, "The Genealogies of Manasseh", pp. 70–75.

The village, some 20 dunams in area, is located in the western foothills of Samaria, 1.5 km from the relatively large town of ʿAzzun. At once it became clear to me that the name ʿAzzun, with a ʿain and not a ghrain as in Gaza, preserved the ancient name of ʿAzzah which we are seeking in this area.[10] Apparently, Kh. Jamaʿin was one of those "daughter villages" referred to by the Chronicler. Furthermore, the Assyrian occupation of the site gives us the latest date for the Chronicler's description of the orderly settlement and demarcation of the tribes of Joseph.

ʿAzzun was probably the western extremity of the tribe of Manasseh, or to be more precise that of the clan of Abiezer, known to us from the story of Gideon (Judg 6–8) and from the Samaria Ostraca, where the villages of Elmatan (ʾImmatin), Twl (Ragil el-ʾArbaʿin), and per-haps Ofrah (ʿAufar) are to be found.[11] In this context, Hanan Eshel kindly brought to my attention the passage in Judg 6,4, which has troubled commentators and historical geographers and where we find a description of how the Midianites and their Amalekite and Kedemite cohorts from east of the Jordan would attack the Israelites and "destroy the produce of the land all the way to ʿAzzah". We pro-pose that this refers to ʿAzzah/ʿAzzun on the western border of the territory of Manasseh, or specifically to that of Abiezer, the clan of Gideon, and not to the distant Gaza on the Egyptian border.

According to the Chronicler's source, ʿAzzah/ʿAzzun and Shechem were two points on the common border of Ephraim and Manasseh. Does this imply that the border had moved northward beyond the natural geographic demarcation of Nahal Qanah given in Josh 17,8? Already in the period of Judges, Ephraim was encroaching upon Manasseh, as seen first from the reference to the judge Abdon ben Hillel of Parathon (Faraʿtah), who is placed in the land of Ephraim

---

[10] R. Zadok, "Notes on Modern Palestinian Toponymy", *ZDPV* 101 (1985), p. 158. Actually, S. Yeivin already made this equation *en passant* in "Ephraim", *En-cyclopedia Miqraʾit* 1 (Jerusalem, 1951), col. 511 (Hebrew); M. Garsiel and I. Finkelstein ("The Westward Expansion of the House of Joseph in Light of the ʿIzbet Sartah Excavation", *Tel Aviv* [1978], p. 195), identified ʿAzzah with the relatively smaller village of ʿAzzun-ʿAtme, east of Kfar Qasim, in their attempt to relate the clan of Abiezer with Eben Haezer (ʿIzbet Sartah). This implied a southward migration of the Manassite clans into the territory of Ephraim, a suggestion contradicted by the biblical evidence indicating the opposite development.
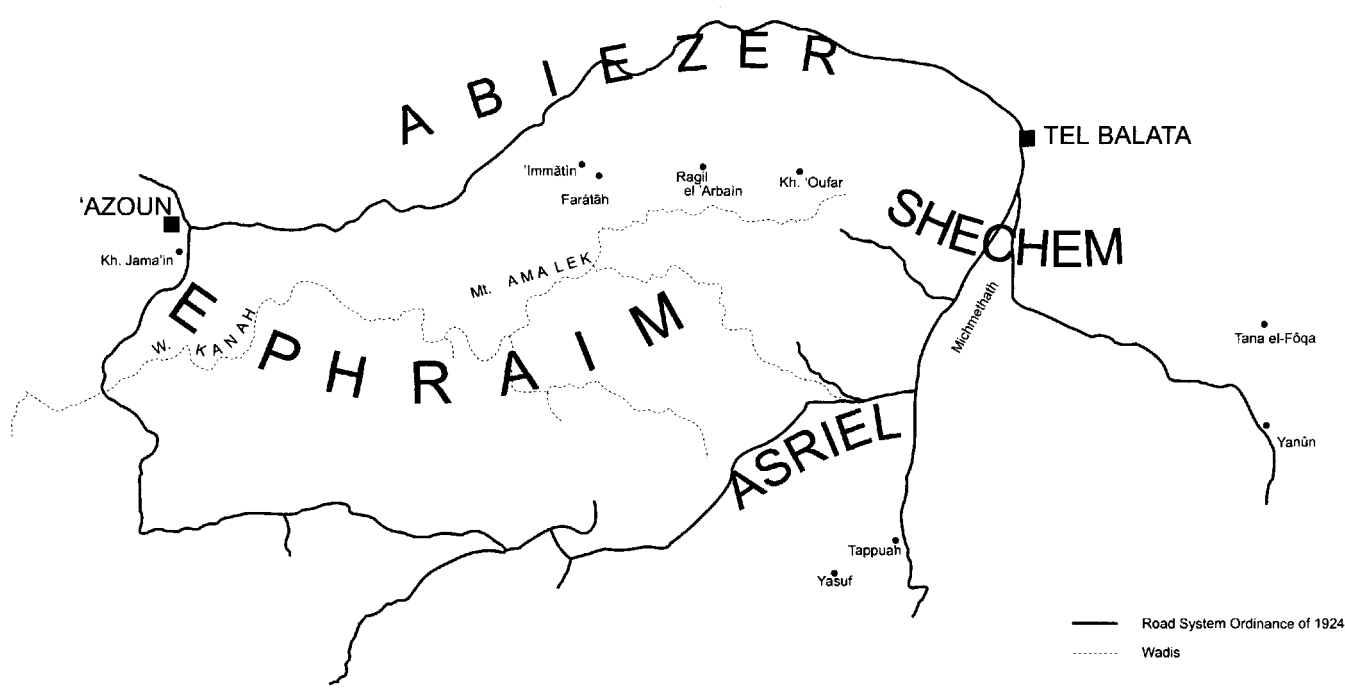
[11] H. Eshel, "The Identity of Ofra, Gideon's City", *Cathedra* 22 (1982), pp. 3–8 (Hebrew); See Z. Kallai "The Land of Benjamin and Mt. Ephraim", *Judea, Samaria and the Golan, Archaeological Survey 1967–1968*, M. Kochavi, ed., (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 156 (Hebrew).

(Judg 12,15; cf. 6,4), and secondly from the oblique reference to "the towns marked off for the Ephraimites within the territory of the Manassites all these towns and their villages" (Josh 16,9). Furthermore, the former tribe's primacy in political power and numbers over its brother is echoed already in the deference expected towards them from such tribal leaders as Gideon and Jepthah (Judg 8,1–3; 12,1f.). Shechem and probably ʿAzzah/ʿAzzun were part of the growing Ephraimite presence in the traditional territory of Manasseh north of Nahal Qanah. Both cities probably had a mixed population. This centuries-long demographic process affecting the tribal borders was cut short by the Assyrian conquest of the Northern Kingdom and the subsequent mass exile of many of these families of the House of Joseph in the late 8th century BCE.

In sum, we have tried to clarify the Chronicler's description of the western half of the common border of the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh. Our starting point was the justification of the reading ʿAzzah over the preferred reading ʿAiah. Guided by the intuitive comment of Rabbi Elijah of Vilna regarding the place of ʿAzzah at the northwestern corner of the tribal territory of Ephraim, we identified this site with the large Arab town of ʿAzzun. Our discussion has brought to bear the principal aspects of modern historical geography of Eretz-Israel, namely preservation of the ancient Hebrew name in the current Arabic toponym, geographic considerations, accord with the biblical sources, and finally archaeological confirmation of the identifications. In so doing, we have returned to the subject of territorial borders a topic which Zechariah Kallai has illuminated and upon which he has left his indelible mark.

A. DEMSKY

The Border of Ephraim and Manasseh.

ABIEZER

TEL BALATA ■

'AZOUN ■

'Immätin ● ● Ragil el 'Arbain Kh. 'Oufar ●

Farátäh ●

SHECHEM

Kh. Jama'in ●

EPHRAIM

Mt. AMALEK

W. KANAH

Tana el-Fôqa ●

Michmethath

Yanûn ●

ASRIEL

Tappuah ●

Yâsuf ●

— Road System Ordinance of 1924

········ Wadis

DIE GRENZEN DES LANDES ISRAEL

VOLKMAR FRITZ
Mainz

Mit der Errichtung des Königtums unter Saul bilden die Territorien der zugehörigen israelischen Stämme ein Staatsgebiet. Für die beiden ersten Könige Saul und David wird die Größe des Königreiches durch die Formel "von Dan bis Beerscheba" bestimmt (1 Sam 3,20; 2 Sam 3,10; 17,11; 24,2.15; vgl. Ri 20,1; 1 Kön 5,5).[1] Zur Kennzeichnung des Staatsgebietes werden die am weitesten nördlich gelegene Stadt Dan *(Tell el-Qāḍī)*[2] und die im Negeb gelegene Stadt Beerscheba *(Bīr es-Sebaʿ)*[3] als Fixpunkte genannt, um die Ausdehnung des Königreiches anzugeben. Dabei wird vorausgesetzt, daß dem Leser sowohl die Lage der beiden Orte als auch die Erstreckung des zwischen beiden Städten gelegenen Gebietes bekannt sind. Da Einschränkungen nicht gemacht werden, bezeichnet die Formel "von ... bis ..." immer die Gesamtheit des beschriebenen Gebietes. Die Größe des Reiches ist somit in der Erstreckung von Norden nach Süden global umrissen, ohne daß die Ausdehnung von Osten nach Westen näher bestimmt wird. Da das Kulturland im Osten durch Wüsten und im Westen durch das Mittelmeer begrenzt wird, wird mit der Benennung der Erstreckung von Norden nach Süden vorausgesetzt, daß das Land zu beiden Seiten des Jordan in seiner Gesamtheit zum Königreich gehört. Es muß dabei offen bleiben, ob mit dem Land "von Dan bis Beerscheba" lediglich die Siedlungsgebiete der israelitischen Stämme gemeint oder ob auch die Territorien der noch von Kanaanitern bewohnten Städte mit eingeschlossen sind. Erst für die Zeit Salomos ist auf Grund der Einteilung des Staatsgebietes in Verwaltungsdistrikte (1 Kön 4,7–19) klar, daß das Königreich

---

[1] Die umgekehrte Reihenfolge findet sich in 1 Chr 21,2; 2 Chr 30,5.

[2] Dan war nicht nur die nördlichste, sondern während der Eisenzeit II auch eine bedeutende Stadt, vgl. A. Biran, *Biblical Dan* (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 159–254.

[3] Zur Ansetzung von Beerscheba auf dem weiter östlich von *Bīr es-Sebaʿ* gelegenen *Tell es-Sebaʿ* durch Y. Aharoni vgl. V. Fritz, "Der Beitrag der Archäologie zur historischen Topographie Palästinas am Beispiel von Ziklag", *ZDPV* 106 (1990), pp. 78–86.

sowohl die Stammesgebiete als auch die Bereiche der kanaanitischen
Städte und damit die Gesamtheit des Landes umfaßt hat.[4]

I

Der Gebrauch der Formel "von Dan bis Beerscheba" ist auf die frühe
Königszeit beschränkt, denn der letzte Beleg findet sich in Form
einer Parataxe in 1 Kön 5,5. In den Notizen, die von verschiede-
nen Redaktoren in 1 Kön 4,30 und 5,1–6 nachgetragen wurden,[5]
wird der Herrschaftsbereich Salomos völlig neu bestimmt, wenn es
1 Kön 5,1 hinsichtlich seiner Ausdehnung heißt: "vom Eufrat[6] bis
zur Grenze Ägyptens". Diese Formel wird in 1 Kön 5,4 präzisiert:
"Denn er herrschte über das ganze Gebiet jenseits des Eufrat von
Tifsach bis Gaza, über alle Könige jenseits des Eufrat". Inhaltlich
deckt sich diese Gebietsbeschreibung mit ähnlichen Formulierungen
in Ex 23,31; Deut 1,7; 11,24; Josh 1,4. Zeitlich ist diese Anschauung
von der Ausdehnung des salomonischen Reiches mit Ausnahme der
Stelle Ex 23,31, die sich in einem späten Anhang zum Bundesbuch
befindet, erst im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk und damit nicht
vor dem Ende der Königszeit belegt.[7] Inwieweit damit möglicher-
weise auf eine ältere Tradition von der Größe des salomonischen
Reiches zurückgegriffen wird, läßt sich nicht mehr feststellen. In
jedem Falle handelt es sich um eine Fiktion, die aus der Überliefe-
rung über David und Salomo herausgesponnen wurde und an histo-
rischen Belegen nicht zu verifizieren ist.[8]

Die späte Abfassung von 1 Kön 5,4 ergibt sich bereits aus dem
Gebrauch der Wendung "jenseits des Eufrat". In der aramäischen
Amtssprache des Perserreiches bezeichnete *ʿbr nhr²* die südwestlich

---

[4] Zu 1 Kön 4,7–19 vgl. A. Alt, "Israels Gaue unter Salomo", *Kleine Schriften zur
Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II (München, 1959²), pp. 76–89; V. Fritz, "Die Verwaltungs-
gebiete Salomos nach 1 Kön 4,7–19", in: *Meilenstein. Festgabe für Herbert Donner* (ÄAT
30; Wiesbaden, 1995), pp. 19–26.

[5] Zum sekundären Charakter der Notizen von 1 Kön 4,20–5,6 vgl. E. Würthwein,
Das erste Buch der Könige. Kapitel 1–16 (ATD 11/1; Göttingen 1985²), pp. 46–48.

[6] Die Angabe "Land der Philister" ist eine in den Text geratene Glosse.

[7] Die Datierung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes ist von der Hypothese
über seine Entstehung abhängig, vgl. O. Kaiser, *Grundriß der Einleitung in die kanoni-
schen und deuterokanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments. Band 1: Die erzählenden Werke*
(Gütersloh, 1992), pp. 85–90.

[8] Vgl. bereits E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II/2 (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1931), pp.
253f., Anm. 3.

des Eufrat gelegene 5. Satrapie, die das gesamte Kulturland des syrisch-palästinischen Raumes und Zypern umfaßte.[9] Hier wird der Begriff, der durch einen weiter östlich gelegenen Standpunkt bestimmt ist, vor allem zur Bezeichnung Syriens.[10] In 1 Kön 5,4 wird das Herrschaftsgebiet durch die Nennung von zwei Städten—"von Tifsach bis Gaza"—markiert, während in 1 Kön 5,1 der Eufrat und die Grenze Ägyptens als Grenzlinien angegeben werden. Mit beiden Angaben ist im wesentlichen das gleiche Gebiet umrissen. Tifsach ist eine am Eufrat gelegene Stadt, die bei den antiken Autoren als Θαψακος oder Thapsacus erscheint.[11] Ihre Lokalisierung ist noch nicht gesichert; nachdem die Ansetzung in *Dibsi Farağ* wegen des Fehlens der Besiedlung in vorrömischer Zeit ausscheidet, müssen die anderen Vorschläge für die Gleichsetzung mit Tifsach/Thapsacus einer erneuten Prüfiang unterzogen werden.[12] Mit Gaza ist die südlichste der Philisterstädte genannt, der vorrömische Ort ist auf dem *Tell* im Nordosten der heutigen Stadt *Gazze* zu suchen. Weder Tifsach noch Gaza haben je zum salomonischen Königreich gehört. Die Nennung der beiden Städte soll eine extrem weite Ausdehnung markieren, die nicht der historischen Wirklichkeit entspricht. Die gleiche Größe wird in 1 Kön 5,1 mit den beiden Angaben "Eufrat" und "Grenze Ägyptens" ausgedrückt. Während die Angabe "Eufrat" eindeutig ist, muß die Grenze Ägyptens aus den Quellen genauer bestimmt werden. Analog zu dem als nördliche Grenze genannten Fluß kann es sich im Süden nur um eine durch natürliche Gegebenheiten markierte Grenzziehung handeln. Darum ist die Grenze *(gbwl)* Ägyptens am ehesten mit dem Bach *(nhl)* Ägyptens gleichzusetzen, der auch sonst als Südgrenze des Landes genannt wird.[13] Dieser Bach Ägyptens wird in der Regel mit dem *Wādī el-'Arīš* gleichgesetzt,[14] doch hat N. NA'AMAN wahrscheinlich gemacht, daß dieser Trockenfluß erst in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit zur Grenze zwischen Ägypten und Palästina-

---

[9] Vgl. Herodot III, 91.
[10] Vgl. Esra 4,10ff.; 5,3.6; 6,6.8.13; 7,21.25.
[11] Für die Belege vgl. E. Honigmann, Artikel "Θαψακος", *PW* VA/1 (1934), pp. 1272–1280.
[12] Vgl. R.P. Harper, "Excavations at Dibsi Faraj, Northern Syria, 1972–1974: A Preliminary Note on the Site and its Monuments", in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), pp. 319–338.
[13] Vgl. Num 34,5; Josh 15,4; 1 Kön 8,65; 2 Kön 24,7; 2 Chr 7,8; Jes 27,12; Ez 47,19.
[14] Vgl. G. Dalman, *PJB* 10 (1924), pp. 54–57.

Syrien geworden ist.[15] Deshalb kann "Bach Ägyptens" in vorhelle-
nistischer Zeit nur mit dem *Wādī Gazze (Naḥal Bēśōr)* glejchgesetzt
werden, das wenige Kilometer südlich von *Gazze* in das Mittelmeer
mündet. Während im Süden, wo die Grenzen im Steppengebiet des
Negeb ohnehin fließend sind, die Angabe der Ausdehnung des Kö-
nigreiches nur geringfügig über das Siedlungsgebiet israelitischer
Stämme hinausgeht, wird im Norden die Grenzziehung weit über
die wirklichen Verhältnisse hinaus bis an den Eufrat in die Gebiete
der aramäischen Staaten ausgedehnt, die niemals zum Königreich
Davids oder Salomos gehört haben. Damit erweist sich diese Reichs-
beschreibung als Fiktion, zu deren Erklärung die ihr zugrunde lie-
gende Vorstellung ermittelt werden muß.

Zu dem von David geschaffenen und von Salomo regierten König-
reich gehörten außer dem Kernland auch einige Vasallenstaaten. Das
Kernland umfaßte Galiläa, das obere Jordantal, die Ebene Jesreel,
die nördliche Küstenebene, das mittelpalästinische Gebirge, das Jordan-
tal, das Ostjordanland zwischen Yarmuk und Arnon (*Wādī el-Mōǧib*),
das judäische Gebirge samt der Schefela und den Negeb. Nicht zum
Staatsgebiet gehörten die Ebene von Akko, die von den Phöniziern
beherrscht wurde, sowie die südliche Küstenebene, das Siedlungs-
gebiet der Philister. Als Vasallenstaaten waren von David unterworfen
und tributpflichtig gemacht worden: Ammon, Moab und Edom im
Ostjordanland[16] sowie die aramäischen Kleinstaaten von Soba (2 Sam
8,3–5), Bet-Rechob (2 Sam 10,6), Maacha (2 Sam 10,6), Geschur
und Damaskus (2 Sam 8,3–5).[17] Diese Staaten haben östlich des
Libanon und des oberen Jordantals gelegen. Damit reichte—zumin-
dest auf dem Höhepunkt der Macht—der Einfluß des davidisch-
salomonischen Königtums bis in die Gegend von Hamat. Wenngleich
das aramäische Kleinkönigtum Hamat von David nicht unterworfen
wurde, so hielt es sein Herrscher Toï doch für angebracht, freiwil-
lig an David Geschenke zu senden (2 Sam 8,9–11). Dieser Akt ist

---

[15] N. Na'aman, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of
Egypt", *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), pp. 68–90.
[16] Zum Umfang der ostjordanischen Staaten vgl. U. Hübner, *Die Ammoniter* (ADPV
16; Wiesbaden, 1992); S. Timm, *Moab zwischen den Mächten* (ÄAT 17; Wiesbaden,
1989); J.R. Barlett, *Edom and the Edomites* (JSOTS 77; Sheffield, 1989).
[17] Die Lage der einzelnen aramäischen Kleinkönigtümer kann in diesem Zusam-
menhang auf sich beruhen, vgl. A. Alt, "Die syrische Staatenwelt vor dem Einbruch
der Assyrer", *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* III (München, 1959), pp.
214–232.

kaum als Anerkennung davidischer Oberhoheit und damit als Unterwerfung, sondern eher als die Wahrung der Unabhängigkeit durch Bildung eines Vertragsverhältnisses zu verstehen. Der Aramäerstaat von Hamat ist deshalb kaum als Vasall, sondern eher als "Grenznachbar" des davidischen Reiches anzusehen.[18] Sein Zentrum hatte Hamat in *Ḥama* am Orontes, im Süden erstreckte es sich wahrscheinlich bis an die nördlichen Ausläufer des Libanon und des Antilibanon.[19] In seiner größten Ausdehnung reichte das davidische Reich somit über die Vasallenstaaten bis an das Gebiet von Hamat heran und damit bis nach Mittelsyrien, aber eben nicht bis an den Eufrat. Nördlich des Königtums von Hamat lagen die weiteren Aramäerstaaten Bīt Agūsi und Bīt Adini, die an den Eufrat grenzten. Die im Bereich des heutigen Syrien gelegenen Aramäerstaaten sind im 9. und 8. Jh. wechselnde Koalitionen mit Israel und Juda eingegangen, um der Eroberung durch die Assyrer entgegenzutreten.[20] Der Vorstellung einer Erstreckung des davidisch-salomonischen Machtbereiches bis an den Eufrat liegt somit keine geschichtliche Wirklichkeit zugrunde.

Nun läßt aber bereits die Formulierung in 2 Sam 8,3b erkennen, daß der vordeuteronomistische Verfasser mit der Ausdehnung des Königreiches unter David bis an den Eufrat gerechnet hat. Die Formulierung *blktw lhšb ydw bnhr [prt]*[21] "bei seinem Zug, seine Macht wiederherzustellen am Fluß [Eufrat]" impliziert einen Feldzug Davids bis an den Eufrat, über den allerdings sonst nichts bekannt ist. Selbst wenn ein solches Unternehmen stattgefunden haben sollte, muß es keineswegs die Errichtung davidischer Macht bis zu dieser natürlichen Grenze, die Mesopotanien von Syrien trennt, zur Folge gehabt haben. Die Ausdehnung des Großreiches David über alle Aramäerstaaten im syrischen Gebiet läßt sich aus den Quellen gerade nicht belegen. Die Vorstellung des Eufrat als Grenze ist somit nicht aus historischen Gegebenheiten erwachsen. Die Idealvorstellung von der

---

[18] Vgl. M. Noth, "Das Reich von Hamath als Grenznachbar des Reiches Israel", *PJB* 33 (1937), pp. 36–51.

[19] Zur Geschichte von Stadt und Staat vgl. J.D. Hawkins, "Hamath", *RA* IV (1972–1975), pp. 67–70.

[20] Vgl. dazu die Annalen Salmanassar III. Adaniranis III. und Tiglatpilesers III. in *ANET*, pp. 276–284.

[21] Die sinngemäße Ergänzung des Namens haben bereits die Masoreten vorgenommen. Eufrat als Name des Flusses findet sich dann auch in Septuaginta und Vulgata.

Größe des salomonischen Reiches in 1 Kön 5,1 geht auch kaum auf ägyptische Anschauung von der Einheit Palästinas und Syriens zurück,[22] da das Weiterwirken der geographischen Anschauungen der 18. Dynastie zur Zeit Salomos ungeachtet aller sonstigen ägyptischen Bezüge schlechterdings undenkbar ist. Vielmehr soll mit dieser Beschreibung von der Größe des Landes die salomonische Herrschaft weiter verherrlicht werden, nachdem Salomo in seiner Weisheit, mit seiner Bautätigkeit und seinem Reichtum durch die Darstellung in 1 Kön 3–10 über jedes menschliche Maß hinausgehoben wurde. Die Behauptung, daß der Eufrat Grenze gewesen sei, mag auf die vordeuteronomistische Vorstellung eines Zuges David zurückgehen (vgl. 2 Sam 8,3b), zur Kennzeichnung der Herrschaft Salomos verfolgt die deuteronomistische Formulierung jedoch eine eindeutige Absicht. Wie die Herrschaft Salomos auch sonst übersteigert dargestellt wurde, so wurde das Gebiet seines Reiches in der von den deuteronomistischen Redaktoren aufgenommenen Vorstellung weit überdehnt. Der Eufrat ist nie die wirkliche Grenze des Landes gewesen, sondern allenfalls die Begrenzung des palästinisch-syrischen Gebietes als eines geographischen Großraumes; er ist somit keine geschichtliche, sondern allenfalls eine in der Vorstellung gebildete "ideale" Grenze, die erst in deuteronomistischen Texten erscheint.[23]

II

Neben der deuteronomistischen Fiktion von der Ausdehnung des Reiches bis an den Eufrat findet sich in Num 34,3–12 eine weitere Beschreibung der Grenzen, die mit der deuteronomistischen Vorstellung "vom Eufrat bis an den Bach Ägyptens" nicht in Einklang zu bringen ist. Die Beschreibung ist sorgfältig nach den Himmelsrichtungen aufgebaut, die einzelnen Teile sind im Uhrzeigersinn vom Süden über den Westen und Norden bis zum Osten hin angeordnet. Für jeden Abschnitt sind die eimelnen Fixpunkte durch einen beschreibenden Text miteinander verbunden, der gesamten Beschreibung liegen

---

[22] Gegen O. Keel, M. Küchler, Ch. Uhlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, I (Göttingen, 1984), p. 231.
[23] Die Grenzbeschreibungen im Rahmen der Neubestimmung der Stammesgebiete in Ez 47,13–48,29 beruhen auf der gleichen literarischen Vorlage wie Num 34,3–12 und brauchen deshalb in diesem Zusammenhang nicht näher untersucht zu werden, vgl. W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel* (BK XIII; Neukirchen, 1969), pp. 1202–1235.

mit diesen "Grenzfixpunktreihen" konkrete geographische Anschauungen zugrunde.[24] Ob diese auch einer historischen Wirklichkeit entsprechen, bedarf besonderer Prüfiang. Zunächst ist die zugrundeliegende Geographie zu klären.

Die Südgrenze, die in Jos 15,2–4 als Grenze Judas eine Entsprechung hat,[25] geht von der Südspitze des Toten Meeres aus und führt dann über die Skorpionenstiege (Naqb es-Safā), Zin, Kadesch Barnea (Tell el-Quderāt),[26] Hazar-Addar, Azmon zum Bach Ägyptens (Wādī Gazze). Auch wenn Zin, Hazar-Addar und Azmon nicht lokalisiert werden können,[27] ist der vorausgesetzte Grenzverlauf doch deutlich. Von der Südspitze des Toten Meeres führte die Grenze zunächst durch das Wādī el-Fiqra und südlich an der Skorpionenstiege entlang und erreichte in Kadesch (Tell el-Quderāt) ihren südlichsten Punkt; von Kadesch bog sie nach Nordwesten ab und endete mit dem Wādī Gazze am Meer. Sie umschloß damit das gesamte Gebiet des Negeb, das in der Königszeit zum Einflußbereich Judas gehörte, wie die zahlreichen eisenzeitlichen Festungen in diesem Gebiet belegen.[28] Insbesondere die in Kadesch erbaute Festung, die während der gesamten Königszeit bestanden hat, läßt erkennen, daß die judäischen Könige zur Durchsetzung ihres Anspruches geeignete Maßnahmen ergriffen haben.[29] Die Südgrenze entspricht damit dem Herrschaftsanspruch der frühen Königszeit, da die von Nomaden bewohnten und durch Festungen gesicherten südlichen Steppenbereiche mit in das zum Land Israel gehörige Gebiet einbezogen werden.

Die Westgrenze ist mit der Küste des Mittelmeeres identisch. Dieser

---

[24] Vgl. M. Noth, "Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josuabuches", ZDPV 58 (1935), pp. 185–255 = ABLAK 1 (Neukirchen, 1971), pp. 229–280.

[25] Vgl. V. Fritz, Das Buch Josua (HAT I/7; Tübingen, 1994), pp. 158f.

[26] Zur Lokalisierung von Kadesch vgl. N. Schmidt, "Kadesh Barnea", JBL, 29 (1910), pp. 61–76.

[27] Die Lokalisierung von Azmon in el-Qusseme ist völlig unsicher und darum aufzugeben. Zu der dortigen eisenzeitlichen Festung vgl. Z. Meshel, "The 'Aharoni Fortress' near Quseima and the 'Israelite Fortresses' in the Negev", BASOR 294 (1994), pp. 39–67.

[28] Y. Aharoni, "Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev", IEJ 17 (1957), pp. 1–17; R. Cohen, "The Iron Age Fortresses in Central Negev", BASOR 236 (1980), pp. 63–75; Z. Herzog, "Enclosed Settlements in the Negeb and the Wilderness of Beer-sheba", BASOR 250 (1983), pp. 41–49; I. Finkelstein, "The Iron Age 'Fortresses' of the Negev Highlands: Sedentarization of the Nomads", Tel Aviv 11 (1984), pp. 189–209.

[29] Vgl. R. Cohen, "The Excavations at Kadesh Barnea, 1976–1978", Biblical Archaeologist 44 (1981), pp. 93–107.

Verlauf entspricht insofern nicht den geschichtlichen Gegebenheiten, als die von den Philistern bewohnte südliche Küstenebene und die von Phöniziern beherrschte Ebene von Akko nicht zum Gebiet des vereinigten Königtums oder eines der beiden Reiche Israel und Juda gehört haben.

Die Nordgrenze hat eine Parallele in Ez 47,15–17, deren Namensbestand jedoch etwas umfangreicher ist, wie die Gegenüberstellung der Grenzfixpunkte ohne die erklärenden Zusätze zeigt:

Num 34	*Ez 47*
Hor	Hetlon
Lebo-Hamat	Lebo
Zedad	Zedad
	Hamat
	Berota
Sifron	Sibrajim
Hazar-Enan	"Hazar-Enan"[30]

Ausgangspunkt ist in beiden Listen das Mittelmeer. Trotz gewisser Unterschiede in der Schreibung der Ortsnamen, die sich aus der Textüberlieferung erklären, stimmen beide Listen so weitgehend überein, daß sie auf eine gemeinsame Grundlage zurückgeführt werden müssen.[31] Identisch sind die Orte Lebo, Zedad und Hazar-Enan, auch wenn in Ez 47,16 Hamat nachklappt und somit als eigener Ortsname und nicht als Näherbestimmung zu Lebo erscheint. Daß es sich bei Sifron und Sibraim um den gleichen Ort handelt, hatte bereits K. Elliger mit Recht vermerkt,[32] wenngleich die ursprüngliche Namensform nicht wiederherstellbar ist. Mit Hor und Hetlon, das mit dem Zusatz "Weg (nach)" versehen ist, liegen vielleicht ebenfalls Verschreibungen des gleichen Namens vor, wenngleich Hor ausdrücklich als Berg bzw. Gebirge gekennzeichnet ist. Der ursprüdiche Name ist aus der Textüberlieferung nicht mehr zu bestimmen. Als einziger überschüssiger Name ist Berota noch in Ez 47,16 genannt. Falls es sich hierbei nicht um eine verstümmelte Verdoppelung von Sibrajim handelt, ist am ehesten an einen Zusatz zu denken.[33] Die

---

[30] Der Name ist in Ez 47,16 verschrieben, der Text von Ez 47,17 bietet die Variante Hazar-Enon. In Ez 48,1 findet sich die wohl ursprüngliche Form Hazar-Enan.

[31] Die Wiederaufnahme der Namen Hetlon, Lebo-Hamat und Hazar-Enan in Ez 48,1 trägt nichts zu der Rekonstruktion der zugrunde liegenden Liste bei und kann in diesem Zusammenhang unberücksichtigt bleiben.

[32] K. Elliger, "Die Nordgrenze des Reiches Davids", *PJB* 32 (1936), p. 67.

[33] Vgl. K. Elliger, *PJB* 32 (1936), p. 69.

Grenzfixpunktreihe hat somit ursprünglich nur folgende Namen um-
faßt: [. . .], Lebo-Hamat, Zedad, Sifron/Sibrajim, Hazar-Enan.

Der erste Name ist nicht mehr zu ermitteln. Lebo-Hamat ist mit
einiger Sicherheit in *Lebwe* am Nordrand der *Biqā*-Ebene zu lokali-
sieren,[34] während die Lage der übrigen Orte nur mit Vorbehalt zu
bestimmen ist. Zedad wurde in *Ṣedād* auf der Grenze zwischen Wüste
und Kulturland östlich der Straße von Damaskus nach Aleppo loka-
lisiert.[35] Sifron/Sibrajim ist vielleicht mit *Hawwārīn*[36] und Hazar-Enan
mit *Qaryetēn*[37] östlich von Zedad gleichzusetzen. Auch wenn Sicherheit
über die Lage dieser beiden Orte nicht zu gewinnen ist, belegt doch
die Nennung von Lebo-Hamat, daß die Grenze auf der Höhe der
nördlichen Ausläufer des Antilibanon noch südlich von Kadesch am
Orontes *(Tell en-Nebī Mend)* verlaufen sein dürfte. Etwa auf dieser
Höhe verlief bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends die
Grenze der ägyptischen Herrschaft in Kanaan.[38] Aber auch die
Grenze zwischen den Reichen von Damaskus und Hamat ist in etwa
auf dieser Linie anzusetzen. Nach der assyrischen Eroberung der
Aramäerstaaten durch Tiglatpileser III. hat diese Grenzziehung bei
der Einteilung in Provinzen erneut Berücksichtigung gefunden und
wurde dann nach dem Ende der assyrischen Herrschaft von den
babylonischen und persischen Großreichen übernommen. Auch wenn
der genaue Verlauf vorläufig offen bleiben muß und auch wenn sich
im Verlauf der Geschichte leichte Veränderungen ergeben haben, so
ist diese Grenzziehung doch außerordentlich stabil. Die Nordgrenze
spiegelt somit eine bis in das 2. Jahrtausend zurückreichende Trennung
von Einflußsphären.

Deutlich ist jedenfalls, daß die in Num 34,7–9 beschriebene Nord-
grenze weit außerhalb des Siedlungsgebietes der israelitischen Stämme

---

[34] B. Mazar, "Lebo-hamath and the Northern Border of Canaan", in: *The Early
Biblical Period. Historical Studies* (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 189–202. Die Lokalisierung
von Lebo im *Gōlān* durch M. Noth, *ABLAK* 1 (Neukirchen, 1971), pp. 271–275
kann als völlig unwahrscheinlich auf sich beruhen bleiben. Die Namensform Lebo-
Hamat findet sich auch Num 13,21; Josh 13,5; Ri 3,3; 1 Kön 8,65; 2 Kön 14,24;
Am 6,14; 1 Chr 13,5; 2 Chr 7,8.
[35] E. Robinson, *Palästina und die südlich angrenzenden Länder* III (Halle, 1842),
p. 926.
[36] K. Elliger, *PJB* 32 (1936), p. 68.
[37] Vgl. K. Furrer, "Die antiken Städte und Ortschaften im Libanongebiete",
ZDPV 8 (1885), pp. 28f.
[38] N. Na'aman, "The Canaanites and Their Land. A Rejoinder", *UF* 26 (1994),
pp. 397–418.

gelegen hat und nicht die Grenze des Landes zur Zeit Davids oder Salomos gewesen sein kann. Allenfalls könnte es sich um die nördliche Erstreckung der von David unterworfenen Vasallenstaaten handeln, doch werden diese in der frühen Königszeit ausdrücklich nicht zum Staatsgebiet gerechnet. Vielmehr spiegelt diese Nordgrenze eine alte Anschauung von der Erstreckung des Landes Kanaan, der dann die politische Grenzziehung des 1. Jahrtausend entsprochen hat. Nun ist die Übernahme ägyptischer Vorstellungen aus der Zeit des Neuen Reiches wegen des großen zeitlichen Abstandes äußerst unwahrscheinlich, die Grenzbeschreibung spiegelt also auf keinen Fall den Umfang der ägyptischen Provinz Kanaan.[39] Auch geht diese Grenzbeschreibung kaum auf eine Vorstellung von der Erstreckung des davidischen Reiches zurück. Vielmehr können allenfalls territoriale Abgrenzungen aufgenommen worden sein, wie sie sich seit dem Beginn der assyrischen Vorherrschaft unter Tiglatpileser III. in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhundert ergeben haben. "The provincial system of the Assyrians was later adopted by the Babylonian and Persian empires; hence the biblical delineations of Canaan reflect the reality of the 6th–5th century boundary system".[40] So wird denn die Nordgrenze am ehesten auf Verhältnisse zurückzuführen sein, wie sie in nachexilischer Zeit bestanden haben.

Die Ostgrenze setzt bei Hazar-Enan *(Qaryetēn)* in der syrischen Wüste ein und läuft über Schefam und Ribla zum See Gennesaret. Bis zum Toten Meer bildet dann der Jordan die weitere Grenze. Die Lage der beiden genannten Orte ist unbekannt. Ribla ist durch den Zusatz "östlich von Ajin" näher bestimmt, um es von dem Ort gleichen Namens am Orontes *(Tell Ẓerāʿa* bei *Rable)* zu unterscheiden. Im Hinblick auf den See Gennesaret als gesicherten Festpunkt kann am ehesten angenommen werden, daß die Grenze östlich des Antilibanon zum Ostrand des Sees verlaufen ist. Dieser Verlauf ist ebensowenig mit einer historischen Situation der Geschichte Israels

---

[39] Die These, das Land "Kanaan" in den ägyptischen Texten des Neuen Reiches sei mehr oder weniger deckungsgleich mit der Verwendung des Begriffes in Num 34,1.2 wurde zuerst von B. Mazar vertreten und ist dann wiederholt aufgenommen worden, vgl. B. Maister, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas*, Gießen 1930; B. Mazar, "Lebo-hamath and the Northern Boundary of Canaan", in: *The Early Biblical Period. Historical Studies* (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 189–202; Z. Kallai, "The United Monarchy of Israel—A Focal Point in Israelite Historiography", *IEJ* 17 (1977), pp. 103–109; N. Naʾaman, *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography* (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 39–73.

[40] N. Naʾaman, *UF* 26 (1994), p. 412.

in Verbindung zu bringen wie die Bestimmung des Jordan als
Grenzfluß. Diese Grenzziehung ist außergewöhnlich und bedarf einer
besonderen Erklärung, da der Jordan in der gesamten Königszeit
niemals eine Grenze gewesen ist.[41] Vielmehr gehörte das Ostjordanland
sowohl zum vereinigten Königreich unter David und Salomo als
auch zum Nordreich Israel. Dementsprechend ist das Ostjordanland
noch im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk Teil des verheißenen
Landes.[42] Erst in der assyrischen Provinzeinteilung wurde der Jordan
zum Grenzfluß. Damit spiegelt die Gremziehung im Osten frühe-
stens die Zustände seit der Zeit Tiglatpilesers III. wider, als die
Assyrer das Ostjordanland als eine eigene Provinz Gilead von den
westjordanischen Provinzen Dor, Samaria und Megiddo abgetrennt
hatten.[43]

Die Grenzbeschreibung von Num 34,3–12 ist somit eine Zusammen-
stellung, die nicht einem historischen Zustand der Geschichte Israels
entspricht. Vielmehr handelt es sich um eine Kombination, die ins-
gesamt nicht vor dem territorialgeschichtlichen Eingriff der Assyrer
unter Tiglatpileser III. entwickelt worden sein kann. Allenfalls die
Südgrenze kann auf eine Vorstellung zurückgehen, die den realen
Verhältnissen während der frühen Königszeit entsprochen hat. Die
Nordgrenze spiegelt dagegen eine Grenzziehung, die erst mit der
assyrischen Provinzeinteilung wieder aufgenommen und für weitere
Epochen festgelegt wurde. Der Jordan wurde erst mit der assyrischen
Neuordnung des Reiches Israel zum Grenzfluß. Die Ausschaltung
des Ostjordanlandes findet sich erst in der nachexilischen Zeit, als
dieser Teil des ehemaligen Staatsgebietes als kultisch unrein und
damit nicht zum "heiligen Land" gehörig disqualifiziert wurde (vgl.
Jos 22).[44] Wie die Ostgrenze so kann auch die nördliche Grenzziehung

---

[41] Vgl. M. Noth, "Der Jordan in der alten Geschichte Palästinas", *ZDPV* 72
(1956), pp. 123–148.
[42] Vgl. M. Weinfeld, "The Extent of the Promised Land—the Status of Trans-
jordan", in: G. Strecker (ed.), *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit* (Göttingen, 1983), pp.
59–75.
[43] Vgl. dazu E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920);
A. Alt, "Das System der assyrischen Provinzen auf dem Boden des Reiches Israel",
Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel II (München, 1959²), pp. 188–205.
[44] Keinesfalls liegt Jos 22 eine vorexilische Tradition zugrunde, vgl. V. Fritz, *Das
Buch Josua* (HAT I/7; Tübingen, 1994), pp. 218–227. Die nachexilische Erzählung
läßt eindeutig erkennen, daß die Ausschaltung des Ostjordanlandes auf Erwägungen
über die kultische Reinheit des Gebietes zurückgeht.

auf Grund der von den Assyrern am Ende der Königszeit geschaffenen Verhältnisse in nachexilischer Zeit gebildet und formuliert worden sein. Die Westgrenze war durch das Mittelmeer gegeben.

Auf Grund der Grenzziehung ist die Beschreibung des Landes in Num 34 in die nachexilische Zeit zu datieren. Es handelt sich um einen späten Text, der innerhalb der Pentateucherzählung zu den späten Nachträgen gehört. Der beschriebene Gremverlauf entspricht keiner geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit, sondern stellt eine Idealvorstellung dar, die wohl an den Grenzziehungen der assyrischen Zeit orientiert ist, aber nicht auf ältere Tradition vom Umfang des Landes zurückgreift. Auffallend an dieser Beschreibung ist—abgesehen vom Ausschluß des Ostjordanlandes—das weite Ausgreifen des Landanspruches nach Norden und Nordosten über das eigentliche Reichsgebiet hinaus in die Bereiche der aramäischen Staaten, die nur vorübergehend unter David als Vasallen zum Königreich gehört haben, ohne daß ihr Staatsgebiet während der frühen Königszeit politisch dem Reich einverleibt wurde. Hinter diesem ausgreifenden Landanspruch steht vermutlich die Vorstellung, daß David die aramäischen Staaten einmal unter seine Herrschaft gezwungen hat, diese Gebiete also zeitweilig als Vasallenstaaten unterworfen waren. Vielleicht soll mit diesem Anspruch der Ausschluß des Ostjordanlandes kompensiert werden.

Zeitlich läßt sich dieses Konzept nur nach dem Abschluß des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes in die frühnachexilische Zeit einordnen. Damit erweist sich das Konzept von Num 34,3–12 als ein später Entwurf, der die Veränderungen, wie sie sich nach den assyrischen Eroberungen ergeben haben, aufgenommen hat. Dieser ist geprägt von der Vorstellung eines maximalen Umfangs für das Land unter Ausschluß der ostjordanischen Gebiete. Mit Hilfe von Grenzbeschreibungen, die wohl assyrischer Zeit entstammen, wird der Umfang des Landes mit der Beschränkung auf das Westjordanland neu bestimmt. Als reine Fiktion soll diese Vorstellung die deuteronomistische Anschauung vom Landbesitz zu beiden Seiten des Jordan in nachexilischer Zeit ersetzen. Konsequenterweise wird darum auch im sog. Verfassungsentwurf Ezechiels Ez 47,13–48,29 dieses Gebiet unter den Stämmen Israels ohne Rücksicht auf die historischen Stammesgebiete verteilt. Entsprechend der Vorherrschaft priesterlichen Denkens in nachexilischer Zeit kann diese Neufestsetzung über den Umfang des Landes am ehesten in priesterlichen Kreisen entwickelt und festgelegt worden sein.

III

In den Targumim wurden diese Grenzbeschreibungen durch entsprechende Namensänderungen weiter fortgeschrieben, um das beanspruchte Territorium noch weiter zu vergrößern. Auf Grund der
Vergleichung und der Analyse des Targum Jeruschalmi und des Targum (Pseudo-)Jonathan kommt Samuel Klein[45] für die Paraphrasen
zu dem Ergebnis: "Diese Targumim sind aus folgenden Bestandteilen
zusammengesetzt: a) aus der wortgetreuen Übersetzung der betreffenden pentateuchischen Stellen, wobei aber schon einige biblische
Ortsnamen durch neuere ersetzt wurden; b) aus Einschaltungen gewisser Stellen aus dem Buche Ezechiel; c) aus aggadischen Zusätzen,
deren Quellen zumeist nachweisbar sind; d) aus Angaben, die dem
großen tannaitischen Grenzverzeichnis entnommen sind".[46] Die entscheidende Ausweitung des für Israel in Anspruch genommenen
Gebietes geht auf Abweichungen gegenüber dem masoretischen Text
zurück.[47] In Num 34,5 lesen die Targumim statt *nhlh mṣrym* "Bach
Ägyptens" *nylws* "Nil", womit vermutlich der pelusische Nilarm gemeint
ist. Diese Lesart findet sich bereits im palästinischen Targum zu Gen
15,18 und an anderen Stellen.[48] In Num 34,7 steht statt des unverständlichen *hr hhr* die eindeutige Bezeichnung *twwrws ʿmnws* "Taurus
Amanus". In Num 34,8 ist *ḥmt* "Hamat" durch *'nṭwkyʾ* "Antiochia/
Anṭakye" ersetzt, was der üblichen Gleichsetzung in rabbinischen
Texten entspricht.[49] Weiterhin wird der Name *ṣddh* in *ʿblws* bzw. *ʿwwls
dqlqʾy* geändert, womit vermutlich die im Griechischen als αύλών
bezeichnete zilizische Ebene gemeint ist, es könnte sich aber auch
um den bei Josephus (Ant. XIII: 397) erwähnten Ort κιλικων αύλών
handeln. Jedenfalls weist der Zusatz *qlqʾy* "Zilizien" eindeutig auf das
Gebiet im Osten der türkischen Südküste hin. In Num 34,9 schließlich wird im palästinischen Talmud der Name *zprwn* "Zifron" in
Syrien durch *zpyryn* "Zephyrien" ersetzt. Dieser Ort wird auch sonst

---

[45] S. Klein, "Das tannaitische Grenzverzeichnis Palästinas", *HUCA* 5 (1928), pp.
197–259.
[46] S. Klein, *HUCA* 5 (1928), p. 247.
[47] Für die übrigen Lesarten vgl. P.S. Alexander, *The Toponymy of the Targumim with
special Reference to the Table of the Nations and the Boundaries of the Land of Israel* (Diss.
phil. Oxford, 1974), pp. 188–232.
[48] Alexander, *The Toponymy*, p. 182f. Auffallend ist der Gebrauch des griechischen
Namens für den Fluß, der im Hebräischen mit dem Lehnwort *yʾr* bezeichnet wird,
vgl. Gen 41,1.3.17; Ex 1,22;
[49] Vgl. Alexander, *The Toponymy*, p. 181.

in rabbinischen und antiken Quellen erwähnt[50] und kann auf Grund der Angaben bei Josephus (Bel. I: 456) in Zilizien gesucht werden. In den Targumim wurden also durch Änderung der Ortsnamen die Grenzen des Landes im Süden bis in das Nildelta und im Norden bis nach Zilizien vorgeschoben. Politischen Verhältnissen entspricht diese Ausdehnung nicht, allenfalls kann in der Tatsache ein Anhaltspunkt gesehen werden, daß in zahlreichen Orten an der Küste des Mittelmeeres in römisch-byzantinischer Zeit jüdische Gemeinden bestanden haben.

IV

Über die gleichsam kanonische Festlegung der Grenzen des Landes in Num 34 hinaus liegt mit dem sog. tannaitischen Grenzverzeichnis eine weitere Bestimmung für den Umfang des Landes vor. Die Grenzbeschreibung will die Gebiete, in denen die Bestimmungen der Tora für den Ackerbau Geltung haben, durch Nennung der Fixpunkte eindeutig festlegen. Das Verzeichnis ist in der rabbirüschen Literatur mehrfach überliefert[51] und findet sich auch in einer aramäischen Inschrift im Narthex der Synagoge von Rehob *(Tell es-Ṣārem)* in der Bucht von Bet-Schean.[52] Für die Überlieferung der Textfassung ergibt sich folgende Reihung: Synagogeninschrift des 6./7. Jh., Sifre Deuteronomium 11,24, Tosefta Schebiit 4,11 (Codex Erfurt), j Schebiit 36c, Tosefta Schebiit 4,11 (Codex Wien).

Ungeachtet verschiedener Schreibvarianten und des Austausches weniger Namen in der späteren Textüberlieferung ist das Verzeichnis in seinem Bestand so stabil, daß es auf eine Quelle aus der Zeit der Tannaiten zurückgeführt werden kann. Da in der Mosaikinschrift auf dem Fußboden der Synagoge von Rehob aus byzantinischer Zeit eindeutig die älteste und beste Textfassung vorliegt, soll diese fassung Ausgangspunkt und Grundlage der weiteren Untersuchung sein. Unter der Überschrift "Grenzen des Landes Israel, des Gebietes, das

---

[50] Belege bei S. Klein, *HUCA* 5 (1928), p. 250, Anm. 14; H. Treidler, *PW* X A (1972), pp. 227f.

[51] Vgl. die Synopsen der Ortsnamen bei S. Klein, *HUCA* 5 (1928), pp. 199f.; A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (Paris, 1868), p. 10; H. Hildesheimer, *Beiträge zur Geographie Palästinas* (Berlin, 1886) nach P.X.

[52] Y. Sussmann, "The Boundaries of Eretz-Israel", *Tarbiz* 45 (1976), pp. 213-257 (Hebr.). Übersetzung: ders., "The Rehob Inscription: A Translation", in: *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. L.I. Levine (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 152f.

die Rückwanderer aus Babel eingenommen haben" werden in den Zeilen 13–18 folgende Orte als Fixpunkte aufgeführt:

1.	die Abzweigung von Aschkalon	פורשת אשקלון
2.	die Stadtmauer des Stratonturms	חומת מיגדל שרוטן
3.	Dor	דור
4.	die Stadtmauer von Akko	חומת עכו
5.	der (Quell-)Kopf der Wasser von Gato	ראש מי ניאתו
6.	Gato, (der Ort) selbst	ניאתו עצמה
7.	Kabrita	כבר[תה]
8.	Bet-Zenita	[ב]ית זניתה
9.	das *Castrum* von Galila	קסטרה דגלילה
10.	*qwbʿyyh* von Aita	קובעייה דאייתה
11.	*mmṣyyh* von Jorkata	ממצייה דירכתה
12.	*mlth* von Kurjajim	מלתה דכוריים
13.	die Umgebung von Jattir	סחרתה דיתי[ר]
14.	der Bach von Besal	[נהל]ה דבצאל
15.	Bet-Aita	בית עיט
16.	Barschata	ברשתה
17.	Groß-Hule	אולי רבתה
18.	die Senke (?) von Ijon	ניקבתה דעיון
19.	*msb*	מסב
20.	*spnḥh*	ספנחה
21.	die Stadt von Bar-Sangora	כרכה דב[ר][ס]נגודה
22.	Ober-Tarnegola von Caesarea	תרנגולה עלייה דקיסריון
23.	Bet-Sabal	בית סבל
24.	Kanata	קנת
25.	Rekem der Trachonitis	רקם טרכון
26.	Zimra an der Grenze nach Bosra	זמרה דמתחם לבוצרה
27.	*ybqh*	יבקה
28.	Heschbon	חשבון
29.	der Bach von Sered	נחל זרד
30.	Igar Sahaduta	איגר סהדותה
31.	Nimrin	נימרין
32.	*mlh* von Raziza	מלה רזיזה
33.	Rekem von Geʾa	וקם דגיאה
34.	der Garten von Aschkalon	גנייה דאשקלון
35.	der große Weg, der in die Wüste führt	דרך הגדולה ההולכת למידבר

Der Grenzverlauf ist außerordentlich schwer zu bestimmen, da zahlreiche Orte nicht zu lokalisieren sind. Deutlich ist zunächst die Westgrenze (Nr. 1–4), die an Aschkalon *(ʿAsqalān)* vorbei über den Stratonturm *(Cäsarea/ Qaṣarāye)* und Dor *(et-Ṭanṭūra)* nach Akko *(ʿAkkā)* an der Küste entlang verläuft, wobei die beiden Städte Aschkalon und Akko ausdrücklich ausgeschlossen werden.

Ab Nr. 5 folgt bis Nr. 22 eine detaillierte Beschreibung der Nord-

grenze, die durch Obergaliläa in die Nordspitze des Jordangrabens verläuft. Mit dem Quellkopf von Gato (Nr. 5) ist der Oberlauf des *Wādī Ǧaʿṭūn* auf der Höhe des heutigen Nahariyya gemeint, der Ort Gat selbst (Nr. 6) kann mit *Ḥirbet Ǧaʿṭūn* etwa 4 km östlich von *el-Kābrī* gleichgesetzt werden. Die Ansetzung von Kabrita (Nr. 7) auf der *Ḥirbet el-Kabarsa* durch G. DALMAN kann insofern nicht befriedigen, als der Ort südwestlich von *el-Kābrī* in der Küstenebene nördlich von Akko liegt.[53] In der Tosefta Codex Erfurt steht der Name denn auch "richtig" zwischen Nr. 4 und 5. Bet-Zenila (Nr. 8) liegt nordöstlich von Gato (Nr. 6) auf *der Ḥirbet Zuwēnita*. Das *Castrum* von Galilia (Nr. 9) kann mit *Ḥirbet Ǧelil* oberhalb des *Wādī el-Qurēb* gleichgesetzt werden. Auch wenn die Bedeutung von *qwbʿyyh* unbekannt ist, der damit verbundene Ort Aita (Nr. 10) hat sich dem Namen nach in dem Dorf *ʿAiṭaʾ eš Šaʿb* nordöstlich von *Ḥirbet Ǧelīl* erhalten. Der Ort Jorkata (Nr. 11) ist der Lage nach nicht zu bestimmen. Der Ort Kurjajim (Nr. 12) kann in *Ḥirbet el-Kura* oberhalb des *Wādī Hanīne* gesucht werden.[54] Mit Jattir (Nr. 13), dessen Name sich in *Yaʿtēr* erhalten hat, springt die Grenzbeschreibung weiter nach Norden. Der Bach von Besal (Nr. 14) ist nicht zu bestimmen, da sich der Name an keinem der zahlreichen Bachläufe Obergaliläas erhalten hat. Die Lage von Bet-Aita (Nr. 15) ist unbekannt. Die Gleichsetzung von Barschata (Nr. 16) mit *Beraʿšīt* ist unsicher, obwohl der Ort halbwegs zwischen Jattir (*Yaʿtēr*) und Hule (Nr. 17, *Hūle*) gelegen hat. Mit Ijon (Nr. 18) ist der Grabenbruch zwischen Libanon und Antilibanon erreicht. Der Name hat sich in der Bezeichnung *Merǧ ʿĀyūn* für die Ebene zwischen dem *Nahr el-Ḥāṣbānī* und dem *Nahr el-Līṭānī* erhalten, der auch in 1 Kön 15,20 (par. 2 Chr 16,4) und 2 Kön 15,29 genannte Ort ist mit dem *Tell Dibbīn* gleichzusetzen. Die beiden Namen *msb* und *spnhh* (Nr. 19/20) sind unverständlich, die weitere Textüberlieferung läßt eine frühe Entstellung durch Verschreibung vermuten.[55] Die Lage von Bar-Sangora (Nr. 21) ist unbekannt, allenfalls südöstlich von Ijon zu vermuten. Der Ort Ober-Tarnegola (Nr. 22)

---

[53] G. Dalman, *PJB* 18/19 (1922/23), p. 22, Anm. 2.
[54] Die Ansetzung von Kurjajim im Gebiet von *Rāmiyā* durch S. Klein, *HUCA* 5 (1928), pp. 202f. entbehrt sprachlich und sachlich jeder Grundlage.
[55] Die weiteren Erwähnungen von Tarnegola geben für die Lokalisierung des Ortes nichts her; Belege bei O. Keel, M. Küchler, Ch. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel* 1 (Göttingen, 1984), p. 271.

ist durch die Nennung von Caesarea (Philippi) näher bestimmt.[56] Damit ist das Gebiet der Jordanquellen von *Bānyās* erreicht.

Die Nordgrenze wird mit den folgenden vier Namen (Nr. 23–26) weiter nach Osten fortgesetzt, allerdings ist Bet-Sabal (Nr. 23) nicht zu lokalisieren. Kanata (Nr. 24) ist mit dem Kenat von Num 32,42 und 1 Chr 2,23 identisch und kann mit *Qanawāt* am Fuß des Hauran gleichgesetzt werden. Rekem (Nr. 25) wird ausdrücklich als in der Trachonitis gelegen näher bestimmt, um es von den anderen Orten gleichen Namens zu unterscheiden, die genaue Lage muß allerdings offen bleiben. Mit Zimra (Nr. 26) ist der Bereich von Bozra (*Boṣrā*) erreicht. Auf Grund dieser spärlichen Angaben ist am ehesten damit zu rechnen, daß die Grenze aus dem Gebiet von Caesarea Philippi nach Osten verlaufen und dann in Richtung Kanata und Bozra nach Süden abgeknickt ist. Auch wenn weitere Orte nicht genannt werden, so ist doch deutlich, daß die Südgrenze des so umschriebenen Gebietes durch den Yarmuk gebildet wird. Das bedeutet aber, daß die Gebiete Gaulanitis, Batanaea, Trachonitis und Auranitis ganz oder teilweise in der Beschreibung des Landes Israel eingeschlossen waren. Diese Gebiete haben aber erst seit Herodes d. Gr. zu Judaea gehört und dann unter seinen Nachfolgern Philipp, Agrippa I. und Agrippa II. einen eigenen Staat gebildet.[57] Damit spiegelt dieser Teil der Grenzbeschreibung (Nr. 23–26) eine historische Situation wider, wie sie erst unter Herodes d. Gr. eingetreten sein kann. Die Siedlungsgeschichte des Gebietes schließt zahlreiche von Juden bewohnte Ortschaften ein, die auch nach dem 1. jüdischen Aufstand 66–70 n. Chr. bis in byzantinische Zeit weiter bestanden haben.

Besondere Schwierigkeit bereitet Nr. 27 *ybqh*, dieser Name wird allgemein "Jabbok" gelesen. Dagegen spricht aber, daß alle Flüsse sonst eigens mit *nhlh* aufgeführt werden (vgl. Nr. 14 und 29). Deshalb dürfte *ybqh* eher ein sonst nicht belegter Ortsname sein, dessen Aussprache ebenso unbekannt ist wie die Lokalisierung.[58] Nachdem mit Nr. 26 das Gebiet von Bozra erreicht ist, bleibt der weitere

---

[56] Die in der rabbinischen Literatur für *msb* gebotenen Varianten *mysp*, *my spr*, *mspr* und *špr* zeigen lediglich den üblichen Wechsel bei dem Labiallaut sowie ein auslaufendes *Reš* als zusätzlichen Buchstaben.

[57] Vgl. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640). A Historical Geography* (Grand Rapids, 1966), pp. 86–107.

[58] Das Schwanken in der rabbinischen Überlieferung (*ywsq'*, *ywbq'*, *ybq'*, *yqp'*) läßt am ehesten an einen Ort namens Jobka denken.

Grenzverlauf unbekannt. Erst mit Heschbon (Nr. 28) wird wieder ein Festpunkt genannt, der in *Tell Hesbān* östlich der Nordspitze des Toten Meeres lokalisiert werden kann. Mit dem Bach Sered (Nr. 29) wird die Höhe der Südspitze des Toten Meeres erreicht, da dieser eindeutig mit dem *Wādī el-Ḥesā* gleichzusetzen ist.[59]

Von den Nr. 30–33 genannten Orten ist Rekem von Ge'a (Nr. 33) eindeutig mit Kadesch-Barnea *(Tell el-Quḍērāt)* zu identifizieren.[60] Die zwischen dem Bach Sered und Kadesch-Barnea genannten Orte sind somit zwischen der Südspitze des Toten Meeres und dem Oasengebiet von Kadesch zu suchen. Nimrin (Nr. 31) ist möglicherweise mit *Ġor en-Numēra* am südlichen Ostufer des Toten Meeres gleichzusetzen.[61] Die beiden Orte Igar Sahaduta und Raziza (Nr. 30 und 32) sind der Lage nach unbekannt. Mit dem "Garten von Aschkalon" (Nr. 34) kehrt die Grenzbeschreibung zu ihrem Ausgangspunkt in Nr. 1 zurück. Die Angabe "der große Weg, der in die Wüste führt" (Nr. 35) trägt sachlich nichts weiter bei und stellt vermutlich einen Zusatz dar.

Auffallend an dieser Grenzbeschreibung ist, daß die Nordgrenze (Nr. 5–26) sehr ausführlich beschrieben wird, während alle anderen Grenzen nur sehr summarisch abgehandelt werden. Nun war die Westgrenze (Nr. 1–4) durch das Mittelmeer vorgegeben, und die Südgrenze (Nr. 30–34) verlief durch das äußerst spärlich besiedelte Steppengebiet des Negeb, so daß wenige Namen für eine Festlegung genügten. Völlig unzulänglich ist aber die Grenzbeschreibung im Osten, die angesichts der wenigen Namen nicht nachvollzogen werden kann. Zwischen dem letzten Ort der Nordgrenze im Bereich von Bozra (Nr. 26) und dem eindeutig zu lokalisierenden Heschbon (Nr. 28) wird nur ein Ort (Nr. 27) genannt, dessen Lage zudem unbestimmt ist. Da *ybqh* (Nr. 27) nicht zu lokalisieren ist und Heschbon (Nr. 28) bereits auf der Höhe der Nordspitze des Toten Meeres liegt, stellt sich die Frage, ob das Ostjordanland überhaupt in diese

---

[59] Der Sered wird auch Num 21,12 und Deut 2,13 genardit. Zur Gleichsetzung vgl. M. Noth, "Die Nachbarn der israelitischen Stämme im Ostjordanlande", *ABLAK* 1 (Neukirchen, 1971), p. 472.

[60] Die verschiedenen Orte mit Namen Rekem werden durch Zusätze voneinander unterschieden, wie Nr. 25 "Rekem der Trachonitis" belegt. Petra als der wichtigste Ort dieses Namens trägt die Bezeichnung Rekem von Hegrā.

[61] Vgl. W. Schottroff, "Horonaim, Nimrim, Luhith und der Westrand des 'Landes Ataroth'. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Topographie des Landes Moab", *ZDPV* 82 (1966), pp. 201f.

Grenzbeschreibung eingeschlossen war. Jedenfalls werden für das
Ostjordanland keine Grenzfixpunkte genannt.[62] Diese offensichtliche
Lücke kann nur durch eine sachliche Überlegung erklärt werden:
entweder wurde an einen Grenzverlauf zwischen dem Bereich von
Bozra und Heschbon gedacht, so daß das gesamte Ostjordanland
eingeschlossen war, oder das Ostjordanland war in Analogie zu Num
34,3–12 insgesamt aus dem Bereich des Landes Israel ausgeschlos-
sen. Da kaum damit zu rechnen ist, daß die rabbinische Tradition
eine Entscheidung gegen geographische Bestimmungen der Tora
getroffen hat,[63] muß angenommen werden, daß in dem tannaitischen
Grenzverzeichnis—wie bereits in Num 34,3–12 und Ez 47,13–21—
das Ostjordanland nicht mit eingeschlossen war. Allerdings wurde
die Frage des Grenzverlaufs im Osten insofern offen gelassen, als der
Jordan als Grenze nicht ausdrücklich genannt wird. Die Grenzziehung
in tannaitischer Zeit kann somit als Explikation der in nachexilischer
Zeit mit Num 34,3–12 getroffenen Festlegung gelten. Dabei wird
sowohl für Obergaliläa als auch für die Gebiete Gaulanitis, Batanaea,
Trachonitis und Auranitis die in römischer Zeit erfolgte jüdische
Besiedlung berücksichtigt. Ausgeschlossen bleibt das Ostjordanland,
obwohl dieses unter den Hasmonäern weitgehend zurückerobert und
als Peraea dem Staatsgebiet eingegliedert worden war. Bei aller
Anpassung an die in römischer Zeit eingetretenen Verhältnisse blieb
das tannaitische Grenzverzeichnis an die in der Torah Num 34,3–12
festgelegte Grenzziehung gebunden. Indirekt wird so der Ausschluß
des Ostjordanlandes bestätigt, auch wenn der Anspruch auf das Land
östlich des Toten Meeres erneuert wird.

V

Für die Beschreibung des Landes Israel lassen sich hinsichtlich der
Grenzziehung drei verschiedene Konzepte unterscheiden:
    1. Die alte Formel "von Dan bis Beerscheba" legt die Ausdehnung
des von Saul und David geschaffenen Königreiches durch Nennung

---

[62] So bereits S. Klein, *HUCA* 5 (1928), p. 213, der allerdings Nr. 27–32 in der
Trachonitis und Auranitis lokalisiert hat.
[63] Zur Geltung der Tora in der rabbinischen Tradition vgl. J. Amir, "Gesetz",
TRE XIII (1984), pp. 52–58; A. Nissen, *Tora und Geschichte im Spätjudentum* (Leiden,
1967), pp. 241–277.

zweier Städte im Norden und Süden fest. Diese Beschreibung definiert das Land gleichzeitig als Siedlungsgebiet der israelitischen Stämme, ungeachtet der Tatsache, daß damit auch die Gebiete der ehemaligen kanaanitischen Stadtstaaten in das Staatsgebiet eingeschlossen wurden.

2. Die deuteronomistische Formel "vom Eufrat bis zum Bach Ägyptens" dehnt das Reichsgebiet über ganz Syrien aus. Diese Vorstellung hat vermutlich in der Unterwerfung einiger aramäischer Kleinstaaten durch David ihren Ausgangspunkt. Da diese Vasallenstaaten aber nicht zum Staatsgebiet gehört haben entspricht diese Ausweitung nicht den geschichtlichen Gegebenheiten. Vielmehr wird diese Grenzziehung von dem Wunsch bestimmt, den Herrschaftsbereich Salomos möglichst groß anzugeben, um seinen Ruhm und Glanz zu mehren.

3. Der nachexilischen Grenzbeschreibung von Num 34,3–12 liegt ein priesterliches Konzept zugrunde, nach dem das Ostjordanland als kultisch unrein nicht zum Land Israel gehört hat. Konsequenterweise wird damit der Jordan zur Grenze des Landes. Im Norden und Süden werden die Grenzen unabhängig von der deuteronomistischen Formel bis weit nach Syrien und in den Sinai über das eigentliche Siedlungsgebiet Israels hinaus ausgedehnt.

Nach Abschluß des biblischen Kanons wurden diese Konzepte weiter modifiziert:

1. Eine Kombination der deuteronomistischen mit der priesterlichen Konzeption liegt in den Targumim zu Num 34 vor. Zwar bleibt das Ostjordanland auch hier ausgeschlossen, im Norden wird aber der Bereich des Landes Israel bis an den Taurus und im Süden bis an den Nil vorgeschoben.

2. Das sog. tannaitische Grenzverzeichnis stellt eine Präzisierung der nachexilischen Grenzbeschreibung von Num 34,3–12 dar. Auch ohne ausdrückliche Nennung wird der Jordan doch als Grenze weiterhin vorausgesetzt. Mit der Einbeziehung weiter Gebiete östlich und nordöstlich des Sees Genesareth wird der Siedlungsgeschichte in römischer Zeit Rechnung getragen.

Abgesehen von der Formel "von Dan bis Beerscheba", die reale Verhältnisse widerspiegelt, beruhen alle Grenzbeschreibungen auf einer idealen Vorstellung von der Größe des Landes Israel. Auch wenn in den verschiedenen Entwürfen für den Umfang des Landes

Einzelheiten der historischen Realität entsprechen, werden die unterschiedlichen Vorstellungen von Konzeptionen bestimmt, die nicht an territorialen Gegebenheiten, sondern an Ansprüchen und Vorstellungen orientiert sind, die weit über die geschichtliche Wirklichkeit hinausgehen.

THE BOUNDARIES OF ARAM-DAMASCUS IN THE 9TH–8TH CENTURIES BCE*

GERSHON GALIL

Haifa

This article reexamines the boundaries of Aram-Damascus in the second half of the 9th century and in the 8th century BCE in light of the new inscriptions published in the last decade, mainly Hazael's booty inscriptions from Samos and Eretria,[1] the fragments of the Aramaic royal inscription from Tel Dan,[2] and the new edition of the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III.[3]

I. *The Boundaries of Aram-Damascus in the time of Hazael and Bar Hadad, his son*

In 841 and again in 838 (and in 837?) Damascus was defeated by the Assyrians, the army of Shalmaneser III occupying all the districts of the land of Damascus up to Mount Hauran.[4] The defeats of Aram on the battlefield did not lead to its surrender. Assyria failed

---

* This article is based on a paper presented at the 44th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Venice in July 1997.
[1] A. Charbonnet, "Le dieu aux lions d'Erétrie", *Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Clasico e del Mediterraneo Antico Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antico* 8 (1986), pp. 117–156; H. Kyrieleis and W. Roellig, "Ein altorientalisher Pferdeschmuck aus dem Heraion von Samos", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Athenische Abteilung* 103 (1988), pp. 37–75; I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions", *IEJ* 39 (1989), pp. 192–200; F. Born and A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions Araméennes de Hazael", *RA* 3 (1989), pp. 34–44.
[2] A. Biran and J. Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan", *IEJ* 43 (1993), pp. 81–98; idem, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment", *IEJ* 45 (1995), pp. 1–18; and recently I. Kottsieper, "Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan und die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Aram-Damascus und Israel in der 1. Haelfte des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus", *"Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf"—Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient: Festschrift fuer Oswald Loretz*, eds. M. Dietrich and I. Kottsieper (*AOAT* 250; Muenster, 1998), pp. 475–500; A. Lemaire, "The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography", *JSOP* 81 (1998), pp. 3–14, with earlier literature
[3] H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria* (Jerusalem, 1994).
[4] A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C. II (858–745 B.C.), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods* III (Toronto, 1996), pp. 48, 54, 60.

to conquer Damascus, and Hazael did not become an Assyrian vassal. The Assyrian threat, however, was not lifted from Damascus, and it took Aram several years to recover from the blows it had endured. Biblical sources state clearly that Hazael subdued his southern neighbors, including the two Israelite kingdoms and Gath of the Philistines. The Aramean campaigns probably took place during the first five years of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V, taking advantage of the death of Shalmaneser III and the revolt in Assyria.[5] Hazael annexed to Aram all the land of Israel from the Bashan up to the river Arnon (2 Kgs 10,32–33). It was probably a very cruel and sadistic conquest which even after three generations was not forgotten (Amos 1,3; 2 Kgs 8,12). Most of the oracles against the nations in the book of Amos, chapter 1, probably refer to the period of Hazael.[6] The empire of Hazael may have included not only Israel, Judah, and Gath of the Philistines but also Tyre, the other four Philistine kingdoms, and the kingdoms of Transjordan. It is possible that the fall of Calneh and Hamath mentioned in Amos 6,2, also refers to the conquests of Hazael.[7]

Hazael's booty inscriptions from Samos and Eretria indicate that Unqi/Pattina was within the empire of Hazael.[8] Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that the river which Hazael crossed was the Euphrates ("in the year that our lord crossed the river"). I may therefore suggest that central and northern Syria were under the hegemony of Damascus, already during the reign of Hazael (as indicated also, in my opinion, from Amos 6,2).[9]

---

[5] For the date of Hazael's campaigns see G. Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 48–51.

[6] We should read: "to deliver them up to Aram" instead of "to deliver them up to Edom"—Amos 1,6, etc. For earlier studies of Amos's Oracles against the nations see J. Barton, *Amos's Oracles against the Nations: A Study of Amos 1.3–2.5* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 25–31; M.E. Polley, *Amos and the Davidic Empire: A Socio-Historical Approach* (New York and Oxford, 1989), pp. 76–77.

[7] The commentators conclude that the references in Amos 6,2 are to the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III, attributing this verse to a later redactor of the book of Amos. Cf. J.H. Hayes, *Amos* (Nashville, 1988), pp. 183–84, with earlier literature. For another approach to this problem see S.M. Paul, *Amos* (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 201–204.

[8] There is no reason to accept the identification of ʿMQ in the Eretria and Samos inscriptions with the Beqaʿ of Lebanon. For this proposal see N. Naʾaman, "Hazael of ʿAmqi and Hadadezer of Beth-rehob", *UF* 27 (1995), pp. 384ff., pp. 393–94; Naʾaman misunderstood the inscriptions and his interpretation must be rejected.

[9] For same conclusions see A. Lemaire, "Hazael de Damas, roi d'Aram", *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs: Etudes sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à P. Garelli*, eds.

The Zakur inscription, written at the beginning of the 8th century BCE, indicates that Barhadad son of Hazael, king of Aram, led a powerful coalition of north Syrian and south Anatolian kings.[10] The king of Aram and his allies, the kings of Arpad, Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sama'al, Melid, and others, laid siege to Hazrak, one of the capital cities of Zakur, king of Hamath and La'ash. The historical background of this siege is not clear. One may suppose that the king of Hamath rebelled against Damascus (as did the king of Israel) hoping to take advantage of the Assyrian offensive lead by Adad-nirari III.

Many years ago Abraham Malamat identified the toponym Beth-Eden mentioned in Amos 1,5 with *Bit Adini* and claimed that Shamshi-ilu is the ruler mentioned in this verse.[11] Recently Alan Milard rejected Malamat's proposal, claiming that "Beth Eden should rather be sought within the borders of the kingdom of Damascus in Amos' time [in his opinion ca. 760] when it was restricted to some degree by Assyrian and Israelite pressures".[12] Yet we have seen that the oracles against the nations in Amos, chap. 1 refer to earlier days, namely the period of Hazael and his son Ben Hadad. Since the inscriptions from Samos and Eretria were probably gifts to the king of Aram on the occasion of his crossing the Euphrates, and subduing Unqi as well as territories east of the Euphrates, which were included within the confines of Bit Adini there is no reason to reject the identification of Bit Adini with Beth Eden.

I will now turn to the Aramaic Stele fragments from Tel Dan. I would like to challenge here the now almost universal opinion on how the two main fragments of this important stele relate to each other. The attempt to join these two fragments (A; B) appears forced and very problematic. In my opinion fragment B preceded fragment A and belongs to the beginning of the stele; moreover, the stele should not be dated to the reign of Hazael but to the time of his

---

D. Charpin and F. Joannes (Paris, 1991), pp. 91–108, especially pp. 103–6. Lemaire pointed out that the territory east of the Euphrates, which was invaded by Hazael, was Assyrian.

[10] For the Zakur inscription, see J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 (Oxford, 1975), pp. 6–17; A. Lemaire, "Joas de Samarie, Barhadad de Damas, Zakkur de Hamat. La Syrie-Palestine vers 800 av. J.-C.," *Eretz Israel* 24 (1993), pp. 148*–157*.

[11] A. Malamat, "Amos 1,5 in the Light of the Til Barsip Inscription", *BASOR* 129 (1953), pp. 25–26.

[12] A. Milard, "Eden, Bit Adini and Beth Eden", *Eretz Israel*, 24 (1993), p. 176*.

son Ben Hadad. My main arguments are as follows. (1) The lines in
fragment B are not parallel to the lines in fragment A. It is clear that
in each fragment all letters in each line were drawn along a straight
line. Now, if we accept the common opinion we should have to sup-
pose that in most of the lines, exactly at the break of the two frag-
ments, the sculptor suddenly changed the direction of the letters. It
is much more reasonable to suppose that this change is a clear indi-
cation that the join theory is mistaken. (2) The reconstruction of the
end of line 8 by Naveh is impossible. It should be noted that after
[. . .] רם.בר. [. . .] at the end of line 7, Naveh restored only four let-
ters and one dot, whereas after [. . .] יהו.בר [. . .] at the end of line
8 seven letters and two dots are missing. Naveh wonders whether
unlike the beginnings of the lines, the line ends were not aligned,
or whether there was another reason for the discrepancy in the num-
ber of letters missing, such as haplography of one of the mems in
"יהורם מל/ך". In my opinion, this is another strong point against
the generally accepted join of the two fragments. (3) The letters of
fragment B do not constitute a direct continuation of the text of
fragment A in any line. (4) There is a serious contradiction between
the reconstructed Dan inscription and the biblical narrative in 2 Kgs
9, which describes in detail how Joram and Ahaziah were slain by
Jehu. The biblical tradition also alluded to in Hos 1,4–5 relates the
uprooting of the house of Ahab to Jehu's rebellion, as predicted in
the prophecies of Elijah (1 Kgs 19,17) and Elisha (2 Kgs 9,6–10).
This makes the reconstruction of the text ascribing the slaying of
Joram and Ahaziah to the king of Aram very problematic. (5) The
completion of lines 2–3, 6–7 is forced and artificial. (6) The fact
that Hazael was an usurper is recorded in the prophetic narrative
of 2 Kgs 8,7–15 and alluded to in the appellation "the son of no-
body" in a summary inscription of Shalmaneser III. Therefore the
proposal to date the stele to the time of Hazael is not reasonable
since the writer of the stele mentions his father at least twice and
since it is unusual for a usurper to mention his father in his royal
inscriptions.

    In my opinion, the stele was erected by Ben Hadad, son of Hazael
who was the king who conquered the city of Dan during the reign
of Jehoahaz son of Jehu. The city was probably reconquered by
Joash son of Jehoahaz. A biblical source states explicitly that Joash
of Israel took from Ben Hadad "the cities which he had taken out
of the hand of Jehoahaz his father by war" (2 Kgs 13,25). Since the

Bashan and the Gilead were captured by Hazael, the cities men-
tioned in this verse should evidently be located in upper Galilee.

II. *The borders of Damascus under Jeroboam II king of Israel in light
of a new understanding of the Sefire treaties*

The Sefire treaties, as S. Parpola recently pointed out,[13] are probably
the Aramaic counterpart, though not an exact translation, of the text
of the treaty between Mataʿel king of Arpad and Ashur-nirari V
king of Asssyria, which was signed c. 754, namely in the last years
of Jeroboam II of Israel. In my opinion, the author of the treaties
described in Stele I, face B, ll. 8–10, the territories of Arpad and
Hamath up to the northern border of Damascus, by four territorial
patterns, as follows:

Let not one of the words of thi[s] Inscription be silent	ואל תשתק חדה מן מלי
[but let them be heard]	ספרא זנ[ה וישתמען]
[from A]rqu up to Yad[i] and [ ] z	1. [מן ע]רקו ועד יאד[י] ו[..]ז
from Lebanon up to Yab [. . . .]	2. מן לבנן ועד יב[. . .]
[from Dams]qus up to Aru and . . .	3. [מן דמש]ק ועד ערו ומ . . . .
[and fr]om Baqʿat up to KTK	4. [ומ]ן בקעת ועד כתכ

Arqu, Lebanon, Damascus, and Baqʿat are all situated on the south-
ern border of Hamath, while the northern border of Arpad met the
territories of Yadi/Samal and KTK (probably Assyria). At that time
Damascus was probably a province of the kingdom of Jeroboam II
of Israel, as the Bible clearly indicates. In light of my new inter-
pretation of this passage, I would like to propose that MṢR men-
tioned in Stele I face A l. 5, was the name of the king of Hamath,
and that he was the main ally of Mataʿel king of Arpad.[14]

III. *The borders of the kingdom of Rezin the last king of Damascus*

Biblical sources indicate that the territories of the Gilead and the
Galilee up to the valley of Ayun were within the confines of the

---

[13] S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, (SAA 2;
Helsinki, 1988), pp. xxvii–xxviii.
[14] For the identification of MṢR see A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand, *Les inscrip-
tions Araméennes de Sfire et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu* (Genève-Paris, 1984), pp. 85–88, with
earlier literature.

kingdom of Israel in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. This fact is attested by 2 Kgs 15,29, and also by two other biblical texts: 2 Kgs 15,25 and 2 Kgs 15,37. Peqah, the king of Israel, who was the main ally of Rezin of Damascus, was probably the governor of the Israelite Transjordan in the days of his predecessor: he conspired against Pekahiah and with him were fifty men of the Gileadites (2 Kgs 15,25). The problematic four words in this verse: "with Argob and Arieh", should be amended as follows: "Peqah his official [in the district of] Argob and [in the towns of] Yair":

ויקשׁור עליו פקח בן רמליהו שׁלישׁו [בחבל] ארנוב ו[בחות] יאיר.¹⁵

In light of the special and close relations between Rezin and Peqah and in light of the Transjordanian origins of Peqah, it is unreasonable to suppose that Damascus, in its final years, controlled the Gilead.

The evidence of the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III is not clear at all. Summary inscription 5 (II: 25) probably indicates that the city of Lebo was included within the confines of the kingdom of Damascus in its final days. It was most likely were the borders of Hamath and Damascus met.¹⁶ We may now try to draw the southern border of Aram-Damascus in light of Summary inscriptions 4 and 9+10.¹⁷

The reading proposed by Tadmor for the opening lines of Summary inscription 4 is problematic: Tadmor himself admits that the city of Kashpuna mentioned in line 5 of this inscription "is admittedly out of context as it belongs to the northern Syrian list of Toponyms (Ann. 19*,19 and Summary 9 r. 1). Its inclusion here, in conjunction with Bit Hazaili, cannot easily be explained. Is it a case of a scribal error . . .?".¹⁸ It is well known from other inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III that Kashpuna was included within the kingdom of Hamath, and that this city was located near the coast and not near the border of Damascus. Moreover, in light of Tadmor's proposals the kingdom

---

¹⁵ For earlier attempts to interpret these words see D. Barthelemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, I (Friburg and Göttingen, 1982), p. 405; P.A. Viviano, "Argob and Arieh", *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D.N. Freedman, I (New York, 1992), p. 376; N. Na'aman, "Rezin of Damascus and the Land of Gilead", *ZDPV* 111 (1995), pp. 107–108.
¹⁶ Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III*, p. 149.
¹⁷ For detailed studies of this subject see recently S.A. Irvine, "The Southern Border of Syria Reconstructed", *CBQ* 56 (1994), pp. 21–41; Na'aman, "Rezin of Damascus", pp. 105–17, with earlier literature.
¹⁸ Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III*, p. 138.

of Aram extended from Kashpuna (and not from Mount Lebanon) to the city of Abel Shiṭṭim. This territorial picture clearly contradicts the biblical data.

I would like to suggest a new reading of ll. 5'–6' of Summary inscription 4. In my opinion we should add the verb *akshud* (or *abil*) at the end of line 6', and we should suppose that there was no connection between lines 5'–6', on the one hand, and lines 7'–8', on the other. In my opinion the text in lines 5'–6' refers to a large area which included territories of more than one kingdom, as in Summary inscriptions 1: ll. 4–6; 7: ll. 3–4, and other examples. My new translation of lines 5'–6' of Summary inscription 4 is as follows:

> [I ruled/conquered (the land) from Kash]puna, which is on the shore of the upper sea [up to Qa]-ni-te Gil[ead and (up to)] Abel-shiṭṭi, which is on the border of [Bit-Humria (or on the border of Moab)]

Summary inscription 9 (rev., ll. 3–4; see also Summary inscription 10) indicates clearly that Damascus extended "from [Mount Leb]anon as far as the city of Gilead." . . . This territorial pattern is different from the one mentioned in Summary inscription 4. In fact, the only common toponym to both patterns is "Gilead"; all the other toponyms are different. Therefore, it is not reasonable to use the pattern of the one for the reconstruction of the other. My translation of Summary inscription 9–10, ll. 3–4 is as follows:

> I annexed to Assyria the wide [land of Bit]-Hazaili, in its entirety from [Mount Leb]anon as far as the city of Gilea[d, . . ., . . . on the bor]der of Bit Humria

In my opinion we are not yet able to reconstruct the names of the other cities after "Gilead" in line 3.

It is clear from Summary inscriptions 9–10 that the border between Israel and Aram-Damascus met in the "Gilead". This toponym probably refer to the city of Ramoth-Gilead (Tel Ramith), same as in Hos 6,8.

In sum, the border of the kingdom of Aram-Damascus in its final days extended from Lebo-Hamath to Ramoth-Gilead. The border between Aram and Israel was long, running along the Jordan river from the valley of Ayun to the sea of Galilee. Mount Lebanon was the natural border between Damascus and the Phoenician kingdoms of Tyre and Byblos. There is no evidence that Damascus controlled the coast near Kashpuna, a city that was within the confines of the kingdom of Hamath.

"FROM INDIA TO ETHIOPIA" AND FROM "THE HELLESPONT TO INDIA" (THE IMPERIAL OUTLOOK)

M. HELTZER

Haifa

As known, at verse 1 of the first chapter of the book of Esther, concerning the Persian king, it is said: "Ahasuerus,[1] who reigned from India to Ethiopia".[2, 3] Without entering the question of biblical criticism, where the majority of the authors date the book to Hellenistic times, I would say that the complete absence of Greek words in it, and the presence of Iranian administrative, social, and court terminology forces us to consider it as written in the late Achaemenian period, undoubtedly before Alexander.[4] On the other hand, the pseudo-Aristotelian work *On the Cosmos*,[5] (398a) has the following passage:

> The whole Empire of Asia bounded by the Hellespont in the West and the Indus in the East . . .[6]

The same passage mentions the kings Cambyses, Xerxes, and Darius. Despite the pseudo-Aristotelian origin of the book,[7] we know that the passage 398a, describing the political and administrative structure of the Achaemenian empire, is trustworthy and is by a contemporary author.[8] In one of his inscriptions from Persepolis (XPh) Xerxes says:

---

[1] Xerxes, 485–465 BCE.
[2] Ethiopia, the name in ancient times, also Nubia, Sudan.
[3] "אחשורוש המלך מהדו ועד כוש" also Esth 8,9.
[4] M. Heltzer, "The book of Esther—Where Does Fiction Start and History End?" *BR* 8/1 (1992), pp. 24–30, 41.
[5] We cite the text according to the LCL.
[6] τὴν δέ σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας, περατουμένην Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐκ τών πρός ἑσπέραν μερων, Ἰνδῶ δέ ἐκ τών πρός ἕω.
[7] See D.J. Furley, Aristotle, *On Sophisticated Refutations*, (London, 1965), pp. 333–343.
[8] P. Calmeyer, "Zur Darstellung von Standesunterschieden in Persepolis", AMI, 24 (1991), pp. 35–36.

(14, 19–28) By favour of Aharamazda these are the countries of which I was [king . . .]: he names all his provinces—the lands incorporated into the Empire and among them Gadāra, Hidus (i.e. Gandara and Sind) in the northwest of Hindustan, and Kūšiya (Nubia) – (Hebrew: Kūš). But he mentions also (1.23) Yaunā – Ionia.[9]

We find here three different views on the subject, which do not contradict one another.

The royal inscription gives us the imperial view, taken from the capital of the Achaemenian Empire. The Persian king lists his lands and territories. The Greek view, expressed by the pseudo-Aristotelian work, tells of the huge empire from India to the Hellespont (Ionia). Despite their political independence the Greek city-states in the 5th–6th centuries BCE were dominated by the proximity of the Persian empire, and maintained political, economic, and military links with it (war, peace, trade, mercenaries in Persian service). Naturally, for the Greeks the most important factor were these points of territory that linked them with the empire.

The Jewish view was expressed in Judah, or in the chief countries of the Jewish Diaspora in Persian times (Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt),[10] and it drew the line from India in the east through Persia, Mesopotamia (Babylonia), Syria-Palestine (including Judah), and Egypt, to Nubia in the south.

These, then, are three different views, of the same thing, namely the Persian empire. Each can be explained from the viewpoint of the circles that expressed it, and they do not contradict each other.

---

[9] The inscription according to R.G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar*, (New Haven, 1953), pp. 150–151.

[10] We do not consider here areas in the Jewish Diaspora where smaller communities existed then: Cyprus, Anatolia, etc.

TARSHISH-*TARSISI*:
PROBLÈME DE TOPOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE
BIBLIQUE ET ASSYRIENNE

ANDRÉ LEMAIRE

Paris

Dans ce volume dédié à Zecharia Kallai dont les recherches ont été centrées sur les problèmes de topographie historique, il semble utile de revenir sur un toponyme, souvent discuté et devenu presque mythique, que la publication récente d'un ostracon paléo-hébreu[1] vient de rappeler à l'attention des spécialistes du Proche-Orient ancien. Avant d'évoquer les sources mentionnant le toponyme Tarshish et d'en proposer une identification raisonnée qui tienne compte des diverses données du problème, nous voudrions rapidement rappeler les principales solutions proposées jusqu'ici avec une brève évocation de la recherche récente.

I. *Identifications proposées*

Sans prétendre, en quelques lignes, à une présentation exhaustive de l'histoire de la recherche de ce toponyme qui a donné lieu à de très nombreuses études, on doit souligner la diversité des identifications proposées jusqu'ici.[2]

1) Tarshish désignerait la ville de Tarse en Cilicie. Cette identification, déjà proposée par Flavius Josèphe[3] et par Reticius d'Autun,[4] a été reprise récemment par G. Garbini[5] et G.W. Ahlström,[6] ainsi que par A. van der Kooij.[7]

---

[1] P. Bordreuil, F. Israel et D. Pardee, "Deux ostraca paléo-hébreux de la collection Sh. Moussaïeff", *Semitica* 46 (1996), pp. 49–76, spéc. pp. 53–55.

[2] Pour une présentation détaillée des identifications les plus anciennes, cf. G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée* (Bruxelles/Rome, 1979), pp. 331–348.

[3] *Guerre juive* VII, 238; *Antiquités juives* I,127; IX,208; cf. aussi *Saint Jérôme, Lettres* II, éd. J. Labourt (Paris, 1951), p. 65: lettre XXXVII,2.

[4] Ibidem. lettre XXXVII,1: ". . . Tharsis urbem putasse Tarsum . . .".

[5] "Tarsis e *Gen.* 10,4", *Bibbia e Oriente* 7 (1965), pp. 13–20; *I Fenici, storia e religione* (Naples, 1980), pp. 95–116.

[6] "The Nora Inscription and Tarshish", *Maarav* 7 (1991), pp. 41–49, spéc. p. 48.

[7] *The Oracle of Tyre, The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*, (VTS 71 Leiden, 1998), pp. 40–47, "Excursus: Tarshish: Tartessos or Tarsus".

2) Tarshish serait à identifier avec le pays de Tartessos au sud-ouest de l'Espagne, mentionné par Hérodote,[8] Strabon[9] et Pline l'Ancien.[10] Cette identification, d'abord proposée par S. Bochart,[11] a été reprise par de nombreux commentateurs, en particulier E. Dhorme[12] et H. Wildberger.[13] On la retrouve récemment dans le livre de M. Koch[14] et les articles de M. Elat,[15] E. Lipinski,[16] W. Tyloch,[17] J.B. Tsirkin.[18] Dernièrement, elle a été reprise par P. Bordreuil, F. Israel et D. Pardee.[19]

3) Tarshish serait à identifier avec la ville de Carthage. Cette identification est celle de certaines traductions de Tarshish dans la Septante qui a Καρχηδων en Isaïe 23,1.6.10.14 et Καρχηδονοι en Ez 27,12.25; 38,13.[20] Cette interprétation a été reprise récemment par P.-R. Borger.[21]

4) Tarshish serait un toponyme de Sardaigne. Cette interprétation, liée à la lecture BTRŠŠ dans la stèle de Nora, a été proposée par W.F. Albright.[22]

5) Tarshish serait à chercher en Inde. Cette identification, déjà

---

[8] *Histoires* I, 163; 4,52.

[9] *Géographie* 3.2.11.

[10] *Histoire Naturelle* 37,43.

[11] *Geographia sacra*, dans *Opera omnia* (Leiden, 4e éd. 1712 [1ère éd. 1646]), pp. 165-171.

[12] *Recueil Édouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), pp. 185-187.

[13] *Jesaja 13-17* (BKAT X/2, Neukirchen, 1978), p. 869.

[14] *Tarschisch und Hispanien* (Madrider Forschungen 14; Berlin, 1984).

[15] "Tarshish and the Problem of Phoenician Colonisation in the Western Mediterranean", *OLP* 13 (1982), pp. 55-69.

[16] "Tartessos et la stèle de Nora", dans *Secundo Congreso Internacional de Estudios sobre las Culturas del Mediterraneo Occidental* (Barcelone, 1978), pp. 71-77; id., "Carthage et Tarshish", *BiOr* 45 (1988), col. 61-79; id., "Les Japhétites selon Gen 10,2-4 et 1 Chr 1,5-7", *ZAH* 3 (1990), pp. 40-53, spéc. pp. 51-52; id., "Tarshish", *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* (Turnhout, 1992), pp. 440-442; id., "Tarshish", *TWAT* VIII (1995), col. 778-781. Cf. aussi C.G. Wagner, "Tartessos y las tradiciones literarias", *RSF* 14 (1986), pp. 201-228.

[17] "Le problème de Taršiš à la lumière de la philologie et de l'exégèse", dans M. Galley éd., *Deuxième Congrès International d'Études des Cultures de la Méditerranée Occidentale* II (Alger, 1978), pp. 46-51.

[18] "The Hebrew Bible and the Origin of Tartessian Power", *Aula Orientalis* 4 (1986), pp. 179-185.

[19] "Deux ostraca", pp. 49-76, spéc. pp. 53-55.

[20] Cf. aussi *Eusebius, Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*, éd. E. Klosterman, Hildesheim 1986 (Leipzig, 1904), p. 100.

[21] "Ellasar, Tarschich und Jawan, Gn 14 und Gn 10", *WO* 13 (1982), pp. 50-78, spéc. pp. 61-65.

[22] "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization", *The Bible in the Ancient Near East*, éd. G.E. Wright (Garden City, 1961 reprint Winona Lake, 1979), pp. 328-362, spéc. pp. 346-347.

évoquée dans le commentaire de Saint Jérôme sur Isaïe,[23] et dans l'Onomasticon d'Eusèbe,[24] a été récemment reprise par J.M. Blazquez.[25]

6) Tarshish serait à chercher en Éthiopie, comme une des positions d'Origène.[26]

7) Tarshish serait à identifier avec les *Tursha*, "peuple de la mer" généralement identifiés aux Étrusques. Cette identification avait déjà été proposée dans le courant du XIXe siècle par A. Knobel.[27]

8) Tarshish serait un toponyme plus ou moins mythique désignant l'extrême occident connu, le "Far West", et pouvant s'appliquer, selon les textes, à divers pays.[28] C'est la position à laquelle semblent se rallier récemment, non sans nuances, G. Bunnens[29] et J. Alvar.[30]

9) Tarshish ne serait qu'un toponyme dérivé d'un nom commun signifiant "mine" (racine RŠŠ) et, comme tel, applicable à plusieurs lieux.[31]

10) Tarshish serait une désignation poétique de la mer, d'après sa couleur. Cette proposition peut s'appuyer sur la Septante en Daniel 10,6 et se trouve déjà dans Saint Jérôme[32] et dans Origène.[33] Elle a été reprise récemment par C.M. Gordon[34] et S.B. Hoenig.[35]

---

[23] *In Esaiam* I (II,16) et XVIII (66,18-19); *Lettre* XXXVII, 2: "Indiae regio ita appelletur". Cf. aussi J. Arce, "Tharsis-India-Aethiopia: a proposito de Hieronm. Ep. 37", *RSF* 5 (1977), pp. 127-130.

[24] *Eusebius, Das Onomastikon*, 102.

[25] *Tartessos y los origines de la colonizacion fenicia en Occidente* (Salamanca, 1968), pp. 15-21 (cf. critiques de J.B. Cirkin, *BiOr* 39 [1982], col. 401-406, spéc. col. 405-406).

[26] *In Ps. LXXI (= LXXII), 9* (= PG 12 [1857] 1524). Cf. aussi F. Wutz, *Onomastica sacra. Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristliche Literatur, IIIe Reihe, XI,1; Leipzig, 1914), p. 195.

[27] *Die Völkertafel der Genesis* (Giessen, 1850), pp. 86-94; id., *Die Genesis* (Leipzig, 1860), pp. 111-112.

[28] Cf. *Anastasius Sinaita* (PG 89 [1865], pp. 1011-1012); F. Lenormant, "Tarschisch", *Revue des questions historiques* 32 (1882), pp. 5-40.

[29] *L'expansion phénicienne* (1979), pp. 347-348.

[30] J. Alvar, "Aportaciones al estudio del Tarshish biblico", *RSF* 10 (1982), pp. 211-230.

[31] Cf. P. Haupt, "Tarsis", dans *Verhandlungen des XIII. internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses 1902* (Leiden, 1904), pp. 232-234; W.F. Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization", *BASOR* 83 (1941), pp. 21-22; J.M. Solà Solè, "Tarshish y los comienzos de la colonizacion fenicia en occidente", *Sefarad* 17 (1957), pp. 23-35.

[32] *Lettre* XXXVII,2: ". . . et ipsum mare, quia caeruleum sit. . . ."

[33] *In Ps. XLVII (= XLVIII), 8* (= PG 12 [1857] 1440).

[34] "The Wine-Dark Sea", *JNES* 37 (1978), pp. 51-52.

[35] S.B. Hoenig, "Tarshish", *JQR* 69 (1979), pp. 181-182. Cependant, il semble s'agir alors de "tarshish" en tant que nom de pierre.

Devant une telle diversité, on comprend la perplexité, voir le scepticisme de certains commentateurs contemporains.[36] Il n'est peut-être pas inutile de relire les textes mentionnant Tarshish, aussi bien ceux de la Bible que ceux de l'épigraphie.

II. *L'examen des sources*

Tarshish est essentiellement mentionné dans la Bible, en épigraphie hébraïque et dans les textes néo-assyriens. A ces références, il faut ajouter la mention, possible mais très discutée, dans la stèle de Nora et l'attestation d'un nom propre grec du début de notre ère pouvant renvoyer à Tarsis.

1. *La Bible*

Mises à part les mentions de Tarshish en tant que nom propre (Est 1,14; 1 Ch 7,10), ou pour désigner une pierre précieuse, le toponyme Tarshish apparaît vingt-six fois dans la Bible:

1 – Tarshish apparaît deux fois dans le syntagme "vaisseau (flotte?) de Tarshish (*'°nī taršīš*)" (1 R 10,22), au singulier, et huit fois au pluriel (*'°niyyôt taršīš*) (1 R 22,49; Is 2,16; 23,1.14; 60,9; Ez 27,25; Ps 48,8; 2 Ch 9,21). Comme l'ont remarqué la plupart des commentateurs, ce syntagme désigne probablement un type de vaisseau capable de voyager jusqu'à Tarshish. Il s'agit apparemment d'un type de vaisseau de commerce pouvant faire une expédition maritime d'une certaine distance. L'expression semble aussi être utilisée pour mentionner les vaisseaux de commerce sillonnant la Mer Rouge (1 R 10,22; 22,49; 2 Ch 9,21) et la Méditerranée (Is 60,9?). L'expression semble caractériser le commerce de Tyr (Is 23,1.14; Ez 27,25)[37] ou les expéditions communes phénico-israélites (1 R 10,22; 2 Ch 9,21). Elle n'apparaît qu'une seule fois dans un contexte commercial uniquement judéen et la tradition biblique de 1 R 22,49 précise que cette expédition s'est soldée par un échec.

2 – Tarshish apparaît explicitement comme le but d'un voyage par bateau. C'est l'explication que donne le chroniste du syntagme

---

[36] Cf., par exemple, D.W. Baker, "Tarshish (Place)", *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, éd. D.N. Freedman, IV (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 331–333.

[37] L'appellation "fille de Tarshish" (Is 23,10) reste plus énigmatique! Elle pourrait souligner l'importance des relations commerciales entre Tarshish et Tyr.

"vaisseau de Tarsis" au IVe s. av. J.-C. (cf. 2 Ch 9,21; 20,36.37).
On retrouve Tarshish comme la destination d'un voyage maritime
en Is 23,6 et, surtout, en Jonas 1,3 (deux fois) et 4,2. La rédaction
de ce récit légendaire date probablement de l'époque perse, et il
n'est pas étonnant que Yapho/Jaffa y soit présenté comme un port
d'où l'on peut embarquer pour Tarshish, quitte à payer son voyage
(*wayittēn səkārāh*: Jonas 1,3). En effet, à l'époque perse, ce port est
non seulement en liaison avec le Liban (cf. Esd 3,7) mais encore
sous le contrôle politique des rois de Sidon comme le précise expli-
citement l'inscription phénicienne d'Eshmoun'azor.[38]

3 – Tarshish est un pays qui commerce avec Tyr, Meshek et
Toubal. Dans Ez 27,12, le texte est des plus précis quant au com-
merce avec Tyr:

> Tarshish commerçait avec toi une abondance de toute richesse (*taršīš
> soḥartēk mērob kol-hôn*), en argent, fer, étain et plomb (*bəkesep barzel bədīl
> wə'ôperet*), ils t'ont donné ton fret.

Les métaux, et particulièrement l'argent, semblent être des denrées
caractéristiques du commerce avec Tarshish. Ainsi, Jr 10,9 évoquet-
il "l'argent laminé importé de Tarshish (*kesep məruqqāh mittaršīs yûbā'*)".

Ez 27,13 évoque le commerce avec Yawân, Meshek et Toubal et
fait mention des commerçants de Tarshish en Ez 38,13, dans un
oracle contre Gog/(Gyges), "prince en chef de Meshek et Toubal"
(Ez 38,2).[39] Cependant cette dernière mention, à côté de celle de
Sheba et Dedân, n'est pas aussi évidente.

4 – Tarshish semble être un royaume puisque Ps 72,10 évoque
"les rois de Tarshish" associés à ceux des "îles".

5 – Tarshish apparaît comme un pays associé aux côtes méridio-
nales de l'Asie Mineure. Dans la fameuse table des nations de Gn
10, Tarshish est classé parmi les "fils de Yawân": "Benê-Yâwân:
Elishâh, et Tarshish, Kittîm et Dodânim", ce dernier terme étant
possiblement à corriger en Rodânîm, d'après le parallèle de
1 Ch 1,7, compte tenu de la confusion paléographique classique
D/R. Selon cette tradition, Tarshish serait associé aux îles de la côte

---

[38] Cf. *KAI* 14,19; *TSSI* III, n° 28; J. Elayi, *Sidon, cité autonome de l'empire perse* (Paris,
1989), pp. 37–40, 95.
[39] L'association, dans ce verset, de Sheba et Dedân, est assez surprenante. Elle
s'explique probablement non par une proximité géographique mais par l'évocation
des peuples caravaniers spécialistes du grand commerce international terrestre à côté
de ceux qui étaient renommés pour leur commerce maritime (cf. Ps 72,10).

de l'Asie méridionale: Chypre (Elishâh), Kition (Kittîm) et Rhodes(?). Par ailleurs, nous avons vu qu'Ez 27,13 et, moins clairement, 8,2, associaient Tarshish avec Yâwân, Meshek et Toubal. Cette association géographique se retrouve, avec quelques compléments, en Is 66,19: "Tarshish, Poul et Loud 'qui bandent l'arc',[40] Toubal et Yâwân. . . ." Sans entrer dans une discussion trop détaillée de Poul (peut-être la Pamphylie) et de Loud (probablement la Lydie), on soulignera la constance de la mention et l'identification généralement admise[41] de Benê Yâwân ("Ioniens"), Meshek (approximativement la Phrygie) et Toubal (Tabal, approximativement la Cappadoce).

2. *Les textes assyriens*

Le toponyme Tarshish ne semble attesté qu'une seule fois dans un texte commémoratif d'Assarhaddon, sur une tablette d'Assur faite d'albâtre:

> Tous les rois qui habitent au milieu de la mer, depuis Chypre (KUR/*mât Yad(a)nana*), (et) Yâwân (KUR/*mât Yaman*), jusqu'à Tarshish (*adi* KUR/*mât Tarsisi*) se jetèrent à mes pieds et je reçus (leur) lourd tribut.[42]

On note que l'identification avec le pays de Tarshish est assurée non seulement par une parfaite correspondance philologique (consonnes et voyelles)[43] mais encore par les associations géographiques avec Chypre et Yâwân. De plus, l'association avec les deux autres noms de pays et l'emploi du déterminatif KUR/*mât* confirme normalement qu'il s'agit d'un nom de pays, comme dans le toponyme biblique correspondant. Enfin, on soulignera qu'Assarhaddon se vante d'avoir reçu la soumission de ce pays et plus précisément, comme pour Chypre, d'en avoir reçu le tribut.

N.B. Dans son livre classique *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6: Neukirchen: Butzon und Bercker Kevelaer, 1970) 349, S. Parpola présente KUR *Tarsisi* comme une variante de URU *Tarzu/i* (3 attestations),

---

[40] L'expression *moškēy qešet* cache probablement une référence à Meshek/Musku: cf. Dhorme, *Recueil Edouard Dhorme* (1951), p. 174.

[41] Cf., par exemple, récemment, Lipinski, "Les Japhétites", pp. 40–53, spéc. pp. 45–47.

[42] ARAB II, § 710 (en corrigeant Nusisi en Tarsisi); ANET, p. 290 (en corrigeant l'absence de *Yamana*!); R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Koenigs von Assyrien* (AfOBh 9; Graz, 1996), p. 86, § 57, lignes 10–11.

[43] Tous les commentateurs semblent s'accorder sur ce point: cf. par exemple, Elat, "Tarshish", pp. 55–69, spéc. p. 58; Lipinski, "Les Japhétites", p. 52.

mais la finale des deux toponymes est différente: le premier nom
étant précédé du déterminatif de "pays", tandis que le second l'est
par celui de "ville". Même s'il peut y avoir un rapport géographi-
que et philologique entre ces deux toponymes (*infra*), il semble qu'on
doive les traiter comme deux toponymes différents.

3. *Epigraphie paléo-hébraïque*

La publication récente d'un ostracon hébreu de la collection S. Mous-
saïeff[44] fait apparaître le montant d'un versement d' "argent de
Tarshish (KSP TRŠŠ) pour le temple de Yahwéh: 3 s(icles)" (l. 3–5).
Cette expression exprimait probablement, au-delà de l'origine, une
certaine qualité de référence du métal qui devait être versé au sanc-
tuaire. Elle rejoint les affirmations bibliques de Jr 10,1 et Ez 27,12
indiquant que l'argent était importé de Tarshish. La datation paléo-
graphique de cet ostracon reste très approximative: de la fin du VII[e45]
à la fin du IXe s.[46]

4. *Epigraphie phénicienne*

A la ligne 1 de la stèle de Nora, datant approximativement du
IXe s. av. J.C.,[47] la lecture matérielle BTRŠŠ semble assurée mais
son interprétation est très incertaine. La traduction "dans Tarsis" est
possible mais d'autres traductions ont été proposées. De plus, le lien
avec Tarshish (lieu d'origine du bateau, lieu d'arrêt en Sardaigne ou
destination?) serait difficile à préciser, d'autant plus difficile que nous
n'avons, peut-être, qu'une partie de la stèle. Finalement, il semble
impossible de tirer de cette stèle quelque chose de sûr ou même de
probable quant à la localisation de Tarshish.[48]

---

[44] P. Bordreuil – F. Israel – D. Pardee, *Semitica* 46 (1996), pp. 49–76, spéc. pp.
49–61; H. Shanks, "Three Shekels for the Lord: Ancient Inscription Records Gift
to Solomon's Temple", *BAR* 23/6 (1997), pp. 28–32.

[45] "Deux ostraca", pp. 57–61.

[46] Cf. "Three Shekels", p. 31.

[47] La datation de M.G. Amadasi Guzzo – P.G. Guzzo ("Di Nora, di Eracle gadi-
tano e della piu antica navigazione fenicia", *Aula Orientalis* 4 [1986], pp. 59–71),
ca. 830–730, pourrait être un peu trop basse.

[48] Cf. les interprétations divergentes de Lipinski, "Carthage et Tarshish", col.
60–81, spéc. col. 63; Ahlström, "The Nora Inscription", pp. 41–49. *TSSI* II, n° 11,
peut-être avec sagesse, ne traduit pas.

5. *Épigraphie grecque*

A la suite des travaux épigraphiques de L. Duchesne,[49] on connaît depuis plus d'un siècle un anthroponyme gravé sur une tombe chrétienne de Silifkeh (Cilicie Trachée): Ταρσισιος, qui pourrait être l'ethnique grec désignant un habitant du pays de Tarshish. Cette inscription unique date probablement de l'époque byzantine et paraît postérieure, d'environ au moins un millénaire, aux mentions assurées (*supra*). De plus, il s'agirait d'un ethnique, utilisé généralement à l'extérieur du pays même. Ces deux caractéristiques rendent l'exploitation de cet inscription si conjecturale qu'il est préférable de ne pas en tenir compte pour la localisation de Tarshish.

Ainsi, toute proposition de localisation doit essentiellement tenir compte des données fournies par les textes bibliques et le texte d'Assarhaddon, l'ostracon paléo-hébreu ne faisant que confirmer le lien entre Tarshish et l'argent, déjà attesté par la tradition biblique.

III. *Vers une solution?*

Examinons d'abord rapidement les diverses solutions proposées en les confrontant aux sources que nous venons de rappeler, en commençant par les dernières.

La dixième solution peut être facilement écartée car les textes bibliques et, encore plus, le texte assyrien (avec le déterminatif KUR [pays] dans un passage où la "mer" est mentionnée) s'opposent à une telle interprétation.

La neuvième solution, toponyme dérivé d'un nom commun signifiant "mine" paraît très incertaine philologiquement tandis que la référence à plusieurs toponymes différents semble inutile comme nous l'avons vu dans les textes bibliques et assyrien qui semblent concorder sur les pays voisins de Tarshish.

La huitième solution, toponyme mythique désignant l'extrême occident, semble avoir une certaine base dans les textes bibliques, en particulier dans l'histoire de Jonas, ainsi que dans le texte d'Assarhaddon où Tarshish semble exprimer la limite occidentale de la soumission à l'Assyrie. Cependant l'opposition entre Tarshish et Ninive

---

[49] "Les nécropoles chrétiennes de l'Isaurie", *BCH* 4 (1880), pp. 195–205, spéc. p. 200, n° 12; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague, 1964), p. 493, § 1514–2.

dans l'histoire de Jonas et, plus encore, la formulation concrète de l'inscription royale d'Assarhaddon laissent entendre qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un pays mythique. Il semble, au contraire, aussi concret que Chypre et Yâwân.

La référence aux Étrusques n'a aucun appui sérieux. La mention de Tarsisi par Assarhaddon se situerait à une époque où les Étrusques seraient bien présents en Italie et rien n'indique qu'un pays aussi lointain ait été soumis à Assarhaddon.

L'Éthiopie ou l'Inde semblent exclues aussi bien par l'histoire de Jonas s'embarquant à Jaffa, que par le contexte immédiat de la mention dans l'inscription d'Assarhaddon.

Dans la cinquième solution, la présence du toponyme "Tarshish" dans la stèle de Nora reste très incertaine et rien n'indique que la domination d'Assarhaddon se soit jamais étendue aussi loin.

L'identification avec Carthage peut aussi être écartée pour la même raison. De plus, "Tarshish" semble attesté avant même la fondation de Carthage ou, au moins, de son développement. Enfin, Carthage n'est pas vraiment célèbre pour son commerce de l'argent.

L'adoption assez répandue de la deuxième solution, Tartessos en Espagne, a de quoi surprendre. Elle est probablement liée au développement de l'archéologie des Ibères et des Phéniciens dans le sud-ouest de l'Espagne, recherche tout à fait digne d'intérêt vue l'importance des mines d'argent de cette région dans l'Antiquité. Cependant, comme l'ont souligné plusieurs commentateurs,[50] elle se heurte à des difficultés apparemment insurmontables:

– Philologiquement "Tarshish" n'est pas "Tartessos" et il semble peu probable que ces deux noms puissent jamais être identifiés.

– L'horizon de la Bible hébraïque, au moins jusqu'à la fin de l'époque perse, ne semble pas dépasser la Méditerranée orientale[51] à l'ouest. La Bible hébraïque n'a même pas de nom pour l'Espagne, Malte, la Sicile, la Sardaigne, ou Carthage.

– Il est invraisemblable que la domination d'Assarhaddon se soit étendue jusque là.

Les autres solutions étant éliminées, faut-il pour autant adopter la

---

[50] Cf. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerrannée*, pp. 343–344; J.M. Blazquez, "El enigma de Tarteso en los escritores antiguos y en la investigacion moderna", *Los enigmos de Tarteso*, éd. J. Alvar and J.M. Blazquez, (Madrid, 1993), pp. 11–30, spéc. pp. 18–19.

[51] Cf. Ahlström, "The Nora Inscription", p. 47.

première solution, à savoir l'identification de Tarshish avec Tarse? Il est vrai que Tarse et sa région présentent des caractéritiques qui semblent assez bien convenir à celles qui se dégagent des textes que nous avons rappelés:

1 – Tarse était un port sur le Cadnos communiquant éventuellement avec la Mer Méditerranée.

2 – Tandis que 1 R 10,28 atteste probablement un commerce de chevaux avec la Cilicie plane (Qué) sous le règne de Salomon,[52] plusieurs textes assyriens semblent révéler des relations spéciales entre cette région et la Phénicie. Ces relations économiques et diplomatiques étaient grandement facilitées par l'emploi du phénicien comme une des langues officielles de cette région au moins à partir du VIIIe siècle et probablement avant.[53]

3 – La Cilicie et, plus spécialement, la région de Tarse ont des positions idéales pour commercer par mer avec Tyr et par terre, plus précisément par le défilé des "Portes ciliciennes", avec la Cappadoce et la Phrygie (Toubal et Meshek). Dans ce commerce international, les métaux des mines du Taurus, spécialement l'argent des mines de Bulgar Maden, devait jouer un rôle très important.

4 – Même si l'histoire de Tarse dans la première moitié du premier millénaire reste souvent obscure, Tarse semble avoir été, au moins à certaines époques, la capitale d'un royaume (cf. infra).

5 – La position géographique de Tarse lui permet de s'associer à Chypre et aux Ioniens aussi bien dans la Bible que dans l'inscription d'Assarhaddon. La proximité de la grande île voisine n'a pas besoin d'être soulignée tandis que la présence d'Ioniens dans cette région dès l'époque assyrienne est bien connue par les textes (cf. infra).

L'identification avec Tarse semblerait donc tout à fait convenir! Cependant il faut aussi tenir compte de deux objections, la première étant souvent soulignée par les tenants de l'hypothèse "Tartessos":[54]

---

[52] Cf. récemment Y. Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots and its International Setting", *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon*, éd. T. Ishida (Tokyo, 1982), pp. 215–238.

[53] Cf. A. Lemaire, "L'écriture phénicienne en Cilicie et la diffusion des écritures alphabétiques", dans C. Baurain et al. éd., *Phoinikèia grammata. Lire et écrire en Méditerranée* (Liège/Namur, 1991), pp. 133–146, spéc. p. 141.

[54] Cf. F. Lenormant, "Tarschisch", *Revue des questions historiques* 32 (1882), pp. 7–8; récemment Tsirkin, "The Hebrew Bible", p. 180; Bordreuil, Israel, Pardee, "Deux Ostraca", pp. 49–76.

1 – Le nom de la ville de Tarse en araméen est connu grâce à la présence de pièces de monnaie dès la deuxième moitié du Ve s. av. n. è., avec la légende TRZ, qui correspond tout à fait aux trois attestations du nom de la ville de Tarse dans les textes néo-assyriens: *Tarzu/i*. Il faudrait donc expliquer comment *Tarzu/i* pourrait être une variante de *Tarsisi* et TRZ une variante de *Taršiš*/TRŠŠ. En faveur d'un Š primitif affaibli ensuite en Z, on pourrait rappeler que le nom de Tarse est écrit *Tarša* dans les textes hittites.[55] De plus, pour la voyelle *i* suivante, on peut citer un texte de Bérose attestant la variante Θαρσις/Ταρσος,[56] mais il reste difficile de justifier l'existence d'un deuxième Š à la fin du nom.

2 – De plus, ce qui n'est que très rarement noté[57] et apparemment jamais souligné, Tarse est un nom de ville alors que Tarshish, en hébreu, et *Tarsisi*, en néo-assyrien, sont des noms de pays.

Il est aisé de réfuter ces deux objections si l'on admet que Tarshish/*Tarsisi* désigne non pas la ville mais le pays, la région, éventuellement le royaume, dont Tarse était la capitale.[58] Peut-être cet axiome permettra-t-il de vérifier si ce que nous savons sur la région de Tarse dans la première moitié du Ier millénaire semble convenir à ce que nos sources nous indiquent au sujet de Tarshish.

IV. Géographie historique de la région de Tarse au début du premier millénaire

L'histoire de la région de Tarse au début du Ier millénaire est mal connue. Même si une partie du site a été fouillé,[59] il n'a fourni aucun texte monumental historiographique et sa moisson épigraphique pour le début du Ier millénaire se limite à quelques fragments de tablet-

---

[55] Cf. G.F. del Monte – J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (BTAVO, B 7; Wiesbaden, 1978), p. 408.

[56] Infra, n. 84.

[57] Cf. *Antiquités juives* I,127: "... Tharsos aux Tharsiens, car c'est ainsi qu'était appelée autrefois la Cilicie. Cela est indiqué par le fait que, chez eux, la principale des villes, la capitale, est appelée Tarse (Ταρσος), le *tau* étant changé en *théta*": J.M. Blazquez, "El enigma de Tarteso ..." (1993), p. 19.

[58] À titre d'hypothèse, le nom de pays Tarshish/*Tarsisi* pourrait être dérivé du toponyme *Tarša* en louvite, par l'adjonction d'une finale *ašša>išša>iš* utilisée dans des noms de pays (montagneux?). Cependant nous laissons aux spécialistes du louvite le soin d'apprécier la possibilité d'une telle dérivation.

[59] Cf. H. Goldman éd., *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, III, *The Iron Age* (Princeton, 1963).

tes néo-assyriennes et à une courte incision sur vase apparemment araméenne. Les résultats des explorations de surface de cette région restent assez limités pour cette période[60] et le peu qui nous est connu de l'histoire de ce pays provient de la documentation néo-assyrienne.[61]

Tarse est située à environ 10 km de la côte, sur la rive du Cadnos, un fleuve navigable dans l'Antiquité.[62] La ville est située immédiatement au sud, à quelque 35 km du défilé des Portes Ciliciennes qui permet de déboucher sur le plateau anatolien, en Cappadoce (cf. Tabal à l'époque néo-assyrienne).

En fait, Tarse est le débouché permettant un passage de la montagne centrale du Taurus, célèbre par sa richesse minière, vers la mer:

> The Taurus Mountains are . . . an area in which innovative technology in metals took place. Long assumed to be the "silver mountains" of Hittite and Akkadian legends, the range abounds with extensive cedar forests and polymetallic ore deposits . . . Silver, lead, copper, gold, iron, and tin are among the mineralizations within these mountains . . .[63]

De façon plus précise:

> Several important mines were located at Bolgardağ, in a valley 15 km long (approximately 40 km from the strategic Cilician Gates) that passes through the Taurus mountains. The ores are polymetallic and a number of dikes are visible. Natural processes and mining activities have created many irregular caves, cavities, and tunnels in the mountain range, some of which penetrate the mountain for up to 4 km. The range is known as an important source of silver and gold; recent analyses taken from high-altitude veins also revealed high trace levels of tin in a galena-sphalerite ore . . . Late Bronze artefacts such as a silver stag from Mycenae, lead net sinkers from the Kaş-Uluburun

---

[60] Cf. M.V. Seton Williams, "Cilician Survey", *AnSt* 4 (1954), pp. 121–174; J. Mellaart, "Preliminary Report on a Survey of Pre-Classical Remains in Southern Turkey", *AnSt* 4 (1954), pp. 175–240.

[61] Cf. P. Naster, *L'Asie Mineure et l'Assyrie aux VIIIᵉ et VIIᵉ siècles av. J.-C. d'après les Annales des Rois Assyriens* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 8; Louvain, 1938); A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft* (Leipzig, 1940); J.D. Bing, *A History of Cilicia during the Assyrian Period* (Ph.D. diss. Indiana University, 1968); P. Desideri – A.M. Jasink, *Cilicia* (Turin, 1990), spéc. pp. 111–183; A. Lemaire, "Recherches de topographie historique sur le pays de Qué (IXᶜ–VIIᶜ siècle av. J.-C.)", dans *De Anatolia Antiqua* I (BIFAEAI 32; Paris, 1991), pp. 267–75.

[62] Cf. la rencontre entre Cléopâtre et Antoine: Plutarque, *Vies, Antoine* 26.

[63] K. Alishan Yener, "Taurus Mountains", *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, éd. E.M. Meyers, V (New York/Oxford, 1997), pp. 155–56, spéc. p. 155.

TABAL

Maden
Bolgar Dag   Pozanti

TAURUS

Gulek Bogazi
][(Portes Ciliciennes)

Illubru
(Namrun)

HILAKKU

QUE
ADANA

Gözne

TARSE

(Anchiale?)   Kazanli
MERSIN

Soloi

MER MEDITERRANÉE
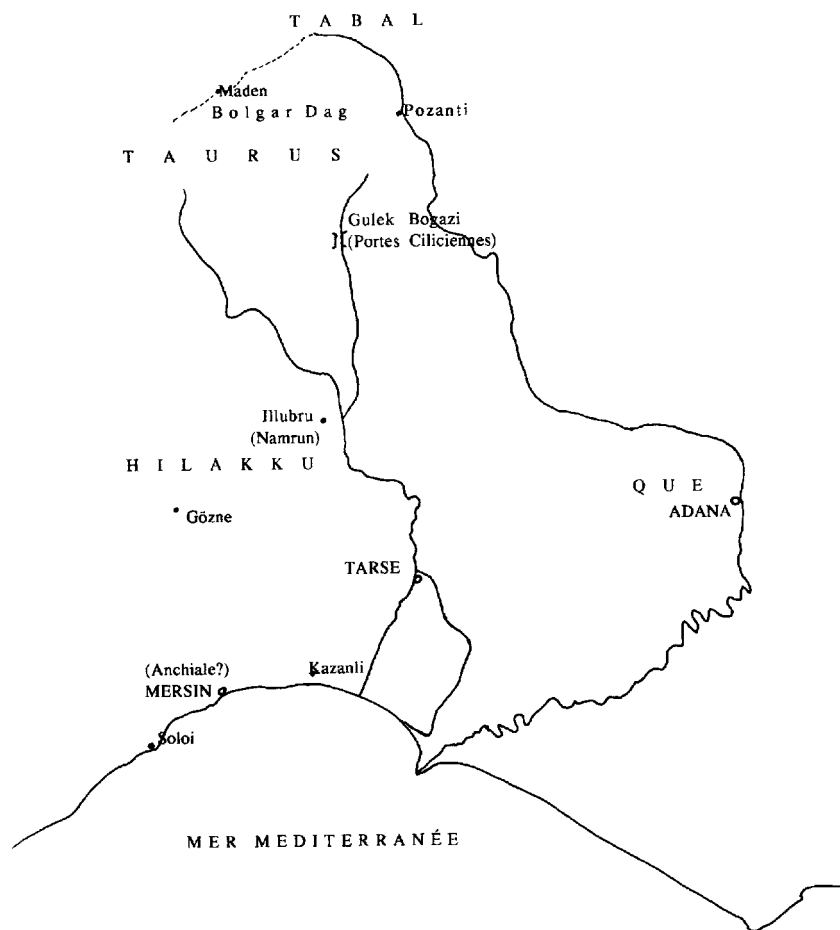
shipwreck, and correlations to Cypriot lead indicate that maritime trade connected Bolgardağ with coastal settlements.[64]

Par ailleurs Tarse se trouve à la limite entre les deux parties de la Cilicie: à l'est, la Cilicie Plane, correspondant à l'époque néo-assyrienne au royaume de Qué, et à l'ouest la Cilicie Trachée, correspondant approximativement au pays de Hilakku. La frontière exacte entre ces deux pays est difficile à préciser, de même que la frontière occidentale de Hilakku.[65] Contrairement à ce que nous pensions encore en 1991,[66] l'appartenance de Tarse à Qué n'est pas assurée et il semble plutôt que la région de Tarse, Illubru/Lampron et Ingirra (Mersin?) ait fait partie de Hilakku et pourrait même avoir constitué la seule partie de Hilakku que les Assyriens aient connu.

C'est dans ce contexte des rapports avec Tabal, Qué et Hilakku que la région de Tarse apparaît dans les textes néo-assyriens.

Après avoir attaqué Qué en 839, lors de sa 22ᵉ campagne (837), Salmanazar III attaque Tabal et atteint "la montagne d'argent, le mont Tunni, et la montagne de marbre, le mont Muli",[67] c'est à dire le Taurus central dans la région de Porsuk et du district de Bulgar Dağ/Bulgar Maden.[68] Le contrôle des mines, particulierement d'argent, de cette région apparaît donc, dès cette époque, comme un objectif important de la politique néo-assyrienne.

Lors de la 26ᵉ campagne, en 833, Salmanazar III s'attaque à nouveau au roi de Qué, qui lui échappe, et avance vers Tarse (*Tarzi*): la ville se soumet de son propre gré et paye un tribut en or et en argent. Le roi assyrien couronne Kirri, apparemment plus pro-assyrien que son frère Katê, roi de Qué. L'existence à Tarse d'un royaume indépendant mais vassal "assurait aux Assyriens l'accès aux Portes Ciliciennes".[69]

---

[64] Ibidem, p. 156. Cf. déjà K. Alishar Yener, "The Production, Exchange and Utilization of Silver and Lead Metals in Ancient Anatolia. A Source Identification Project", *Anatolica* 10 (1983), pp. 1–15; id., "The Archaeometry of Silver in Anatolia: The Bolgardağ Mining District", *AJA* 90 (1986), pp. 469–472; K. Alishar Yener – Hadi Özbal, "Tin in the Turkish Taurus Mountains: The Bolkardağ Mining District", *Antiquity* 61 (1987), pp. 220–226.

[65] Cf. J.D. Hawkins, "Hilakku", RLA IV (Berlin, 1972–75), pp. 402–403, spéc. p. 402.

[66] Lemaire, "Qué", p. 267.

[67] ARAB I, 579; Cf. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC II (858–745 BC)* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 67, 79.

[68] Cf. Desideri et Jasink, *Cilicia*, p. 119.

[69] ARAB I, 583; E. Michel, "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III (858–824)", *WO*

Cette suzeraineté assyrienne semble avoir été de courte durée et l'on ne retrouve mention de cette région que plus d'un siècle plus tard, lors de la septième campagne de Sargon en 715, lorsque celui-ci dit venir au secours de Qué contre Mitâ/Midas de Musku/Phrygie et les Ioniens,[70] ces derniers s'étant attaqués à la fois à Tyr et à Qué.[71] Cette campagne a été étudiée à maintes reprises.[72] Il est malaisé de localiser les trois villes occupées par Mitâ/Midas, plus probablement près des Portes Ciliciennes que dans la vallée du Calycadnos.[73] Pour le combat contre les Ioniens, on pensera naturellement à la côte cilicienne de la région de Tarse et de Mersin, deux sites où la céramique grecque, essentiellement chypriote et rhodienne, est abondante dès le VIIIᵉ s.[74] Dans ce contexte, il faut rappeler que Soloi/Soli/Mezitli/Viransehir, à 12 km au sud-ouest de Mersin, était considérée comme une colonie de Lindos,[75] de même que, peut-être, Ingirra/Anchiale et Tarse.[76] Visiblement l'enjeu de cette campagne était la reprise du contrôle assyrien sur la région de Tarse et des Portes Ciliciennes.

C'est peut-être à la suite de cette même campagne, ou dès 718, que Sargon II confirma Ambaris comme roi du Bît-Burutash (identifié au Tabal ou à une partie du Tabal), et lui donna sa fille avec, pour dot, la "ville/pays de Hilakku".[77] Cette union montre que Hilakku et Bît-Burutash (Tabal) avaient une frontière commune,[78] le

---

2 (1954–59), pp. 221–227, spéc. pp. 223–224; Lemaire, "Qué", p. 271; Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, pp. 69, 80. Malgré Desideri et Jasink, *Cilicia*, p. 120, le texte ne mentionne pas la déposition de Kate ni la nomination de Kirri à sa place, comme roi de Qué.

[70] ARAB II, 7.

[71] Cf. W. Mayer, "Zypern und Ägäis aus der Sicht der Staaten Vorderasiens in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends", *UF* 28 (1996), pp. 463–484, spéc. pp. 470–471.

[72] Cf. A.T. Olmstead, "The Text of Sargon's Annals", *AJSL* 47 (1931), pp. 259–280, spéc. p. 266; J. Elayi – A. Cavigneaux, "Sargon II et les Ioniens", *OrAnt* 18 (1979), pp. 59–75; A.M. Jasink, "I Greci in Cilicia nel periodo neo-assiro", *Mesopotamia* 24 (1989), pp. 117–128.

[73] Cf. Lemaire, "Qué, p. 272

[74] Cf. Goldman, *Tarsus III*, pp. 155–160; J. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin, Yümük Tepe in Southern Turkey* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 253–255.

[75] Cf. Strabon XIV 5,8; A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft* (Leipzig, 1940), p. 14; Bing, *A History of Cilicia*, pp. 112–117.

[76] J.D. Bing, "Tarsus, a Forgotten Colony of Lindos", *JNES* 30 (1971), pp. 99–109, spéc. pp. 103–104.

[77] ARAB II, 25.55, cf. 118; cf. A.G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II King of Assyria I, The Annals* (Paris, 1929), pp. 32–33.

[78] Cf. A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen, 1994), pp. 438, 462.

Taurus au nord des Portes Ciliciennes. Même si l'étendue du contrôle d'Ambaris sur Hilakku ne se limitait probablement qu'à sa partie orientale (région de Tarse et de Mersin) où Sargon avait repoussé les Ioniens, il pensait visiblement, par cet accord diplomatique, garder les Portes Ciliciennes sous un certain contrôle assyrien. Cette solution politique fut de courte durée car il semble que, dès 713, Ambaris chercha à se révolter en envoyant des ambassades auprès de Rusa d'Ourartou et de Mitâ/Midas de Musku/Phrygie. Cette révolte fut matée et la région soumise au contrôle d'un gouverneur assyrien, avec des déplacements de population.

La mort de Sargon, en 705, permit à cette région de réaffirmer son indépendance et, en 696, Sennachérib dut entreprendre une campagne pour mater la révolte des gens de Hilakku, habitant Ingirra et Tarse, sous la direction de Kirua, préfet de la ville d'Illubru, les révoltés ayant réussi à s'emparer de la "route de Qué" et à bloquer la circulation.[79] Cet épisode est révélateur du rôle stratégique de la région de Tarse, vitale pour assurer le contrôle des Portes Ciliciennes. Illubru est à identifier avec Lampron/Namrun, dans la montagne, dominant à peu près à mi-chemin la route de Tarse aux Portes Ciliciennes,[80] tandis qu'Ingirra pourrait être à identifier avec Anchiale (Kazanli?[81] ou Mersin?)[82] sur la côte, dans la région de Mersin. Après avoir maté la révolte et effectué un transfert de population, Sargon rebâtit Illubru, symbolisant le contrôle assyrien par l'érection d'une stèle d'albâtre.[83]

C'est, semble-t-il, à cette campagne qu'il faut rattacher un passage de Bérose: d'après le texte arménien, Sennachérib défit un groupe de bateaux ioniens et érigea un temple à Sandes, c'est à dire à Héraklès, ainsi que des piliers de bronze commémorant ses hauts faits. Il rebâtit aussi Tarse sur le Cadnos. Le texte grec renvoie plutôt à une bataille sur terre contre des envahisseurs grecs, à l'endroit où fut érigé un monument commémoratif (statue et inscription) mais

---

[79] ARAB II, 286–289; A. Heidel, "The Octogonal Sennacherib Prism in the Iraq Museum", *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 117–188, spéc. pp. 146–151.

[80] Cf. F.C.R. Robinson – P.C. Hushes, "Lampron—Castle of Armenian Cilicia", *AnSt* 19 (1969), pp. 183–207, spéc. p. 183: "Lampron was the key to the Cilician Gates".

[81] Cette identification est considérée comme improbable par M.W. Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey", *AnSt* 4 (1954), p. 160.

[82] Cf. Bing, "Tarsus", p. 104.

[83] ARAB II, 288.

reconnait qu'il aurait rebâti Tarse, précisant seulement qu'il l'appela Tharsin.[84]

Apparemment cette notice de Bérose veut corriger des traditions grecques attribuant un monument à Sardanapal/Assurbanipal érigé à Anchiale, entre Tarse (rebâtie en même temps qu'Anchiale) et Soloi, selon Arrien[85] et Strabon.[86] Quel que soit son auteur, l'érection d'un tel monument ne pouvait qu'être lié à une victoire glorifiant le grand roi assyrien probablement à la limite occidentale de son empire.

Sous Assarhaddon, en 677, la révolte de Sanduarri, roi de Kundi et Sizzû/Sissu, allié d'Abdimilkutti, roi de Sidon,[87] révèle à la fois l'instabilité politique de cette région et sa liaison, probablement économique et culturelle, avec la Phénicie. Malheureusement l'identification de Kundi et de Sizzû/Sissu reste discutable. On propose généralement d'identifier Sizzû/Sissu avec Kozan/Sis ou Kinet Hüyük[88] et Kundi avec Anavarza dans le nord de Qué. Mais cette identification reste incertaine[89] et ne tient peut-être pas suffisamment compte de l'indication de Strabon[90] qui situe Cyinda au-dessus d'Anchiale, c'est à dire probablement au nord de Mersin,[91] peut-être à Tirmil Tepe[92] tandis que Sizzû pourrait être à Kazanli, 7 km à l'est de Mersin.[93] Il pourrait donc s'agir plutôt d'un roi de la région de Hilakku située autour de Mersin et soumise par Assarhaddon lors de la campagne de 679.[94] Cette rébellion fut matée en 676 et ses deux chefs exécutés.[95]

---

[84] Cf. S.M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus* (SANE 1; Malibu, 1978), p. 24. Cf. deux textes transmis par Eusèbe: Bérose frg. 12 (= *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, éd. C. Müller, II, [Paris, 1848], p. 504) et Abydénos, frg. 7 (= *FHG* IV [1851], p. 282).

[85] Anabase II.5.2–4.

[86] Strabon XIV.5.9; cf. Athénée XII, 530.

[87] ARAB II, 513, 528, 552; certains documents assyriens pourraient dater de cette époque: I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod* (SAA 4; Helsinki, 1990), pp. 16–19, n° 14–19.

[88] Cf. J.D. Bing, "*Sissū*/Issus, and Phoenicians in Cilicia", *American Journal of Ancient History* 10 (1985), pp. 97–123.

[89] On comprend mal comment Sanduarri pourrait être roi de deux villes si éloignées et, de plus, peut-être à l'intérieur du territoire de Qué.

[90] XIV,5,10. Cf. aussi Diodore XVIII, 62,1–2.

[91] Cf. R.H. Simpson, "A Note on Cyinda", *Historia* 6 (1957), pp. 503–504; J.D. Bing, "A Further Note on Kyinda/Kundi", *Historia* 22 (1973), pp. 346–350; Desideri et Jasink, *Cilicia*, p. 139.

[92] Cf. Bing, *A History of Cilicia*, pp. 129–130.

[93] Ibidem, 131. Cependant ce dernier a changé d'opinion: cf. Bing, "*Sissū*", pp. 97–123, spéc. p. 116, n. 44.

[94] ARAB II, p. 516; cf. pp. 530–531, 546.

[95] Cf. A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5; New York, 1975), pp. 83, 126, 219.

Dans ce contexte historique, on comprendrait très bien la mention de *Tarsisi*, désignant le pays de Tarse, dans l'inscription commémorative sur marbre d'Assur (*supra*).

Au début du long règne d'Assurbanipal (668–627), en 666, Assurbanipal reçoit la soumission des rois de Tyr, d'Arvad et de Tabal, ainsi que de Sandasharme de Hilakku "qui ne s'était pas soumis aux rois, mes ancêtres et qui n'avait pas porté leur joug".[96] Bien que Sandasharme ait pu être le successeur de Sandurri, le texte ne le précise pas. Il affirme simplement que Hilakku, tout au moins sa partie orientale, fut soumis à l'Assyrie. En fait, c'est probablement de cette époque que datent les tablettes néo-assyriennes fragmentaires trouvées dans les fouilles de Tarse.[97] C'est aussi de cette époque que date peut-être une liste lexicale associant le pays de Hilakku au pays de *Iaena*/Ionie.[98]

À l'époque néo-babylonienne,[99] Qué devient Hume, mais il ne semble plus être fait mention de Hilakku.[100] La campagne de Nériglissar ne connaît que la province néo-babylonienne de Hume et, plus à l'ouest, le royaume de Pirindu. La "ville de Hume" mentionnée dans la campagne de Nériglissar en 557/6 semble à identifier à Adana.[101] Hérodote (I,74) mentionne un "Syennesis de Cilicie" lors de la fin de la guerre médo-lydienne, vers 585; cependant cet accord, auquel Labynete/Nabonide aurait aussi pris part, reste assez énigmatique et ne précise pas la résidence de ce Syennésis, pas plus d'ailleurs que celle du Syennésis mentionné sous Darius, vers 500 av. J.-C.[102]

Le rôle de Tarse comme capitale de la Cilicie à l'époque perse[103] ne semble clairement affirmé que lors de la campagne de Cyrus le

---

[96] Cf. récemment R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden, 1996), p. 216.

[97] Cf. A. Goetze, "Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsus", *JAOS* 59 (1939), pp. 1–16; Desideri et Jasink, *Cilicia*, pp. 144–45.

[98] Cf. F.M. Fales – J.N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records II* (SAA 11; Helsinki, 1995), p. 4, n° 1, II,8.

[99] Cf. Desideri et Jasink, *Cilicia*, pp. 165–175.

[100] Cf. Hawkins, "Hilakku", 403.

[101] D.J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626–556 b.c.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956), pp. 39–42, 74–77, 96–88; cf. aussi A. Davesne, A. Lemaire et H. Lozachmeur, "Le site archéologique de Meydancikkale (Turquie): du royaume de Pirindu à la garnison ptolémaïque", *CRAIBL* 1987, pp. 359–382, spéc. p. 373.

[102] Hérodote V,118.

[103] Cf. Desideri et Jasink, *Cilicia*, pp. 177–201; A. Lemaire et H. Lozachmeur, "La Cilicie à l'époque perse, recherches sur les pouvoirs locaux et l'organisation du territoire", *Transeuphratène* 3 (1990), pp. 143–155.

Jeune en 401.[104] Cependant l'abondance du monnayage de Tarse dès la deuxième moitié du Ve siècle montre que le rôle capital de cette ville n'était pas nouveau. Il est probable que Tarse n'est devenu capitale de la Cilicie que lorsque les deux parties de ce pays, la Cilicie Plane et la Cilicie Trachée, ont été réunies sous la même couronne et que l'appellation "Cilicie" (de *Hilakku*/ḤLK/KLK)[105] s'est imposée, mais il est difficile de préciser la date exacte de cette unification.

Cette rapide évocation manifeste le caractère lacunaire de nos connaissances sur l'histoire de cette région. Cependant ce que nous en savons prouve son rôle comme pôle commercial entre les mines d'argent du Taurus et le commerce maritime méditerranéen. À l'époque assyrienne, elle est directement confrontée à la pression des Ioniens,[106] qui fondent plusieurs colonies sur la côte, tandis qu'elle apparaît généralement, du côté assyrien, comme la frontière occidentale de l'empire, à la limite entre le royaume de Qué, contrôlé et administré par les gouverneurs assyriens, et Hilakku échappant le plus souvent à ce contrôle.[107] Souvent révoltée, parfois en alliance avec les Phéniciens, cette région semble, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, convenir aux indications que nous avons sur le pays de Tarshish/*Tarsisi.*

---

[104] Cf. Xénophon, *Anabase* I,2,23–27.

[105] Sur ces deux graphies, attestées par les monnaies, cf. A. Lemaire, "Remarques à propos du monnayage cilicien d'époque perse et de ses légendes araméennes", *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 91 (1989), pp. 141–156, spéc. 142–144.

[106] Cf. J.D. Bing, *JNES* 30 (1971), pp. 99–109; A.M. Jasink, "I greci in Cilicia nel periodo neo-assiro", *Mesopotamia* 24 (1989), pp. 117–128; Desideri et Jasink, *Cilicia*, pp. 151–163 et 166–167.

[107] Cf. Hawkins, "Hilakku", p. 403: "Assyrian control of H. was at best tenuous and transitory, in marked contrast to Quwe".

THE GENTILE CITIES OF JUDEA: BETWEEN THE HASMONEAN OCCUPATION AND THE ROMAN LIBERATION

Zeev Safrai

Bar-Ilan, Ramat Gan

Introduction

The rule of the Romans in Judea, like that of the Hellenistic king-doms, was based on cities as administrative centers populated by loy-alists to Rome. The polis shared an identity of interests with the government, to which in consequence it was loyal, and served as an essential element in the Roman administration. Thus it is important to examine the status of the Greek cities under Hasmonean rule and in the early stages of Roman control of Judea.*

Josephus reports that the Hasmonean rulers destroyed the Greek cities, while Pompey and Gabinius founded and rebuilt most of them.[1] The "classical" research literature interpreted these sentences liter-ally, and researchers have credited Pompey and Gabinius with the reconstruction of the cities of Judea. If the Romans had built or rebuilt more than ten gentile cities, this would have truly revolution-ized the region and contributed greatly to Romanization in Judea. As shown by Appelbaum, however, this is a distorted picture, based on sources that were infused with hatred for the Hasmoneans or were perhaps even antisemitic.[2] Recently, Kasher has dealt extensively with this issue, revealing that the situation was not uniform, but in general the destruction was not particularly serious and the descrip-tions of such destruction are greatly exaggerated.[3] In his opinion, the pagan temples were damaged, and small groups of supporters

---

* The research was funded by the Dr. I. and C. Moskowitz Chair in the Land of Israel Studies Department, Bar-Ilan University.
[1] *Ant.* XIII, 255; *Wars* I, 63–66, *Ant.* XIII, 251–58, 397; *Wars* I, 106, 156; *Ant.* XIV, 74–88; *Wars* I, 156–70.
[2] S. Appelbaum, "The Cities of Hellenistic Palestine: New Observations", *The Seleucid Period in Palestine*, ed. B. Bar Kochba (Tel Aviv, 1980), pp. 277–88 (Hebrew).
[3] A. Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel* (Tübingen, 1990).

of the Hellenistic gods may have been hurt, but the cities them-
selves did not suffer extensive damage.[4] He summarizes the Yannai
conquests:

> There is no doubt that many of the residents of the Hellenistic cities
> died in the battles and some suffered loss of property and others emi-
> grated of their own free will but on the other hand there is no foun-
> dation to the belief that there was mass destruction or that the entire
> foreign population was forced to move far away.

Kasher maintains that Samaria, by contrast, suffered major damage.[5]
A detailed discussion on this subject is provided by Shatzman,[6]
who maintains that Gaza was resettled after its destruction by Yannai,[7]
and that Scythopolis prospered under Hasmonean rule.[8] One of the
key sentences from Josephus in this context is "He [Pompey] also
liberated from their rule all the towns in the interior which they had
not already razed to the ground",[9] implying that most of the cities
had not yet been destroyed or had suffered only limited damage. In
Antiquities, however, Josephus states merely that these cities, within
and outside Judea, were "liberated", but the cities within Judea that
had been destroyed were not rebuilt.[10]

In the description of the deeds of Gabinius, we read about the
construction of the destroyed cities, and the same list of cities that
were "liberated" reappears, with slight changes. Josephus obviously
uses different terminology, and slightly contradictory descriptions.

The wealth of recent archaeological findings enables us to portray
the situation in a more substantiated manner. There are two sources
of archaeological information. One is the stratigraphic results of the
excavations, but these have methodological limitations. An excava-
tion may indicate complete or severe destruction, or its absence. On
the other hand, an excavation generally does not show a gradual
process of quantitative changes, namely prosperity or deterioration
and stagnation, unless these changes are extreme.

---

[4] Idem, ibid., pp. 121, 142–43, 148, 153.

[5] Idem, ibid., p. 127.

[6] I. Shatzman, "The Hasmoneans in Greco-Roman Historiography", *Zion* 57
(1992), pp. 53–63 (Hebrew); idem, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod* (Tübingen,
1991), pp. 74–82; D. Barag, "New Evidence on the Foreign policy of John Hyrcanos
I", *INJ* 12 (1992–3), pp. 1–12.

[7] *Ant.* XIV, 10; XV, 252–60.

[8] Strabo, *Geographica* XXVI, 16, 2; Shatzman, *The Armies*, pp. 79–80.

[9] *Wars* I, 156.

[10] *Ant.* XIV, 75.

The second source is the quantitative numismatic. An increase or decrease in the number of coins found presumably indicates changes in the economic strength of a settlement. This means of examination is still considered innovative, and has hardly been applied to Land of Israel studies. In recent years the research tool of quantitative numismatics has developed greatly. As stated, the volume of currency from each period is generally assumed to reflect the strength of the local economy. A relatively large quantity of coins (based on average number per year) indicates a strengthening of the settlement, and a fall in the number of coins indicates decline. Hoards are not included in this system of calculations, as these reflect the currency of a specific year (that in which the hoard was hidden) and not the currency of the entire period of the settlement.[11] Leading historians, such as Foss, Hopkins, and Duncan-Jones, have used data based on quantitative numismatic findings.[12] In the last decade, dozens of scholarly papers have been published with the aim of confirming or refuting this theory. Those who dispute the use of this tool claim that the increase in the number of coins has other—incidental— political or bureaucratic causes, and reveals nothing of the economy or demographic developments in a settlement.[13] An examination of

[11] M.H. Crawford, "Money and Exchange in the Roman World", *JRS* 60 (1970), pp. 40–48.

[12] C. Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the End of *Antiquity*", *EHR* 90 (1975), pp. 721–47. This effort did not receive much attention. Foss's opinions were accepted by recognized researchers such as Kennedy and others (F. Kennedy, "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation", *BF* 10 [1985], pp. 141–83; idem, "The Towns of Bilad al Sham and the Arab Conquest", *Bilad al Sham During the Byzantine Period*, ed. M.A. Bakhit [Irbid, 1987], pp. 88–99), but did not initiate a methodological debate. Greater attention was paid to Hopkins's conclusions, which were based on similar data, but which dealt with an all-embracing and central period, see K. Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 BC–AD 400)", *JRS* 70 (1980), pp. 101–25; R. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge, 1990). On the entire problem see Z. Safrai, *The Missing Century* (Louven, 1998).

[13] A full methodological discussion is beyond the scope of the present work. See R. Reece, "Bronze Coinage in Roman Britain and the Western Provinces, AD 330–402", *Scripta Nummaria Romana*, eds. R.A.G. Carson et al. (London, 1973); C.E. King, "The Value of Hoards and Site Finds in Relation to Monetary Circulation in the Late Third-Fourth Centuries AD", *Studien zu Fuendmuenzen der Antike, Herausgegeben von M.R. Alfoeldi* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 79–98; B. Thordeman, "The Luhe Hoard", *NC* 7 (1948), pp. 188–204; R. Reece, "Coins and Frontier or Supply and Demand of Limes?" *Herausgegeben von J. Fitz* (Budapest, 1978), pp. 643–46.

For arguments against the method, see R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 145ff.; P. Grierson, "The President's Address", *NC* 6 (1966), pp. i–xv; C. Howgego, "The Supply and Use of Money in the Roman

its methodological value would exceed the scope of this article; I merely note that it is now accepted by many scholars, with some reservations, a few of which will be mentioned in the concluding section of this discussion.

The numismatic finds reveal the existence of a settlement at the site, but a distinction must be made between a military outpost and a polis. Only an excavation can assist in distinguishing these two types of settlement. For instance, in Shechem and Marisa the excavation finds alone allow us to determine that each city was damaged and not renewed, despite the numismatic finds that seem to indicate a limited Hasmonean military outpost (see below).

Appelbaum, Kasher, and Schatzman collected most of the archaeological material attesting that numerous polis cities were not destroyed in the wake of the Roman conquest. Accordingly, we can concentrate on cities for which we have new information that has not yet been fully discussed. We begin with a brief review of what is known about the various cities in Judea.

I. *Cities in Judea—A historical-archaeological survey*

Marisa and Adora

According to Josephus,[14] these cities were occupied by Hyrcanus, and their Edomite inhabitants agreed to convert to avoid exile. *Wars*, however, speaks only about the conquest, and later lists Marisa among those cities that had not yet been destroyed by the time of Pompey.[15] The Jewish semi-legendary tradition mentions the conquest of Adora, with no further details;[16] or the conquest of the city of Ysau עיר עשו and the imposition of taxes, similarly with no indication of the destruction of the city. To the contrary, the institution of taxes indicates at least some continuation of activity there.[17] Midrash Va-Ysau contains some indication of the flight or exile of the Idumeans,[18] but

---

World 200 BC to AD 300", *JRS* 82 (1992), pp. 1–31. For supporters of the method, see, e.g., D.M. Metcalf", The Currency of Byzantine Coins in Syria and Slavonia", *Hamburg Beitraege zur Numismatik*, 14 (1960), pp. 442–44.

[14] *Ant.* XIII, 257–58.
[15] *Wars I*, 156.
[16] Jubilees 38:9–13.
[17] Testament of Judah 9:7.
[18] For Midrash Va-Ysau, see S. Klein, "Palaestinisches im Jubilaenbuch", *ZDPV*
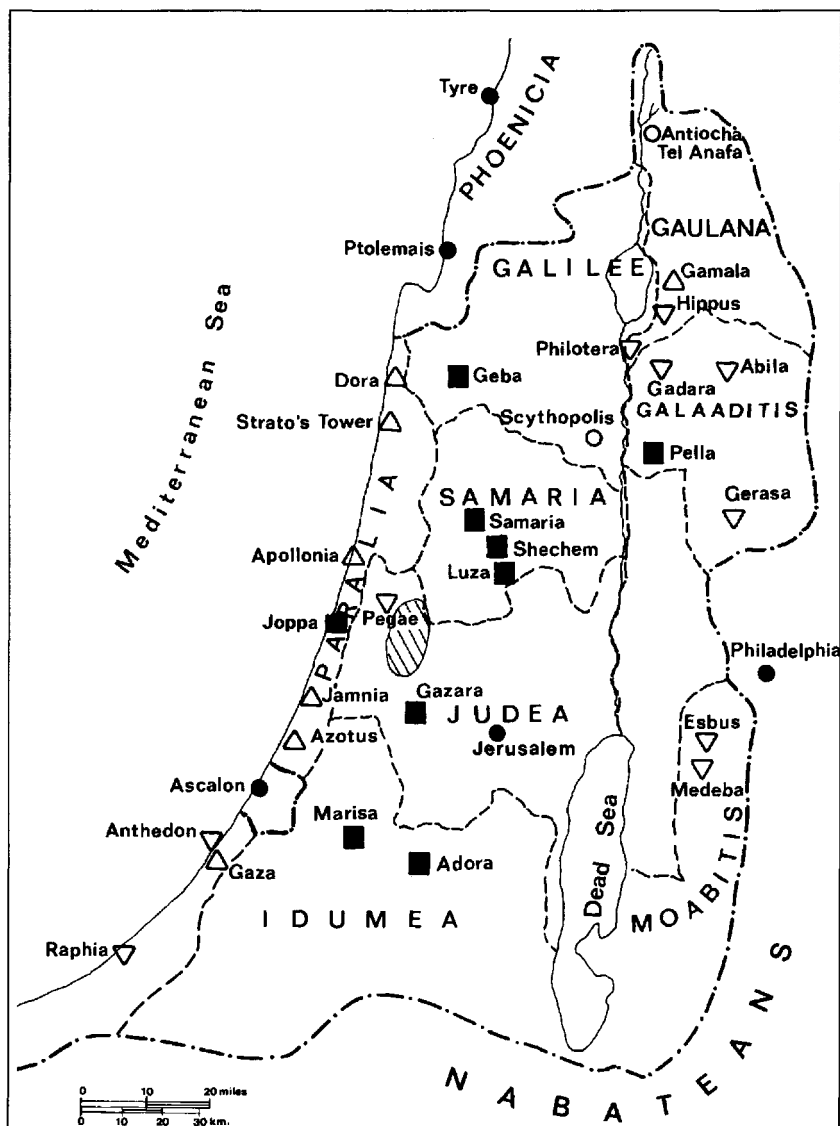
Occupation of the Hasmoneans

this can be interpreted as an expanded and exaggerated aggadic de-
scription of the tale in the Testament of Judah on which the midrash
relies. We do not have additional information on what happened to
the Idumeans of Adora.

As for Marisa, by contrast, the recent extensive excavations at the
site revealed that it was completely destroyed at the end of the 2nd
century BCE (apparently in 112 BCE).[19] Despite Josephus's relatively
restrained description, the city was apparently razed. According to
Josephus, Marisa was returned to its inhabitants by Pompey,[20] and
built[21] or "resettled" by Gabinius.[22] The archaeological findings are
clear. The city was completely destroyed, apparently in 112 BCE, and
there is no evidence of the reestablishment of the city or of an ex-
tensive wave of construction. A quarter may have been constructed
in an area that has not been excavated, but even so this construction
project would have been of limited scope, and the dozens of installations

---

57 (1934), pp. 7–28, B.Z. Lauterbach, "Midrash Va-Ysau", in *Memorial to Zevi Hirsch
Hayut* (Vienna, 1933; Hebrew); Y. Dan and T. Alexander, "Midrash Va-Ysau",
Papers of the Folklore Research Center 3 (1972) (Hebrew); Z. Safrai, "Midrash Va-Ysau:
The War of Jacob's Sons in Southern Samaria", *Sinai* 100 (1987), pp. 613–27
(Hebrew); R. Doran, "The Non-Dating of Jubilees: Jub 34–38; 14–32 in Narrative
Context", *JSJ* 20 (1989), pp. 1–18. To clarify this evidence we must briefly exam-
ine the nature of the midrash, which is not of a consistent nature. It comprises
three chapters. The first chapter concerns the war against the people of Nineveh
in Samaria, the second the war in the southern hill country of Shechem, and the
third the war against Edom. The three chapters appear together only in a later
manuscript from the 17th century (MS Hamburg 150), which, for some reason was
chosen as the master text by Dan and Alexander, and in the London manuscript
(15th century), but the latter as well is based on different manuscripts for different
chapters, as indicated in another article (Safrai, "Midrash Va-Ysau"). Most of the
manuscripts that include chapter 2 (the wars in the southern Shechem hill country)
also include chapter 3, on the war in the region of Edom, with the exception of
the Oxford manuscript. In most cases, however, there is something between the
two chapters that indicates that those who copied them did not see them as a con-
tinuum. We learn that the source of the chapter on the war with the Idumeans is
not the same midrash as that which describes the war in the southern Shechem
hill country, and the two chapters were added to the same midrash only at a later
stage. In my article ("Midrash Va-Ysau"), I demonstrate that Midrash Va-Ysau also
had another independent source, which is not extant, but this conclusion refers only
to chapter 2 of the midrash and not to the chapter on the war with the Idumeans,
as this was originally a separate midrash, which was added by later copyists.
    [19] A. Kloner, "Maresha", *Qadmoniot* 95–6 (1991), pp. 70–88 (Hebrew); idem,
Marisa (Jerusalem, 1996; Hebrew); E. Stern (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations*
(Jerusalem, 1993), vol. 3, p. 953.
    [20] *Ant.* XIV, 75.
    [21] *Ant.* XIV, 88.
    [22] *Wars* I, 166.

and residential caves that have been excavated, as well as the north-western area of the city, were not resettled.

Shechem

According to Josephus, Shechem was captured and the Mt. Gerizim temple was destroyed.[23] This is also mentioned briefly in *Wars* (1:63), which makes no mention of the destruction of the temple. The archaeological finds are clear and unequivocal. Shechem and the prosperous city on Mt. Gerizim (Luza?) were entirely destroyed in the time of John Hyrcanus II, and were never resettled.[24] A few coins of the Hasmoneans attest to their presence here, the place apparently being a Hasmonean military outpost.

Pella

Members of the Australian expedition that excavated the site from 1979 to 1989 report its destruction in 82 BCE,[25] without giving details. The report notes the sealing of the stratum, but this can be attributed to the conquest by Yannai. From the early Roman period, the authors indicate only "pockets of clay shards"[26] and an odeon that was built only in the 9th decade of the 1st century CE.[27] The number of shards that can be dated to the late 1st century BCE is extremely small.[28] The second volume published by this expedition reports signs of destruction attributed to the Yannai period.[29] The main contribution of this volume to our discussion is the list of coins found at the site, which includes 12 coins of King Yannai and another five

[23] *Ant.* XIII, 256.

[24] For a partial summary, see Y. Magen, "The Sacred Area on Mt. Gerizim", *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting—1991*, eds. Z.H. Erlich and Y. Eshel (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 36–60 (Hebrew). This short article is an abbreviated summary of a series of as yet unpublished excavations. For the excavation of Tel Shechem and its destruction in the period discussed, see G.E. Wright, *Shechem: Biography of a Biblical City* (London, 1965), pp. 170–84. Y. Magen believes that there are some signs of continued activity in the Hasmonean period at the location of the present Shechem (Ma'abarta' of the late Second Temple period), but this region has not been excavated. I am grateful to Y. Magen for this information.

[25] A.W. McNicoll et al. (eds.), *Pella in Jordan*, 1 (Canberra, 1982).

[26] Idem, p. 77.

[27] Idem, p. 82.

[28] Idem, pp. 83–84.

[29] A.W. McNicoll et al. (eds.), *Pella in Jordan* 2 (Sydney, 1992), pp. 103–44.

Hasmonean coins, indicating significant settlement at the site in the Hasmonean period as well. This may have been a garrison, or possibly continued settlement activity in the city (see below). The Smith expedition, which excavated the site in 1967, did not identify a residential layer from either the Hellenistic period or the early Roman period.[30] All the expeditions concur that there is no evidence in Pella of an early Roman settlement; the list of coins also indicates a gap between the Hasmonean era and the period of Agrippa I.

Tel Anafa

The tel, whose ancient name is not clear, was abandoned at the time of the Hasmonean conquests, and was resettled latter. The excavations did not reveal evidence of destruction and conquest, but only of the abandonment of the settlement, which was probably indirectly related to the Hasmonean conquest.[31] Josephus describes the conquest of the region, but does not tell of the destruction or reconstruction of Tel Anafa.[32]

Gezer

This semi-urban settlement was destroyed by the Hasmoneans.[33] The unpublished numismatic finds do not include any relevant material.[34]

Samaria

According to Josephus, the city was completely destroyed, and John Hyrcanus inundated it with perennial streams and removed all signs of the city.[35] This report is undoubtedly exaggerated, as it is not pos-

---

[30] R.H. Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis* I (Wooster, 1989), pp. 212ff.

[31] G.D. Weinberg, ed., *Excavations at Jalame and Their Chronological Implications* (Columbia, Miss., 1988).

[32] Only the tel of the semi-urban settlement of Shikmona has been excavated, and the excavator doubts that he uncovered the residential quarter of the city or the site of the military outpost. In any case, the place was abandoned or destroyed in 132 BCE, perhaps during the military campaign of Antiochus Sidetes (?), and was not resettled. Thus this settlement does not belong to our discussion. See: I. Elgavish, *Archaeological Excavations at Shikmona Report*, 2 (Haifa, 1974), pp. 16–17 (Hebrew).

[33] For a summary see: *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations*, vol. 2, p. 506.

[34] The list of coins that were found in Gezer can be found in the PEF Archive, presently located in the British Museum in London. I am grateful to Dr. Price for allowing me to look at this list.

[35] *Ant.* XIII, 281; *Wars* I, 65.

sible to flood the peak on which Samaria lies with streams, but the description does indicate complete destruction. On the other hand, Samaria is mentioned as one of the cities that had "not yet" been destroyed completely in the time of Pompey.[36] The archaeological finds are less decisive. Samaria was excavated twice. The excavations of Reisner et al. report no destruction or damage in the pre-Herodian stratum, which was destroyed only in the course of the construction of the Herodian temple.[37] In another area, the excavators report on the conclusion of the Hellenistic period, but do not establish whether this is related to the conquest of John Hyrcanus or whether this construction stratum should be attributed to Gabinius. Crowfoot et al., who conducted the second series of excavations in Samaria, also deliberated over this question.[38] The latter report speaks of partial damage to the city wall after the city had already been conquered. According to the excavators, these are not remains of the destruction caused by the fighting, but reflect some sort of punitive action carried out after the conquest, since some parts of the city wall were damaged while others were not. The excavators date a number of walls of houses and shops to the time of Gabinius,[39] but most of the construction in the city and its period of growth were patently only later, in the Herodian period.

The numismatic finds enable us to make a slightly clearer assessment of the historical and economic development of the city. Three numismatic assemblages have been uncovered: by Reisner et al.,[40] by Crowfoot et al.,[41] and by Fulco and Zayadine, who collected coins in a certain area of the city which are of unclear stratigraphic context.[42] The finds of the two excavations indicate continuity, and the average number of coins per year from the Hasmonean period equals or even slightly exceeds the average number of coins from the preceding period. Moreover, among the coins from the Hasmonean period there are many city coins from the coastal cities, testifying to

[36] *Wars* I, 156.
[37] G.A. Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908–1910* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 50, 252–73.
[38] J.W. Crowfoot et al., *The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957).
[39] Idem, p. 32.
[40] Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, pp. 252–73.
[41] Crowfoot et al., *The Objects*, pp. 43–70.
[42] W.J. Fulco and F. Zayadine, "Coins from Samaria-Sebaste", *ADAJ* 25 (1981), pp. 197–225.

the continued flourishing of commercial centers in the city. The finds published by Fulco and Zayadine, by contrast, contain no Hasmonean coins, apparently indicating that parts of the city (the areas in which these coins were found) were damaged or ceased to function as commercial centers. The available evidence reveals significant damage to only part of the city at most, despite the descriptions of major devastation provided by Josephus.

The impact of the Roman conquest on the city cannot be determined, as the publications of the two excavations do not distinguish coins of Yannai from those of John Hyrcanus. At any rate, as already shown, Josephus's reports of the construction of the city are exaggerated. There is no evidence of construction or development, and only in Herod's time did the city enjoy impressive prosperity, as expressed in the magnificent construction in different quarters along with an increase in the number of coins.

Scythopolis (Beth Shean)

Scythopolis was conquered by the Hasmoneans.[43] Josephus provides general descriptions in both his works. In *Wars* (1:66), he does not mention the conquest of the city but the takeover and destruction of the entire region, while the report in *Antiquities* is limited to the surrender of the city and its environs.[44] Scythopolis is also included among the cities that in the time of Pompey "the Jews [had not] manage[d] to destroy".[45] We learn of greater destruction from Megillat Ta'anit, which relates that on 15 and 16 Sivan "the people of Beth Shean and of Bikata were exiled".[46]

The archaeological findings somewhat clarify the issue. The excavations of the ancient tel revealed that the tel was abandoned during the Persian and Hellenistic periods, while the city center expanded to the plain at the foot of the tel, where the city began to develop and grow only in the Roman period. Hellenistic Scythopolis was situated on Tel Istaba.[47] The excavations at Tel Istaba are unpub-

---

[43] *Ant.* XIII, 281; *Wars* I, 65.
[44] For the contradiction between the two sources, see Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities*, p. 123.
[45] *Wars* I, 156.
[46] D. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle, eine Untersuchung Juedisch-Hellenistischen Geschichte (Megillat Ta'anit)", *HUCA* 8–9 (1931–32), p. 328.
[47] *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations* 1, p. 209.

lished, but the preliminary report clearly shows that this site was abandoned at the beginning of the Hasmonean period in violent destruction, and the site may possibly have been abandoned in a casual fashion, as was Tel Anafa.[48] In these excavations tens of amphora handles with Rhodian seal impressions were found, the latest from 80 BCE, providing further evidence of the end of the settlement, or at least the cessation of the import of products from abroad to this site. Megillat Ta'anit provides quite precise information, although its extent is not clear. Regarding the Roman conquest, Scythopolis is also listed as one of the cities that was liberated by Pompey and was settled or built by Gabinius, like Marisa. The archaeological finds have not yet been published. Scythopolis became an important Roman city and there is no doubt that Scythopolis existed and was active, but no proof has been found of a wave of construction in this period, and it is impossible to document the role of Pompey, Gabinius, and their contemporaries in the construction of the city.

Gaba ("City of Cavalry")

Gaba (Tel Mishmar Ha'emek) has not yet been clearly identified, and to date only one residential building has been excavated, in the city periphery, which belonged to Abdagon, city founder, the first citizen (proto-polites), and high priest at one of the temples. No destruction stratum was found in the building, but it was abandoned at the beginning of the 1st century BCE and renewed only in the time of Herod, who built a city or colony for his veteran cavalrymen.[49]

As was noted, only a single building has been excavated, and it may be argued that it does not represent the history of the city. This building may have been abandoned because of the Hasmoneans' hostile policy toward the urban leadership, in general, and the pagan religious leadership, in particular: the house of the high priest may

---

[48] See the brief review (no author given) in *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 1978, pp. 63–64 (Hebrew); Y. Landau and W. Tzaferis, "Tel Istabah, Beth Shean: The Excavations and Hellenistic Jar Handles", *IEJ* 29 (1979), pp. 152–59; R. Bar-Nathan and G. Mazor, "Beth-Shean during the Hellenistic Period", *Qadmoniot* 107–8 (1994), pp. 87–91.

[49] For a summary of the history of the city, see B. Mazar ed., *Geva: Archaeological Discoveries at Tell Abu-Shusa, Mishmar Ha-'Emeq* (Jerusalem, 1986; Hebrew); for the excavation of the building, and the identification of Geva see Z. Safrai and M. Lin, "Geva in the Hasmonean Period", *Cathedra* 69 (1993), pp. 29–30 (Hebrew).

have been damaged, while the city as a whole was not. There is no
evidence, e.g., that the lower aqueduct of the city, which passes
behind the building, was damaged.

Cities not damaged despite the Hasmonean conquest

Most of these cities are discussed by Kasher and Schatzman.[50] The
following discussion adds only a few new testimonies which were not
available to these scholars.

Dora and Caesarea

No certain report is given of the conquest of Dora and Caesarea,
but it is implicit in the testimony of Josephus.[51] Both appear in the
list of cities that were "liberated" by Pompey,[52] and both obviously
are included among the cities that in Pompey's time had not yet
been destroyed.[53]

The situation in Dora is unclear. The excavators report the destruc-
tion of stratum III or, more precisely, a temporary cessation of the
settlement, but have not succeeded in determining if this occurred
in 125 BCE, as part of the internal Seleucid warfare, or during the
conquest of the city by Alexander Yannai. In any event, the initial
phase of Roman rule was not distinguished as a period of build-
ing; to the contrary, the meager settlement in the city was further
weakened.[54]

A number of excavations have been conducted in Caesarea.[55] The
surge of building in the Herodian period engulfed anything that
remained from the earlier city, and it damaged the structures in ear-
lier strata, but again, there are no signs of destruction in the
Hasmonean period or of a spell of construction under Pompey.

Azotus and Jamnia

The conquest of these cities and its consequences are not mentioned
explicitly, but it is reasonable to assume that they were conquered
by John Hyrcanus or by Yannai, as they are included in Josephus's

[50] Kasher, *Jews in Hellenistic Cities*, and Shatzman, *The Armies*.
[51] Kasher, ibid., p. 141.
[52] *Ant.* XIV, 7; *Wars* I, 156.
[53] *Wars* I, 156.
[54] E. Stern, *Dor, Final Report* (Jerusalem, 1996).
[55] *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations*, vol. 1, pp. 286–91.

list of cities of the Jews.[56] These cities are also among those that at the time of Pompey had not yet been destroyed by the Jews,[57] were liberated by Pompey, and were resettled or built by Gabinius, like Dora, Caesarea, and others.[58]

Jamnia has not been excavated. At Jamnia on the Sea (Jamnitarum Portus) small-scale excavations have begun, but they have not yet provided any information on the history of the city. Several hundred coins have been collected from the surface in the area.[59] The finds show some decline in the number of coins in the Hasmonean period relative to the Seleucid period (0.18 coins per year in the Hasmonean period; 0.24 coins per year in the Seleucid and Ptolemaic periods). The reign of the House of Herod is characterized by a further decline (0.07 coins per year) with some increase (0.17 coins per year) during the rule of the procurators. The number of coins is not great, but it does reveal the continuation of activity in the city during Hasmonean times, perhaps with a slight decline in the city's economic activity. This decline continued until the end of Archileus's rule, after which a few more coins were found. As noted, the total number of coins is small and these data do not constitute an adequate basis for a description of the development of the city.

As for Azotus, a few areas were excavated by Dothan et al., and a number of reports have been published.[60] The excavators did not find evidence of significant destruction in Azotus. The Hellenistic stratum ends in the late 2nd century BCE (the conquest of John Hyrcanus?) or the late 1st century BCE (after the "construction" of the city under Gabinius). At any rate, it is not possible to distinguish a stratum of destruction or fire. A few coins from the Ptolemaic and Seleucid period, as well as Hasmonean coins, were found in the city. The number of coins is small; they indicate settlement continuity, but are not sufficient to enable us to make an estimation of the growth and prosperity, or decline, of the city.

---

[56] *Ant.* XIII, 395; Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities*, p. 122.

[57] *Wars* I, 156.

[58] *Ant.* XIV, 76–88; *Wars* I, 156–166.

[59] The coins were collected mainly by the late A. Sadeh, and are presently located in the local museum at Kibbutz Palmahim. The coins were examined and deciphered by A. Kindler and the summary of the finds was made under the auspices of the museum director, Mr. Z. Zahavi.

[60] M. Dothan and D.N. Freedman, *"Ashdod I"*, *'Atiqot* 7 (English series) Jerusalem (1967), pp. 18–27; M. Dothan, *"Ashdod II–III"*, *'Atiqot* 9–10 Jerusalem, (1963–65).

Apollonia

No remains of construction from the period under discussion have been discovered to date.[61]

Anthedon (Sheikh Zuweid)

There is no relevant information.

Conclusions

The impact of the Hasmonean and Roman conquests on the demographic and economic development of the cities is not uniform. Despite the partial information available, three groups of cities emerge. (1) The cities of the non-Jewish Semitic minorities, such as Idumean Marisa and the cities of Shechem (Shechem and Luza), were badly damaged by the Hasmoneans. Their intolerance and hostility to these peoples, whom they regarded as enemies and rivals, was expressed in severe destruction. (2) Hellenistic cities in the center of Judea, namely the area of the "Jewish settlement", were damaged and destroyed, as in the case of Gezer, but sometimes, as in the case of Samaria, in a less systematic fashion, and some, such as Tel Istaba, Gaba, and Tel Anafa, were abandoned with no signs of violent damage. Samaria was spared wholesale destruction, perhaps because it was regarded by the Hasmoneans as a Hellenistic center, and not a Samaritan one. Indeed, after the Hellenistic conquest, the center of the Samaritan religion was in Shechem and not in Samaria, which was established as a Macedonian kolonia.[62] (3) The Hellenistic cities in the coastal plain were not directly damaged during the Hasmonean conquest, although in some cases there is evidence of a decline in the economic activity of the city. This type of decline is not necessarily related to the conquest itself, but to the economic conditions in Judea (see below).

The reason for the different policies adopted by the Hasmonean rulers may lie in their religious-political perspective. The conquest or liberation of Judea is, as we know, a central and explicit divine command, obeyed by the Israelites ever since the days of Joshua.[63]

---

[61] I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon* (Tel Aviv, 1989), pp. 124–37 (Hebrew).

[62] Z. Safrai, "Shechem in the Days of Mishna and Talmud 63 BC–637 CE", *Shomrom Studies*, eds. S. Dar and Z. Safrai (Tel Aviv, 1986), pp. 83–126 (Hebrew).

[63] M. Weinfeld, "Inheritance of the Land", *Zion* 49 (1984), pp. 130–37 (Hebrew).

The Hasmoneans would undoubtedly regard themselves as bound to this mission, as is confirmed by some evidence, but this is beyond the scope of the present discussion.[64] Accordingly, taking control of the entire area of Jewish settlement was considered a "holy war", for the purification of the Land of Israel from idolaters and its liberation from foreign rule. The conquest of the coastal region, however, like the conquest of Transjordan, was perceived by the Hasmoneans as a regular war to expand the borders of the country. This distinction between two types of conquests appears in the Bible. In Deut 7,2 the Israelites are commanded to conquer the foreign cities in the Land of Israel and are strictly forbidden to make an alliance with them, while Deut 20,10–18 explicitly states that this law does not apply to the cities "which are very far off", with whom it was permitted to make an alliance, namely to accept their surrender and impose taxes. This had a crucial impact on the aims of the fighting. The ceremony at Mizpah (I Macc 3,46–55), for example, is replete with verses from the biblical text (Deut 20,1–10). It is only natural that these texts would affect Hasmonean policies on the conquered cities.

We accordingly propose that the Bible profoundly influenced Hasmonean strategy. This hypothesis is based on two arguments: (1) the similarity between the early directives and the policy which was implemented; (2) the deep influence of the Biblical concept of the conquest of the land on the literature of the Hasmonean period, as noted by previous researchers.[65]

There was also an economic and political difference between the cities in the center of the country and the outlying cities. The latter were important as gateways for Judean trade, and the Hasmoneans were probably interested in maintaining trade relations with the outside world; in this respect, the cities in the interior were less important. Furthermore, it seems that the hatred toward the autochthonous peoples, the Samaritans and the Idumeans, was stronger than that toward the Greeks. Ironically, the similarity of language and culture may have given rise to hostility and competition, and this affected the attitude toward these people and their cities.

Another, even more important conclusion concerns cities whose

---

[64] See D. Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature* (Leiden, 1987), pp. 9–18.

[65] Mendels, *The Land*, pp. 57–88.

construction Josephus attributes Pompey and Gabinius, the conquerors of Judea. The results of the excavations demonstrate that the Roman "liberation" did not lead to renewed prosperity in these cities, and the descriptions of their presumed rebuilding or reestablishment are highly exaggerated. Pompey granted these cities the new status of polis and legal autonomy, and they in return declared his period of rule as the era of the city's establishment, and counted its years from that date. However, all this was political in nature, and no construction and renewal began in these cities at the time of the Roman conquest.

II. *The economic impact of the Roman conquest in Judea (urban and rural areas)*

The cities of Judea obviously had ties to the rural sector. Consequently, any economic examination must investigate both the urban and rural spheres. Upon occupation by the Romans, the province of Judea could be expected to integrate into the Roman economy. Therefore we might expect a radical growth in the number of coins found in different excavations. The presently available numismatic material does not suffice to yield a picture of the early years of the Roman conquest, but it seems that the small amount does not indicate any growth, but a significant decline, in the number of coins after 66 BCE. A clear-cut example of this is provided by Jerusalem, where there was a marked decline in the number of coins after the Yannai period.[66] In Jerusalem the number of coins reflects the local commerce and the economic impact of the pilgrims (see Fig. 1). There is no clear information from Samaria, as the excavators do not distinguish coins of Yannai from those of John Hyrcanus. There is a noticeable increase in the number of coins from the Herodian period (see Fig. 2). It is known, however, that Samaria was rebuilt by Herod as Sebastea, so the development of the city was a local event and is not indicative of the country as a whole. A similar picture of a decline in the number of coins recurs in many assemblages, such as the coins at the Beth Shturman Museum, which are representative

---

[66] D.T. Ariel, "A Survey of Coin Finds in Jerusalem", *LA* 32 (1982), pp. 273–326; H. Gitler, A Comparative Study of Numismatic Evidence from Excavations in Jerusalem", *Liber Annuus* 46 (1996), pp. 317–62.

**Number of coins
per year**

```
95 ┤
90 ┤
85 ┤
80 ┤
75 ┤
78 ┤
65 ┤
60 ┤
55 ┤
50 ┤
45 ┤
40 ┤
35 ┤
30 ┤
25 ┤
20 ┤
15 ┤
10 ┤
 5 ┤
```

103   63   37   6   66
BCE   CE
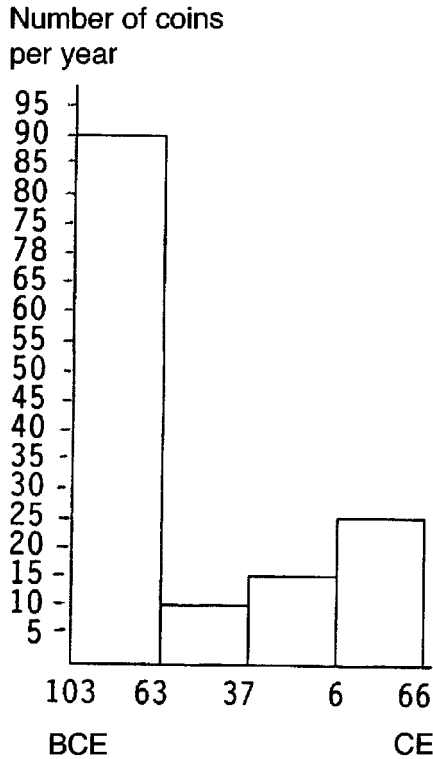
Figure 1   The currency in Jerusalem

of the coins found in the Jezreel Valley.[67] This assemblage too evinces a slight decline in the Herodian period, with an increase under the procurators. The same is true for the coins found in Jamnia on the Sea (see Fig. 3),[68] although at that place there was no recovery or growth in the number of coins during the time of the procurators.

Gamla

Only a preliminary report has been published of the coins at the site,[69] but the publication shows clearly that the number of coins

---

[67] The coins were examined by the author on the basis of the museum catalogue. I am grateful to the management of Beth Shturman for permitting me to use their files and publish the finds.

[68] For the source of the coins see above note 59.

[69] S. Gutman, *Gamla* (Tel Aviv, 1985), pp. 140–42 (Hebrew).

**Number of coins
per year**
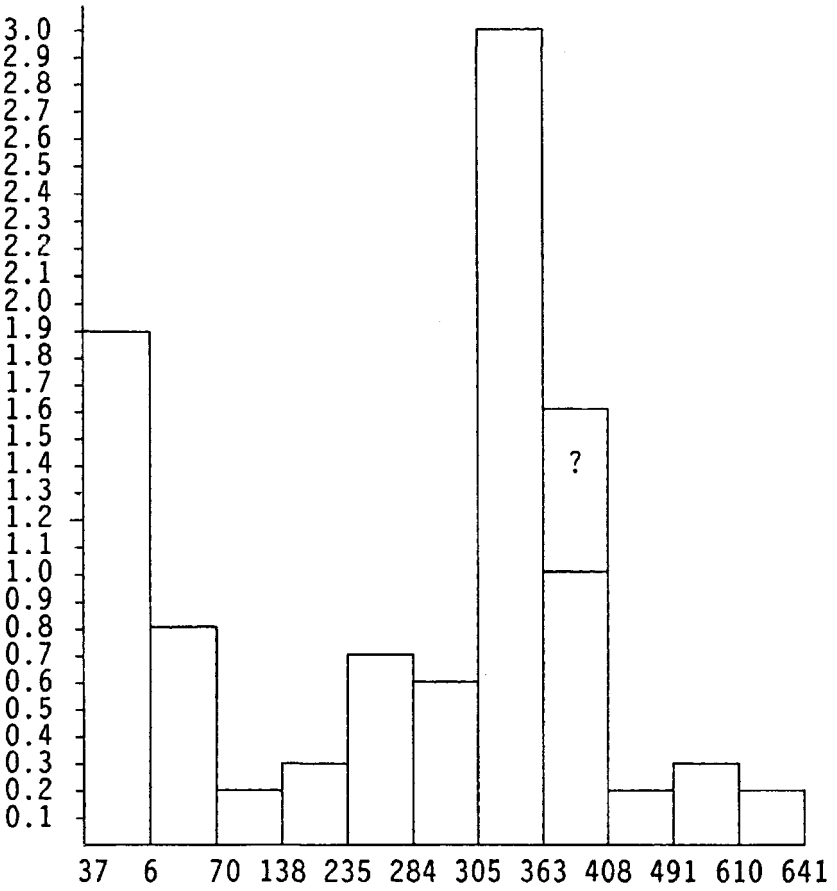
Figure 2   The currency in Sebastea-Samaria
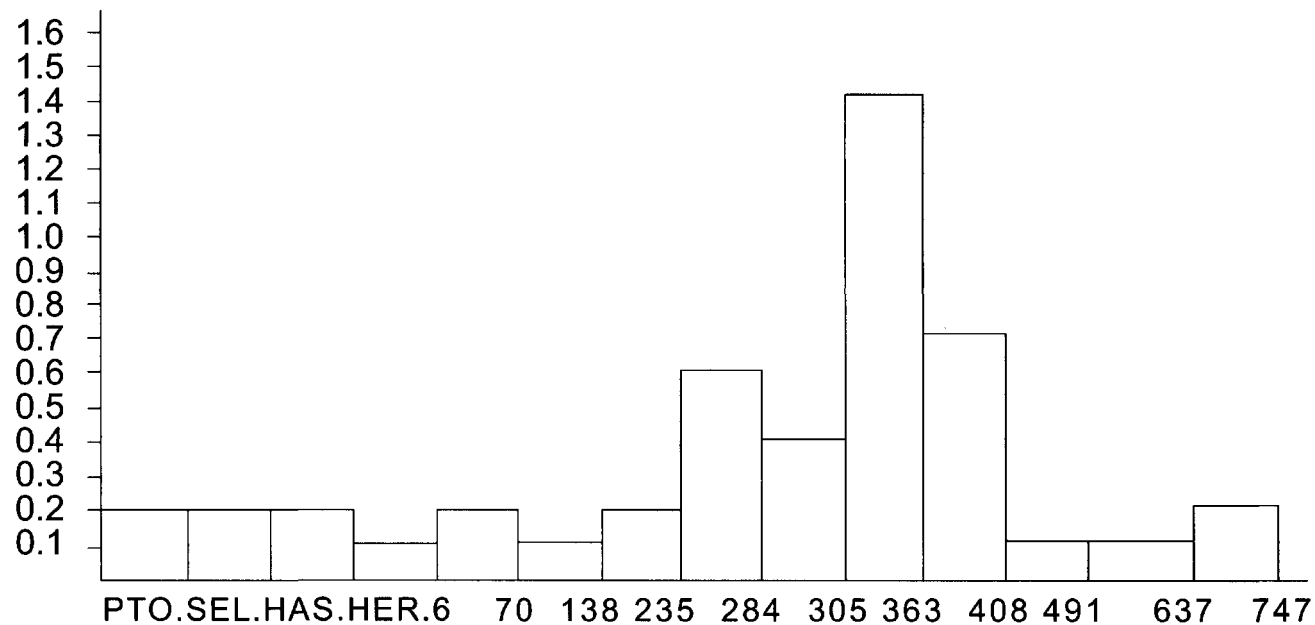
Figure 3   The currency in Jamnia on the Sea

from the Yannai period is very great (about 50 percent of all the
250 coins), while the number of coins of John Hyrcanus and of
Herod is small.

Arbel

Over 300 coins from the village of Arbel have been published, all
collected at random on the surface. This kind of finding is less reli-
able than excavations, but it does provide some idea of the numis-
matic finds at the site.[70] Fifteen coins of Yannai, five coins from the
time of John Hyrcanus, and only one Herodian coin were found.
The Roman conquest seems to have been marked by stagnation in
the number of coins, and probably in the volume of commerce there.
    Similar results arise from the small assemblages of coins from rural
sites, such as that at Meron,[71] at Sepphoris,[72] and at Capernaum.[73]
At Qumran there is a notable decline in the number of coins dur-
ing the Roman conquest and in the Herodian period. It is known
that the settlement was temporarily destroyed, perhaps by an earth-
quake, and at any rate there are small numbers of coins from the
time of Herod and of Archelaus. From the period of the procurators
a relatively large number of coins were found, apparently indicating
economic (and perhaps demographic) development of the community.[74]
The hoard found at Qumran and published by Sharabani was not
included in the statistics,[75] because a hoard represents the currency
in a settlement in a given year and does not testify to the historical
continuity in the settlement. For this reason other hoards from the
late Second Temple period were disregarded also.
    At Masada 83 coins from the Yannai period were found, and only

---

[70] M. Dolev, "Coins from Hurvat Arbel", *Arbel*, eds. Z. Ilan and I.A. Izdarechet
(Tel Aviv, 1988), p. 30 (Hebrew).
    [71] J. Raynor and Y. Meshorer, *The Coins of Ancient Meiron* (Winona Lake, 1988),
pp. 83ff.
    [72] L. Waterman, *Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan Excavations at Sepphoris,
Palestine, in 1931* (Ann Arbor, 1937), pp. 35–77; E. Meyers et al., "Sepphoris—
'Ornament of all Galilee,'" *BA* 49 (1986), p. 9.
    [73] A. Spijkerman, *Cafarnao III Catalogo delle Monete dell Citta* (Jerusalem, 1975).
    [74] R. de Vaux, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumran", *RB* 60 (1953), p. 93; RB 61
(1954), pp. 229–30; RB 63 (1956), pp. 564–65; idem, "Fouilles de Feshkha", *RB*
66 (1959), pp. 246–48; E.-M. Laperrousaz, *Qoumran* (Paris, 1976), pp. 150–54.
    [75] Y.M. Sharabani, "Monnaies de Qumran au Musee Rockefeller de Jerusalem",
RB 87 (1980), pp. 274–84.

12 were attributed to John Hyrcanus (evidently John Hyrcanus II).[76] The many coins of Herod (395 coins, 9.6 per year) are only to be expected, as this was the site of his palace-fortress. There are additional coins from the Herodian period, such as 22 coins of Aretas IV and 173 city coins. Almost all are from the time of Herod or even later (the majority), when there was a Roman legion at the site.

The rich assemblages from the excavations at Dora, Caesarea, and Scythopolis have not yet been published.

The general impression obtained from the available information is that the average number of coins found in excavations per year in the time of Yannai was greater than the number minted under Roman rule in the period of his successor. Does this decline indicate a corresponding decline in the volume of commerce? We will return to this question later.

III. *The impact of the Roman conquest on the Middle East as a whole*

In addition to the conquest of Judea, the Romans concurrently extended their rule over many other countries, including Egypt, the Nabatean kingdom, and other kingdoms in Syria. A comparison of the data from Judea with those from neighboring countries is of great interest. In these countries, there are no reports of the destruction of cities, nor was there any reason for this. The number of coins found in excavations in these cities may be examined, however, for evidence of such change.[77] An examination of all the assemblages found in the Middle East is beyond the scope of the present work, and only a few data will be discussed here.

---

[76] Y. Meshorer, "The Coins of Masada", *Masada I*, eds. Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 86–87. This is also suggested by unpublished finds from Calandia, Jaffa, and other places.

[77] For methodological reasons, the finds from excavated hoards cannot be used, as these probably represent, at best, an episodic reality, reflecting the currency in the market at an incidental time and place. For a discussion of the methodology, see Crowfoot, *The Objects*. For the numismatics of the East after the Roman conquests, see M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (London, 1985), pp. 201–8; A.R. Bellinger, "The Early Coinage of Roman Syria", *Studies in Roman Economy and History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, eds. P.R. Coleman-Norton et al. (Princeton, 1951), pp. 58–67.

Egypt

Only two assemblages of coins from Egypt have been published. The one from Oxyrhynchus is small. In his brief publication, Milne attributes 57 of them to the Ptolemaic period of the last two centuries BCE (approximately 0.3 coins per year). Upon comparison with the find at Karanis, most of these coins presumably belonged to the last Egyptian kings. From the reign of Augustus through that of Nero, 46 coins (0.5 per year) were found, and from the time of Augustus and Tiberius only 18 coins (0.2 per year).[78]

More abundant finds from Karanis were published, with full publication of the finds from Ptolemy V to Cleopatra VII (181–29 BCE). Altogether 207 coins (an average of 1.4 coins per year) were found, and only 25 coins (0.4 per year) from the period of Augustus and Tiberius,[79] indicating a decline in the number of coins in Egypt following the Roman conquest.

Syria and Asia Minor

In Sardis there is a clear decline in the number of coins following the Roman conquest (and probably under its influence). This decline encompasses all types of coins (city coins and royal coins).[80] For example, approximately 200 coins were found that were minted in preconquest Sardis from 133 BCE until the Roman conquest, namely one per year. By contrast, only 65 coins were found that were minted from the conquest until 245 CE, and from the time of Augustus and Tiberius, only 29 coins (0.4 per year) were found. In Antioch, the capital of the Seleucids and later a Roman city, 420 coins were found from the time of Seleucus IV (175–187 BCE) to the Roman conquest (3.5 coins a year),[81] and in addition four Ptolemaic coins. A clear decline is also seen in the coins from other cities in the East found in Antioch, from 244 coins per year before the conquest to 4–9 coins after it. There is an increase, however, in the quantity of coins found that were minted in the city itself, from about 1.4 coins per year on average to 2.0. In total, the quantity of postconquest

---

[78] J.G. Milne, "The Coins From Oxyrhynchus", *Journal of Aegyptian Archaeology* 8 (1922), pp. 158–63.

[79] R.A. Haatvedt et al., *Coins from Karanis* (Michigan, 1964).

[80] H.W. Bell, *Sardis XI*, 1 (Leiden, 1916), pp. 4–5; T.V. Buttrey et al., *Greek, Roman and Islamic Coins from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) pp. 4–5.

[81] D.B. Waage, *Antioch on the Orontes* IV, 2 (Princeton, 1952), pp. 171–73.

coins found is smaller than the amount predating Roman rule, indicating a decline in the quantity of coins found in the marketplace, despite the relative growth in city mintage.

Dura-Europos

Numerous coins have been found from the Seleucid period. The average from the time of Seleucus IV (187–175 BCE) to Antiochus X (95 BCE) is 3.5 coins per year. A sharp decline in the number of coins is apparent as early as the time of Antiochus X (95–83 BCE), but it is most noticeable after the Roman conquest. It is of interest that in this period the coins from Parthia are more numerous. There are 20 coins from the time of Ordas II (57–38 BCE; an average of one per year). In the city few Roman secondary countmarks were discovered, and only 41 coins of this type from the time of Augustus through Nero were found (an average of 0.4 per year).[82]

Aphrodisias

Here too there is a decline in the number of coins found, most strikingly in the number of coins minted in the city itself.[83] The findings in Syde are similar. Few coins were found in the city from the entire period (23 coins between 187 and 66 BCE), and only three coins were found from the time of Augustus and Tiberius.[84]

A large collection of coins from the Transjordan region was summarized by Kirkbride in 1939.[85] His treatment is somewhat random, and does not reflect systematic excavations or surveys at any site. Nevertheless, the large number of coins may serve as a partially reliable source. In this collection, there are 27 coins from the time of Demetrius II to Antiochus XII plus 22 coins from the Phoenician cities (an average of 0.6 coins per year).[86] In contrast, 148 coins were found from the time of Aretas IV (9 BCE–40 CE), and 41 from the time of Malicus II (40–70 CE). From the time of Augustus to Nero there are 13 more coins, as well as seven coins of John Hyrcanus II. A

---

[82] A.R. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report VI: The Coins* (New Haven, 1949).

[83] D.J. Macdonald, *Greek and Roman Coins from Aphrodisias* (Oxford, 1976).

[84] S. Atlan, *Yıllarι Side Kazιları Elde Edilen Sιrasιnda Sikkeler* (Ankara, 1976).

[85] A.S. Kirkbride, "Currencies in Transjordan", *PEF* 71 (1939), pp. 152–61.

[86] In addition, a few Nabatean coins are not identified.

total of 208 coins were found from 66 BCE to CE 70, constituting a significant increase in their number.

A similar picture emerges from the extensive numismatic finds in Gerasa.[87] In the 1980s a number of excavations were carried out at different sites as part of the Gerasa project,[88] as well as in other settlements. The situation in Transjordan seems to differ from that in the East as a whole, with a sizable increase in the number of coins. This growth ensues from the unique history of the area, which was a Nabatean settlement. This tribe exploited the collapse of the Seleucid regime to establish a kingdom. The encounter with Roman civilization had a favorable impact on this people, which expanded and firmly established its economic ties. From the time of Aretas IV (9 BCE to CE 40) we see a "numismatic increase", namely the minting of numerous Nabatean coins. The question whether the increase in the number of coins indicates the flourishing of commerce only in this region requires a separate discussion, as this is a local development which does not seem to comply with the methodological rules governing the study of the area as a whole.[89]

It may be concluded that the Roman conquest was followed by a decline in the number of coins minted in most areas of the East (with the exception of the Nabatean kingdom). As noted, the key issue is the cause of the decline in the number of coins found in the excavations, whether it was the result of a decrease in the supply of coins or of a decline in commerce. The simplest and most natural explanation is the latter. But in the course of the methodological discussions the alternative explanation was suggested, without reference to the market situation,[90] namely not a fall in the demand for coins but a fall in their supply. New coins were not issued and old coins circulated in the marketplace. The Roman conquest halted the activity of the Syrian and Ptolemaic mints, while the city mints continued to operate: we do have city coins from these years. However, the city mints seem to have continued to function

---

[87] A.R. Bellinger, "Coins", in C.H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 497–503.

[88] F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981–1983* (Amman, 1986), pp. 82–89, 257–62; E.O. Goicoechea, *Excavationes en el Agora de Gerasaa en 1983* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 39–56.

[89] For the Nabatean coins, see Y. Meshorer, "*Nabataean Coins*", *Qedem* 3 (Jerusalem, 1975).

[90] For this methodological discussion, see above. A full methodological discussion is beyond the scope of the present work.

in a partial and cautious fashion,[91] as mandatory procedures and regular work arrangements had not yet been established. In the 4th and 5th decades of this century we have Seleucid coins, mainly of the Seleucid ruler Philipus Philadelphus (92–83 BCE), which were overstruck with a Roman imprint. These coins are a sort of local "improvisation" in the absence of regular coins. The proper circulation of standard Roman coins evidently began only in the time of Augustus or even later.

In the Judean kingdom a cessation or decline in minting operations is less likely, since the economic administration in Judea was not disturbed. On the contrary, new cities were founded and were granted the right to mint. These cities would naturally have exercised this privilege quite intensively, particularly in their early years.[92] The decline in the number of coins following the Roman conquest may have been caused by insufficient minting by the new government, with the consequent continued reuse of the earlier coins. To confirm or disprove this claim, the hoards from this period, the second half of the 1st century BCE, must be examined. A hoard is the personal "purse" of its owner, and it reflects the circulation at the time and place of the hoarding. The existence of only a few coins from the time of the Roman empire in hoards from 20 or 30 BCE would indicate the excessive use of earlier coins in this period. The same would be true if hoards from 10 CE were found, with many coins from the first half of the previous century and only a few from the second half.

Unfortunately, the finds we possess are inadequate. Only a few hoards from the period under discussion have been uncovered, and only some of these have been published in detail, listing the quantities of coins from each period.[93]

---

[91] This was the situation in Sardis, but not in Antioch. See above, notes 80, 81.

[92] As noted, this is not a detailed methodological discussion. However, a major consideration is not always given sufficient attention. The number of coins found in excavations reflects the number of coins in the marketplace and the volume of commerce involving them. This quantity may be calculated by the following equation: quantity of coins in the marketplace = circulation x quantity of minted coins. In an era of developed commerce, the marketplace compensates for a small number of coins by increased circulation and the quicker transfer of coins between individuals. A decline in the quantity of minted coins is not expressed in the number of coins found in excavations, as the latter reflects the "quantity of coins in the marketplace", not the "quantity of minted coins".

[93] A number of books containing collections of hoards have been published: M. Thompson et al. (eds.), *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York, 1973);

Hoards from the second half of the 1st century BCE

The finds may be divided into three types:

1. Hoards for which we possess no details regarding their con-
tents. These are not listed, as they do not include information rel-
evant to our discussion.

2. Hoards in which most of the coins were minted after the Roman
conquest.[94] Five hoards of this type were found in Judea, as well:

   – A hoard from 61 BCE.[95] About one-third of the coins are from
after the Roman conquest. This hoard was buried five years after
the conquest and therefore the proportions are quite reasonable.

   – The Mount Scopus hoard contains shekels from Tyre, the great
majority of which were minted in the 4th and 5th decades of the
1st century BCE.[96]

   – A hoard which was sealed in the Great Revolt contains a rea-
sonable representation of the coins of John Hyrcanus II: 180 coins
of Yannai as compared with 40 coins of John Hyrcanus.[97] This ratio
seems to reflect the normal numerical ratio between the coins of
these two kings.

   – Another hoard from the time of John Hyrcanus is discussed
below (the Bet Sahur hoard).

   – The Qumran hoard published by Sharabani.[98]

3. Hoards in which most of the coins predate the Roman conquest.[99]
Hoards of this type have also been found in Judea:

   – In the Ofel hoard, almost all the coins are from the Yannai

---

L. Kadman, "The Monetary Development of Palestine in the Light of Coin Hoards",
International Numismatic Convention, ed. A. Kindler (Tel Aviv, 1977), pp. 311–22;
H. Seyrig, *Trésors du Levant Anciens et Nouveaux* (Paris, 1973). In these essays use was
made of Noe's collection of hoards. We also used the list of hoards published as a
series in the newsletter: *Coin Hoards* (hereinafter CO).

[94] The Alpho hoard, from 55–50 BCE (Thompson, *An Inventory*, p. 1578): even
then most of the coins bear Roman secondary countmarks; the Hamma hoard (ibid.,
580); a hoard from Syria or Phoenicia (ibid., 1580); the Tarsus hoard (ibid., 1582);
the Alpho hoard (Seyrig, *Trésors* nos. 39, 109: only 32 of the 76 coins are from
before the conquest); the Laodicea hoard (CO VI (1981), p. 17, no. 52).

[95] Kadman, *The Monetary*, p. 14.

[96] E.L. Sukenik, "A Find of Tyrian Shekalim on the Land of the Hebrew
University", *Dinburg Book* (Jerusalem, 1949), pp. 102–3 (Hebrew).

[97] *Israel Numismatic Bulletin* 1 (3–4), p. 106.

[98] Sharabani, "*Monnaies de Qumran*".

[99] The Akar hoard, in which there are 16 coins, only 1 of them from after the
Roman conquest (Thompson, 1583); and the Diyarbakir hoard (Seyrig, *Trésors*,
p. 107), comprising 150 coins, 146 of which were minted before the conquest. The
last coin is from the year 19 BCE, i.e., ca. two decades after the Roman conquest.

period; only 4 to 8 coins are from the time of John Hyrcanus (again, it may be assumed that these are coins of John Hyrcanus II).[100]
  – In the Bet Sahur hoard,[101] 19 coins are from the time of John Hyrcanus (II), and 37 from the Yannai period. Again, the exact time of the concealment of the hoard has not been determined, and it may have been at the beginning of the rule of John Hyrcanus. To this point we have relied on Kadman's report. However, a more detailed article, published by Sukenik,[102] refers only to coins of John Hyrcanus. This indicates that at that time use was made mainly of his coins; accordingly, this hoard belongs to the earlier group.

Conclusions

Most of the coins in circulation in Judea and Syria in the early years of the Roman occupation (the second half of the 1st century BCE) were minted by local officials within the Roman empire. Only a minority of the coins were earlier coins, from the Seleucid kingdom or from the period of Yannai (in Judea). Therefore, the decrease in the quantity of coins in this period at least partially reflects a decline in the level of commerce in the Eastern marketplaces.

Summary

The Hasmoneans conquered all the cities of Judea, with the exception of Ashkelon, but notwithstanding Josephus's descriptions of destruction, the level of damage was not uniform. The cities of the Semitic minorities (Marisa, Shechem, and perhaps Adora) were completely destroyed; the Greek cities within the area of Jewish settlement suffered relatively severe damage; and the other cities were only slightly damaged. This is confirmed by the results of the excavations and a quantitative numismatic analysis of the available evidence.

Following the Roman conquest, the Hellenistic cities were "liberated" and "reestablished". The significance of this process was mainly abstract, referring to sociopolitical and cultural change. The physical

---

[100] See C. Lambert, "A Hoard of Jewish Bronze Coins from Ophel", *PEF* 60 (1927), pp. 184–88.

[101] Thompson, *An Inventory*, p. 1624; Kadman, *The Monetary*, p. 26.

[102] E.L. Sukenik, "A Hoard of Coins of John Hyrcanus", *JQR* 37 (1946), pp. 281–82.

and economic change effected by the Roman conquest, however, was limited. In these cities, there are no indications of a wave of construction or any other evidence of intensive development. Josephus's descriptions of construction and rehabilitation are evidently based on a source (Nicolaus of Damascus?) more interested in pro-Roman propaganda than in an accurate historical account.

Following the Roman conquest, there was a decline in the number of coins minted in most regions of the East (with the exception of the Nabatean kingdom).

Most of the coins in circulation in Judea, Egypt, and Syria in the early years of the Roman conquest (the second half of the 1st century BCE), were minted by various authorities that operated within the framework of the Roman empire. Only a minority of the coins were earlier, from the Seleucid kingdom or the period of Yannai (in Judea).

Consequently, the decrease in the quantity of coins in this period at least partially reflects a decline in the level of commerce in the Eastern marketplaces.

THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE ISRAELITE AND THE JUDEAN EXILES IN MESOPOTAMIA IN THE 8TH–6TH CENTURIES BCE

B. ODED
Haifa

The prophet Ezekiel, who dwelt "among the captives by the river of Chebar", knew that the exiles from Israel and Judah were scattered and dispersed among several peoples and countries, hence the repeated phrases in his prophecies about the "sons of Israel" who are scattered among the heathen and dispersed through the countries (e.g., 20,23,34; 22,15; 28,25; 34,6; 36,19). Other prophets of that time also refer to the dispersion of the deportees among "all the nations" and "all the places", in the context of explaining the captivity as divine punishment or in the prophecies of redemption and deliverance (e.g., Isa 11,11; 43,5–6; 60,4,9; 66,20; Jer 29,14; 30,11; Zech 2,1–4,10–11; 8,7). This matches the verse in the book of Esther, "There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom" (3, 8). Obadiah, who lived few years after the destruction of the first Temple, speaks about the "captivity of Jerusalem which is in Sepharad", which is probably Saparda/Sardis in Lydia (western Anatolia, and cf. Isa 11,11). The verse in Jer 3,14, "and I will take you one of a city, and two of a family", reflects a situation in which the exiles dwelt in various places as families and communities. The Edict of Cyrus mentions "all the places" where the exiles dwelt. Judeans/Israelites lived in nearly 30 settlements in Babylonia according to the Murashu archive (5th century BCE), and it is plausible that Judean/Israelite deportees or their descendants had lived in some of these places already from the Assyrian and/or Chaldean periods. Note that the presence of the Israelites/Judeans in the diaspora was not the consequence of migration but of deportation by the Assyrian and Chaldean empires. Hence, they were scattered in many places according to imperial interests. Yet an exile could move from place to place if the need arose and if he was free to do so.

The policy of the above empires was to settle deportees from

various nations not only in urban centers such as Ashur, Calah, Nineveh, Nippur, and Babylon but also in the rural periphery and even in deserted, uncultivated areas and ruined settlements.[1] This policy aimed at enlarging the cultivated arable lands, restoring ruined places, and building new ones. Obviously then, the exiles from Israel and Judah were settled in urban centers and rural areas along the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and of their tributaries.

2 Kgs 17,6 (cf. 18,11; 2 Chron 5,26) states that the king of Assyria "took Samaria and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and the Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes". Verse 23 of the same chapter says "So was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria unto this day". "Assyria" in this context means the territories under direct Assyrian control (provinces), including Assyria proper.

Ashur

The city of Ashur was the old capital of Assyria and was called after the national god Ashur. Among the many non-Assyrian/Akkadian names from people who lived in Ashur one can certainly discern two Israelite/Judean names (a) *Sa-ʾ-<al?>-ti-ia-u*, mentioned in a document of Ashur from 631 BCE[2] and bearing the title *šaknu*, and (b) *Ba-na-ia-ú* (VAT 8653), who was witness to a legal transaction in 636 BCE. In a legal document from 700 BCE (ADD 176+ = SAA VI, 61) there is a reference to *Ahi-ia-u* (אחיהו), the father of Manu-ki-Ashur.[3]

Calah/Nimrud

This was the capital of Assyria (till 707 BCE). Ashurnasirpal II brought to the city people from several countries.[4] An Aramean ostracon from Nimrud contains a list of West-Semitic names such as Hananel,

---

[1] B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 67–74; A.K. Grayson, "Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II (858–745 BC)", *RIMA* 3 (Toronto, 1995), p. 211, concerning Nergal-eresh.

[2] R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (Leuven, 1988), p. 304.

[3] Idem, "Israelites and Jews in Assyria, Jezira and Babylonia from the Last Third of the Eighth Century to the End of the Fifth Century BCE", *Studies in the History and Culture of Iraqi Jewry*, ed. Y. Avishur (Or Yehuda, 1991), pp. 9–12 (Hebrew).

[4] Oded, *Mass Deportations*, p. 60.

Menahem, Elisha, Hagai and Achbor. These are typical Hebrew names, and several of them at least were probably of Israelite origins.[5] The existence of Israelites in Calah is known from other tablets found in Calah. Document ND 2629 refers to a person by the name of *Ú-se-ʾ* (הושע).[6] A list from the time of Sargon II (ND 2443 + 2621) includes the names *Hi-il-qi-a/ia-(-u)* and *Gir-ia-ú*[7] (חלקיהו; נריהו). ND 2339 mentions *Mi-i-nu-se* and *Ra-pa-ʾ-ia-u* (מנשה; רפאיהו) as well as *Nim-ia-u.*[8] *Ia-u-he-e* (יוחי) acted as a witness to a transaction in 631 BCE (ND 3433). Names derived from the root *nhm* appear in several document from Calah (see the Aremean ostracon mentioned above), but not all of them should be identified as Israelites since these West-Semitic names belonged to non-Israelites/Judeans as well. The name *PAP-i-ú/PAP-ia-ú* (אחיהו) is referred to in the "Samarian troop" from Calah (CTN III, 99; 113; 118), and on the grounds of Sargon's claim that he added Samarian soldiers to his royal army it is not far-fetched to assume that these Samarians were stationed in Calah or nearby. An administrative document from Calah (CTN III, 121,7–8) informs us that three Samarians who bore the title *kalû* received rations from the royal treasury.[9] The list from Calah (ND 10047) referring to Samarians is probably from the time of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II.[10] The horse merchant from Calah (ADD 806 = SAA XI 222) may be of Israelite origins since his name *I-gi-li-i* (עגל) is a component in Hebrew names.[11]

Nineveh

This was the capital of the Assyrian empire from the time of Sennacherib, who enlarged the city by settling many deportees there. Jonah described the city as "the great city, wherein are more than sixcore thousand persons". Generally, the largest numbers of deportees appear in the inscriptions of Sennacherib. The written material from Nineveh contains an abundance of West-Semitic names.

---

[5] ND 6231, and see B. Becking, *The Fall of Samaria. An Historical and Archaeological Study* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 80–83.
[6] B. Parker, "Administrative Tablets from the North-West Palace, Nimrud", *Iraq* 23 (1961), p. 39.
[7] Ibid., pp. 27–28.
[8] Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic*, p. 304.
[9] K.L. Younger, "The Deportations of the Israelites", *JBL* 117 (1998), p. 221.
[10] S. Dalley and J.N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*, CTN III, p. 22.
[11] Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic*, pp. 229, 279.

Sennacherib brought deportees from Judah to Nineveh, and some of them probably were forced to take part in the ruler's colossal building projects, including digging canals to bring water to the great capital. A legal document from Nineveh (or perhaps from Dur Sharrukin) of 709 BCE (ADD 234 = SAA VI, 34) mentions *Na-ad-bi-ia-a-ú* the charioteer as a witness. In a certain transaction (ADD 176 + 323 = SAA VI, 61) Manu-ki-Arbail the son of *PAP-ia-ú* (אחידו) was redeemed (*iptaar*). In another legal document from Nineveh of 660 BCE (ADD 148) the creditor's name is *A-du-ni-ih-a* (אדוניהא/י) and the transaction is in Judean (*Ya-u-di*) shekels[12] *A-zil-ia-a-u* (אצילידו/ה) the father of a certain trader from Zanaba (near Nineveh) is referred to in a legal document (TIM 11, 5).[13] Other Hebrew names mentioned in documents from Nineveh[14] are *Mah-si-ia-a-ú; Me-eh-sa-a; Il-ia-a-ú; A-zar-ia-u; Mi-na-he-me; Ú-se-ʾ; Pa-qa-ha; Sa-ma-ʾ; A-a-u-id-ri* (מחסיה; מחסיה; אליהו; עזריהו; מנחם; הושע; פקח; שמע; יהועזר). Of course, it is not entirely beyond doubt that all of these were of Israelite/Judean origin.

Halah

The Akkadian form of the name חלח is *Halahhu*, known as a region and as a town. The region lies in the northern part of Assyria. The city of Dur Sharruken, called after Sargon II, is in the area of Halah, and Sargon II himself claimed that he deported Samarians to Assyria.[15] One of them was probably *A-hi-ia-qa-a-mu* (אחיקם; ADD 755 = SAA XI, 224) as was suggested years ago.[16] Together with the latter, two other persons are mentioned, Barak and Hanni (ברק; הנני), possibly Israelites. A legal text from Halah (ADD 522 = ARU *380*) contains Aramaic words (כרם סעמתך) which indicate deportations of peoples

---

[12] I. Ephʿal, "On the Identification of the Israelite Exiles in the Assyrian Empire", *Excavations and Studies, Essays in Honor of S. Yeivin*, ed. Y. Aharoni (Tel Aviv, 1973), p. 203, and pp. 202–3 on the name הושע (in Hebrew); E. Lipinski, "Deux marchands de blé Phéniciens à Ninive", *Revista di Studi Fenici 3* (1975), pp. 1–2 (Phoenician).

[13] R. Zadok, "Foreigners and Foreign Linguistic Material in Mesopotamia and Egypt", *OLA* 6 (1995), p. 433.

[14] See Becking, *The Fall of Samaria*, pp. 87–89 and the bibliography there; Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic*, index.

[15] N. Naʾaman, "Population Changes in Palestine Following Assyrian Deportations", *Tel Aviv* 20 (1993), pp. 107–9 and bibliographical references there.

[16] S. Schiffer, *Keilinschriftliche Spuren in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts von den Assyrern Mesopotamien deportierten Samarier (10 Stämme), OLZ* Beiheft 1 (Berlin, 1907), p. 29.

from the west to this area,[17] in addition to the deportation of peoples from various countries to Dur Sharruken to strengthen the new capital and the whole area around.[18] In a letter to Sargon II (ABL 102 = SAA I, 65) an Assyrian official refers to Paqaha who is in charge on a certain building project in Talmusa which is in the area of Halah.

Habor

The Habor river (Nar Habur) is an eastern tributary of the middle stretch of the Euphrates, in the land of Bit Halupe. In the upper part of the Habor were located the two important cities, Gozan (Tel Halaf) in the west and Nesibin in the east. Archaeological research in the Habor valley as well as the epigraphic material testify to intense activity of populating and cultivating the vast area of arable land beside the river and the territories on either bank, especially the area known today as Jazireh.[19] Deportees were a major source of manpower for this agrarian policy. Therefore, not by accident are West-Semitic and other non-Akkadian names not infrequent in the epigraphic material found there.[20] An official letter to Sargon II (ABL 585 = SAA I, 247) contains a report on the transfer of prisoners of war (*hubtu*) to Nesibin and to other places at the vicinity, and a reference to the royal order to settle the deportees in protected places with drinking water. The biblical comment on the deportation of Israelites (by Sargon II) to Habor refers to this policy. An administrative letter from the time of Sargon II, which was sent from a certain location in the Habor valley by an officer named Arihi (ABL 1201 = SAA I, 220), mentions "the corn tax of the Samarians" (*Sa-mir-na-a-a*). This Arihi is mentioned in another letter dealing with deportees (CT 53, 863 = SAA I, 261). Quite possibly, these Samarians were deportees settled on state land in the Habor valley who had to pay the fixed corn tax. One of the impressive tells in the Habor

---

[17] M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets* (Rome, 1986), p. 200.
[18] Oded, *Mass Deportations*, pp. 28, 31.
[19] M. Liverani, "The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur/Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigm", *SAAB* 2 (1988), pp. 81–91; H. Kühne, "The Urbanization of the Assyrian Provinces", *Nuove Fondazioni nel Vicino Oriente antico: realita e ideologia*, ed. S. Mazzoni, (1994), pp. 55–84.
[20] M. Fales, "West-Semitic Names in the Seh-Hamad Texts", *SAAB* VII/2 (1993), p. 140.

valley is Dur Katlimmu (Tel Sheh Hamad) which served as an Assyrian administrative center.[21] During the neo-Assyrian period the city was enlarged to three times its original size and the number of its inhabitants was approximately 9000.[22] The records discovered in the tell reveal a mixed population, among them Elamites, Arameans, Arabians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Israelites, a direct result of the deportation system of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires.[23] The tablets relevant to this research are legal documents dealing with land sales in the second and fifth regnal years of Nebuchadnezzar II, but they are written in Neo-Assyrian. This indicates that the inhabitants of Dur Katlimmu and vicinity (e.g., Magdalu) were set-tled there by the Assyrians. The names with the theophoric element -ia-a-u indicate persons of Israelite/Judean origins. According to the tablet SH 92/6349/12 from the second year of Nebuchadnezzar II (603 BCE) a person by the name of Hanana (Aramaic חנן) sold a plot of land adjacent to the land of Ha-za-qi-iá-a-u (חזקיהו). Among the witness to this deed were Ah-zi-iá-a-u (אחזיהו) and the son of a cer-tain Sa-me-ʾ-iá-a-u (שמעיהו). Me-na-se-e and Hal-lu-su (cf. חלץ; מנשה) in the same list may be also of Israelite/Judean origins.[24]

Gozan – Harran – Til-Barsip

Gozan (Guzana) is located on the upper reaches of the Habor, today Tel Halaf in Syria. River Gozan (2 Kgs 17,6), refers to the Habor river. Harran is located on the upper section of the Euphrates trib-utary Balih (Ba/Palihu). Most of the inhabitants of these two cities were of West-Semitic origin, mainly Arameans.[25] Gozan and its periphery was organized as an Assyrian province already in the time of Adad-nerari III and by the two-way mass deportation policy, peo-ples from the area of Gozan were deported to remote places, while concurrently and afterwards the Assyrians brought deportees from

---

[21] See the essays in *SAAB* VII/2 (1993) and Kühne, *The Urbanization*.

[22] Kühne, *The Urbanization*, and bibliographical references there.

[23] On the West-Semitic names in these texts see Fales, "West-Semitic Names", pp. 139–50; R. Zadok, "On the Late-Assyrian Texts from Dur-Katlimmu and the Significance of the NA Documentation for Ethno-linguistic classification", *NABU*, 1995/1, pp. 2–4.

[24] Fales, ibid., p. 145.

[25] R. Zadok, "The Ethno-linguistic Character of the Jezureh and Adjacent Regions in the 9th–7th Centuries (Assyrian Proper v. Periphery)", *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, ed. M. Liverani (Rome, 1995), pp. 278–81.

conquered territories to Gozan. A letter to Sargon II (ABL 167 = SAA I, 128) reports on the transfer of people from Gozan to Shabireshu, located east of Nesibin. The Assyrian king ordered his official to resettle and to distribute lands in the territory of Gozan (CT 53, 2 = SAA I, 233). A letter to Sargon II (ABL 966 + CT 53, 211 = SAA I, 257) submits an official report on settling deportees (*šaglûte*) in several towns, among them Gozan. One of the tablets discovered in Tel Halaf/Gozan (TH 111) records that *Ú-se-ʾ* (הושע) bought/redeemed the woman *Da-a-a-na-a* (דינה), presumably of Israelite origins.[26] A letter to Esarhaddon found at Nineveh (ABL 633 + K.11448 = CT 53, 46) refers to two officials with typical Hebrew names, *Né-ri-ia-u* and *Pal-ṭi-ia-u* (פלטיהו; נריהו), as well as to a certain *Hal-bi-šú* called *Sa-mir-i-na-a-a*, namely the Samarian. *A-za-ri-iá-u* is mentioned in a document from the area of Gozan-Harran.[27] Two legal Aramaic documents from the same area refer to שמעידו and יטידו.[28] In another Aramaic document (TSF F 204 I/3) from Tel Shuyuch Faukani (the old name of this town, according to the context, was Burmarina = ברמרן), located in the vicinity of Til-Barsip (Aramaic תרבשיב; today Tell Ahmar), a reference is made (lines 19–20) to פלטיאל from Til Barsip and to מעשי[.], probably of Israelite/Judean origin.[29]

The cities of Madai

According to the biblical story the Assyrian king settled a portion of the deportees from Israel in the land east of the Tigris, "the cities of Madai". The Assyrian kings tell of the many fierce wars they fought with Elam and other countries east of the Tigris. The purpose of bringing deportees from the west to Madai was to strengthen the Assyrian hold in that area, mainly against the Elamites, and to resettle the evacuated lands with new inhabitants, just as they did with the land of Samaria and with many other conquered regions. Sargon II, for example, conquered Harhar (a place in the Zagros),

---

[26] Eph'al, "On the Identification", p. 203 and the references there.

[27] E. Lipinski, "Aramaic-Akkadian Archives from the Gozan-Haran Area", *Biblical Archaeological Today* (Jerusalem, 1984), p. 346; Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic*, p. 304.

[28] E. Lipinski, "Aramaic Clay Tablets from the Gozan-Haran Area", *Jaarbericht Ex oriente Lux* (1993–1994) [1995], pp. 144–46 and p. 143, n. 1.

[29] M. Fales, "An Aramaic Tablet from Tell Shoukh Faukani, Syria", *Semitica* 46 (1996), p. 109.

deported the inhabitants, and brought thither deportees from con-
quered lands.[30] The ostracon from Tel Jameh in the Shephelah indi-
cates a deportation probably from Iran to southern Palestine (see
also Ezra 4,8–10).[31] Therefore, it is quite logical to accept the bib-
lical remark about deportation to Madai as reliable information,
whether by Sargon II or even Sennacherib (see also Isa 11,11). A
legal document from Opis, east of the Tigris, of 565/4 BCE men-
tions *Šá-ni-ia-a-ma* (שעירו) the father of *A-a-ah-ha-*.[32] Mordecai from
Shushan was a "Jew", the "son of Jair . . . who had been carried
away from Jerusalem . . . with Jeconiah king of Judah . . ." (Esth
2,5–6). Among the returning exiles to Jerusalem (538 BCE) were "the
children of Elam" (Ezra 2,7), including Shechaniah the son of Jehiel
(Ezra 10,2) and people with names of Iranian type like Azgad, Zattu,
and Bigvai (Ezra 2); these probably were the descendants of those
who had been deported to Elam.[33] Nehemiah served at the royal
court of Artaxerxes I in Shushan (Neh 2,1). Names of Jews are men-
tioned in Aramaic texts from Persepolis from the time of Darius I
onward.[34]

We gather from the Assyrian records that many inhabitants were
deported from Babylonia to Assyria and to other conquered lands.
The Assyrians as well as the Babylonians deported peoples to Babylonia.
The information in 2 Kgs 17 that the Assyrians brought exiles from
Babylonia to the cities of Samaria (see also Ezra 4,2,10) buttresses
the possibility that already at the time of the Neo-Assyrian empire
Israelites/Judeans were deported to Babylonia. As for the Neo-
Babylonian empire, the only explicit extra biblical information con-
cerns the deportation of Jehoiachin to Babylonia (see below). In any
event, one can sift the Bible and various sources for important infor-
mation about the existence of an Israelite/Judean community in
Babylonia in the time of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, using
primarily the onomastic criterion. Berosus tells that Nebuchadnezzar
II deported peoples from various countries and ordered that dwelling

---

[30] Oded, *Mass Deportations*, Index and Appendix.
[31] N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, "Sargon II's deportations to Israel and Philistia",
JCS 40 (1988), pp. 36–46.
[32] Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic*, p. 305.
[33] Idem, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Haifa,
1979), pp. 41–43.
[34] E. Lipinski, "Western Semites in Persepolis", *Acta Antiqua* 25 (1977), pp. 101ff.
[35] S.M. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berosus* (*SANE* 1/5, Malibu, 1978), p. 27.

places be assigned to them in the most suitable parts of Babylonia.[35] According to Josephus (*Against Apion*, 1,18), Nebuchadnezzar II brought Judeans to the great cities of Babylonia and to rural areas. The name Tel-Aviv (Til Abūbi) where Ezekiel dwelt (Ez 3,15), indicates the policy of settling deportees in newly restored ruined places. Many inhabited places were devastated by the many wars between Assyria and Babylonia. Deportees, among them those from Israel and Judah, were settled there to restorate destroyed settlements and cultivate the deserted arable lands.[36] Not by chance, then, deportees were also present in Tel-Melah (salt) and Tel-Harsa (Ezra 2,59). Among the returning exiles were those who came from Cherub, Adan, Immer, Casiphia and probably a place near the Ahava river (Ezra 2,9; 8,15–17). The exact locations of these settlements are not known. Ps 137,1 mentions the rivers of Babylon/Babylonia (see below). Ezekiel refers to the river Chebar. Hence, Israelite/Judean exiles lived, *inter alia*, along rivers and canals (*nārātum*) in urban centers as well as rural areas.

Babylon

This was the capital of Babylonia which was granted, together with other important cities, privileges by the Assyrian and the Babylonian rulers. Records found in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II refer to *Ia-ku-ú-ki-nu/Ia-ʾ-(ú-)kin* (Jehoiachin) king of Judah and his five sons receiving rations from the palace treasury. The same records mention *Ga-di-ʾ-il*, *Ur-mil-ki*, *Qa-na-ʾ-a-ma*, *Šá-lam-ia-a-ma*, and *Sa-ma-ku-ia-a-ma*, all of them with the ethnic designation *Ia-a-hu-da-a-a/Ia-ú-da-a-a* (Judean).[37] Many deportees from various nations were apparently brought to Babylon to enlarge and strengthen the city (cf. Jer 51,58).[38] The broken name *Ia-ʾ-ú* (?)-[. . .] appears in a record from Babylonia from 537 BCE (CYR. 43).[39] A document from 511/0 BCE refers to *Nĕ-ri-ia-a-ma* the son of Bel-zera-ibni,[40] who is presumably the son of a Judean deportee. The same may be said of *Ia-hu-ú-iddina*, mentioned in a legal document from Babylon from 509/8 BCE.[41]

---

[36] J.A. Brinkman, *CAH* III/2, pp. 5–7.
[37] Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia*, pp. 38–39 and the bibliography there.
[38] Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berosus*, p. 27.
[39] Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic*, p. 305.
[40] Ibid., p. 306.
[41] Ibid.

Chebar, the river

"I was among the captives by the river of Chebar", said the prophet Ezekiel, who was deported together with the king Jehoiachin and "ten thousand captives" (Ez 1,1,3; 3,15,23; 10,15,20,23; 43,3; 2 Kgs 24,14). Nar Kabaru is known to be the name of canals in the vicinity of the cities Babylon, Borsipa and Nippur, so it is impossible to decide the exact city were the prophet dwelt.[42] A document from the fourth year of Xerxes (Ahasuerus) refers to a settlement called *Nār Ka-ba-ra* in the area of Bit Dakuri which lay between Babylon in the northwest and Nippur in the southeast.[43] Thus, Tel-Aviv, the dwelling place of Ezekiel, was located somewhere between Babylon and Nippur, probably nearer to Babylon.

Nippur

Today Nuffar, about 100 km southeast of Babylon; it was a major trade and administrative center. The city expanded during the Neo-Assyrian period because of the deportation policy, after a long period (till about 755 BCE) of being mostly deserted and used as dwelling place for Chaldean, Aramean, and Arabian tribes.[44] Sennacherib helped to restore and enlarge the city[45] partly by bringing in deportees. Nippur maintained special relations with the Assyrian empire. Ashurbanipal directly controlled the city by stationing an Assyrian garrison there even after he set Candalanu on the throne on Babylonia.[46] It is not accidental that the dates in the economic texts from Nippur are according to the regnal year of the Assyrian king and not of the Babylonian king. Nippur remained loyal to Assyria

---

[42] R. Borger, "Historische Texte in akkadischer Sprache", *AUAT* I/4, p. 413; R. Zadok, "Notes on Syro-Palestinian History, Toponomy and Anthroponomy", *UF* 28 (1996), p. 27; idem, *"Syro-Mesopotamian Notes"*, *Ana šadî Labnāni lū allik*, eds. H. Kühne et al. (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1997), p. 448.

[43] R. Zadok, "Historical and Ethno-linguistic Notes", *UF* 29 (1997), p. 810 (near Babylon).

[44] R.M. Adams, "Nippur under Assyrian Domination", *Oriental Institute Annual Report*. (Chicago, 1982); S.W. Cole, *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times c. 755–612*. (*SAA* IV Helsinki, 1996), pp. 6, 17.

[45] J.A. Brinkman, "Reflections on Geography of Babylonia", *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, ed. M. Liverani (Rome, 1995), pp. 22–23.

[46] G. Frame "The God Assur in Babylonia", *Assyria 1995*, eds. S. Parpola et al. (Helsinki, 1997), pp. 56, n. 9; S. Zawadzki, *The Fall of Assyria* (Poznán, 1988), pp. 58–59.

till 612 BCE and even acted against Nabupolossar, king of Babylonia. One of the reasons for this loyalty and the pro-Assyrian orientation is that in Nippur were many foreigners, as is evident from a letter to Ashurbanipal stating that "there are many foreign peoples (*lišānāte*) in Nippur under the protection of the king, my lord" (ABL 238 r. 6).[47] Naturally, many of these foreigners were deportees or their descendants. The continuing growth of the city in the Neo-Babylonian period was due to the deportations implemented by Nebuchadnezzar II. According to the Murashu archive near Nippur there was an inhabited place called Galūtu, meaning "exile".[48] A legal document issued in Nippur in 623 BCE mentions an Israelite/Judean named *Gir-re-e-ma* (נריהו).[49]

The investigations of R. Zadok relating to the Jews in Mesopotamia, especially in the light of the Murashu archive (455–403 BCE),[50] reveal that many foreign peoples of several ethnic origins were located in the rural periphery of Nippur. Israelites/Judeans were dispersed at about 30 villages and manors. There is no explicit information that captives from Palestine were brought to Babylonia by the Persians, so it is fairly certain that the Jews mentioned in the Murashu archive were descendants of deportees brought to Babylonia in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. The settlement Galūtu mentioned above was called thus by deportees brought there already by the Assyrians or by the Babylonians and who spoke a West-Semitic language.

Uruk

Like Nippur, Uruk (biblical אֶרֶךְ) was one of the last urban centers to remain loyal to Assyria, and like Nippur many foreigners dwelt there.[51] In a business document from the Chaldean (or Achamenean?)

---

[47] *CAD*, L, p. 214.

[48] I. Eph'al, "The Western Minorities in Babylonia the 6th–5th Centuries BC: Maintenance and Cohesion", *Orientalia* 47 (1978), p. 86.

[49] Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia*, p. 34, and p. 82 on three seal-impressions of Jews from Achaemenian Nippur.

[50] Ibid., idem, and bibliography there.

[51] R. Zadok, "Phoenicians, Philistines and Moabites in Mesopotamia", *BASOR* 230 (1978), p. 72; P.-A. Beaulieu, "The Fourth Year of Hostilities in the Land", *BaM* 28 (1997), p. 386.

period a reference is made to a piece of cultivated land belonged to
Ia-ú-[. . .].[52] *Ha-ta-a-ma* (תחיהו) is mentioned in a text (YOS, 6, 188)
from the Uruk area (542/1 BCE).[53]

Sippar

This is present-day Abu-haba, on the left bank of the Euphrates,
north-northwest of Babylon. Minorities dwelt in Sippar, the result of
the deportation policy.[54] *Mi-nu-eš-šú*, the son of *Ia-hu-ú-ra-am* (מנשה,
יהורם), is involved in two transactions, one in (BM 61246) 551/0
BCE and the other in 545/4 BCE (CT 56, 132).[55] The daughter of a
certain *Ia-še-ʾ-ia-a-ma* (ישעיהו) is referred to in a legal text from 531
BCE (Cyr. 307).[56] An agreement on the sale of a donkey (BM 74457)
from 523 BCE mentions *Ta-ga-bi-ia-a-ma* (שגביהו).[57] *Ga-mar-ia-a-ma* is
the father of a witness to a deal contracted in Sippar in 512 BCE.[58]

Borsippa

Today Birs-Nimrud on the Euphrates, south-southwest of Babylon.
A document from the end of the 6th century (VAS 5, 128) men-
tions a group of people designated as *Ia-a-hu-da-nu*, probably Judeans.[59]

Conclusion

The Israelite/Judean community was not concentrated in one place
but was dispersed in various places in Mesopotamia and other coun-
tries already before the Edict of Cyrus and in line with the depor-
tation system of the Assyrians empire and Babylonian. There is no
explicit evidence that the Babylonians deported them to territories
outside Mesopotamia. Many of the Israelite/Judean exiles were set-
tled on the rivers/canals of Babylonia. In the course of time some

---

[52] R. Zadok, "Some Jews In Babylonian Documents", *JQR* 47 (1984), p. 296.
[53] Zadok, *Prehellenistic*, p. 461.
[54] A.C.V.M. Bongenaar and B.J.J. Harding, "Egyptians in Neo-Babylonian Sippar",
JCS 46 (1994), pp. 59–72.
[55] M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in Neubabylonischer Zeit, AfO* Beiheft 25,
(1995), p. 141; Zadok, *Pre-hellenistic*, p. 305.
[56] E. Bickerman, *CHJ* I, pp. 349–350.
[57] R. Zadok, "Historical and Ethno-linguistic Notes", p. 810.
[58] Idem, *Pre-hellenistic*, p. 306.
[59] Idem, *The Jews in Babylonia*, pp. 44–45.

exiles quite probably moved from one place to another, from an urban center to the agricultural periphery, and vice versa, for economic and/or other reasons. They were organized according to families and place of origin (see Ezra 2). At the same time, the exiles lived beside the local inhabitants as a minority and among other minorities. The land of Hezekiah in Dur Katlimmu was adjacent to plots of persons who bore non-Hebrew names (see above). The written material at our disposal is only the result of a chance and sporadic finds, so it does not allow statistical calculations for the total number of exiles in Mesopotamia just prior to the Edict of Cyrus, with the numbers of those settled in cities and those in the rural settlements. Still, it is clear beyond any doubt that deportees from Israel and Judah were present in more settlements in Mesopotamia even before the Edict of Cyrus, but evidence of this has yet to be found.

JOHN THE BAPTIST, THE WILDERNESS AND THE SAMARITAN MISSION

JOSHUA SCHWARTZ

Bar-Ilan, Ramat Gan

Introduction

The study of John the Baptist has long had its blind spots. There were questions which were not asked and answers that were given too glibly. Many of these blind spots had to do with geography. To cite one example, the general willingness of scholars to accept the historicity of the fact that John baptized in the Jordan River, in spite of the numerous problems that baptism at such a site would have caused, has recently upset a number of scholars.[1] Another "given" was that most, if not all, of the "wilderness" or "desert"[2] traditions relating to John referred to the Judean Desert,[3] so a good

---

[1] See, for example, J. Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist and Jesus: History and Hypotheses", *NTS* 36 (1990), pp. 359–61. Why, asks Murphy-O'Connor, would John have chosen a location that was difficult for individuals, impossible for mass baptism, and possibly inaccessible during the winter (p. 359 n. 2)?

[2] The Greek reads *eremos* which is parallel to the Hebrew *midbar* and is usually better translated as "wilderness" than as desert, although desert is frequently also used. In a general sense *eremos* refers to an area that is usually "lonely, uncultivated, and uninhabited", and not necessarily a desert in the sense that it is deprived of water, though this is not impossible. In fact, *eremos* could also be translated at times as grazing land or steppe. The general literature on *eremos* or *midbar* is voluminous. For the purpose of studying the Baptist traditions see the classic articles of C.C. McCown, "The Scene of John's Ministry and Its Relation to the Purpose and Outcome of His Mission", *JBL* 59 (1940), pp. 113–31 and R. Funk, "The Wilderness", *JBL* 78 (1959), pp. 205–14.

[3] Surprisingly, the scholars who were of this view occasionally had different definitions for the extent of this desert. This, as we shall see, is the result of difficulties in the John the Baptist desert traditions. In general the Judean Desert can be defined as the arid territory which extends eastward from the Judean Mountains on the other side of the watershed. This identification is to a great extent based on the fact that Matt 3,1 specifically states that John preached in the Desert of Judea. As we shall see, though, Matthew may have chosen this desert because he was not aware that there were any others in the area. On scholars who connect John with the Judean Desert see, for instance, McCown. "The Scene", p. 114, C.H. Scobie, *John the Baptist* (London, 1964), pp. 41–43, and L.F. Badia, *The Qumran Baptism and John the Baptist's Baptism* (Lantham, 1980), pp. 5–6 and the literature cited there. Cf. C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels* (New York, 1963), pp. 96, 108.

deal of John's activity was to be located there. A corollary of this commonplace view was that John came into contact or perhaps was even associated with those groups on the fringes of Jewish society that made this desert their home such as the Essenes or Dead Sea Sect.[4]

However, the Judean Desert was not always the automatic favorite of scholars or travelers, and different deserts have been occasionally associated with some of the Baptist wilderness traditions, such as the "Desert of Saint John" at Ain el-Habis about three kilometers from En Karem or the "Desert of Saint John" at Ain el-Ma'moudiyeh, about nine kilometers to the west of Hebron.[5] There is absolutely nothing to recommend these identifications in terms of historical-geographic reality, but they do serve to remind us that perhaps the Judean Desert is not the only one that can serve as the venue of the Baptist desert-wilderness traditions. The purpose of our study is to try and show that many of the desert-wilderness traditions can be better understood if they are explained as relating to the "Desert of Samaria",[6] and perhaps some of the other geographic traditions,

---

[4] The connection between John and these groups has long interested scholars and they have examined similarities and differences from many perspectives. Theology and religious practice are beyond the purview of our discussion. What interests us is that often the location of the wilderness or desert in John is considered an important fact in making the Essene-Qumran-John connection, or in the words of Daniel R. Schwartz, John and Qumran "shared the same desert". See D.R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen, 1992), p. 3. Although it is true that they did share an interest in the desert (and indeed in Isa 40,3), apparently out of theological considerations, it need not have been the exact same desert. In any case, our interest is only in matters that pertain to the identification of the desert or deserts in which John was active. On the question in general, see J.E. Taylor, "John the Baptist and the Essenes", *JJS* 47 (1996), pp. 256–85 and the literature cited there. We also bypass the question of the relationship between the Essenes and the Dead Sea Sect at Qumran.

[5] These traditions relate to the youth of John, who lived "in the deserts" (*en tais eremois*) before he began to baptize publicly (Luke 1,80). On these two sites see D. Baldi and B. Bagatti, *Saint Jean-Baptiste dans les souvenirs de sa Patrie* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 35–37 and the literature cited there. En Karem is identified as the site of the Visitation as well as the supposed birthplace of John the Baptist. The veracity of these traditions is of no consequence for our discussion. See Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani Iudaea Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods, Maps and Gazetteer* (Jerusalem, 1994), p. 82, s.v. Beth Ha-Kerem II. The Ain el-Ma'moudiyeh tradition may have interpreted the "hill country of Judea" (Luke 1,39) in which John was born as Hebron.

[6] There has been some discussion whether this desert is really a "desert". See J. Schwartz and Y. Spanier, "Midbar Shomron ke-Miklat le-Mordim ha-Hashmonaim", *Cathedra*, 65 (1992), p. 9, n. 25 (Hebrew) and the literature cited there. The boundaries

particularly those relating to the baptismal activities of John, might also be better understood as taking place in Samaria or its eastern fringes.

A desert is a desert is a desert

The Judean Desert identification is so entrenched in the recon-struction of John's activities that it is first necessary to show that there is no reason at all to automatically accept this view.[7] It is also necessary to show that the common motifs and concepts identified with the desert and wilderness which have also been automatically attached to the Judean Desert need not be understood in this way. The verses and concepts can be just as well understood in terms of the Desert of Samaria. There may be the occasional problem in this thesis, but is also necessary to remember that there is a Samarian (and apparently indeed Samaritan) orientation to John's mission which makes the Samaritan Desert even more attractive as a venue for at least some of John's activities. We shall, of course, have more to say about this later.

The first wilderness tradition related to John, found in Luke 1,80 states that John lived "in the deserts" (*en tais eremois*) before he began to appear publicly. This could be any desert in the Land of Israel and, as we have just seen above, some early identifications were not too particular on the desert or wilderness aspect. These "deserts" simply cannot be identified; one is as good as another and they all fit with the motif that John was a person set apart from an early age or that he was constantly on the move.[8]

---

of the Desert of Samaria are the modern-day Alon Road in the west, the line of contact between the mountain range and Jordan Valley in the east, Nahal Yotav (Ujja) in the south, and Nahal Bezek in the north. Nahal Tirzah (Wadi Far'a) effectively divides this desert into northern and southern parts. On the southern part see Y. Spanier, *Mizrah ha-Shomron be-Tekufot ha-Helenistit, ha-Romit ve-ha-Bizantit*, unpublished MA thesis, Bar-Ilan University, 1992 (Hebrew). On the northern part see A. Zertal, *Seker Har Menashe: ha-Amakim ha-Mizrahiim ve-Sefar ha-Midbar* (Tel Aviv, 1996), pp. 513–95 (Hebrew).

[7] The automatic identification, though, is certainly better than the type of view espoused by D. Buzy, *The Life of S. John the Baptist*, adapted by John M.T. Barton (London, 1933), p. 57, that in view of what transpired in these deserts their actual location is of little consequence. No need to waste time on such mundane matters as geography.

[8] See n. 5 above. This did not stop scholars from making the automatic Judean

However, the major wilderness tradition, in at least one version, would seem at first glance to make our study superfluous. Matt 3,1–6 has John preaching in the "Desert of Judea". He quotes Isa 40,3 according to the reading of the Septuagint,[9] describes John's dress and food, and states that people went out to John "from Jerusalem and all Judea and the whole region of the Jordan" (v. 5). They were baptized by John in the Jordan River. The continuation of the account describes John's problems with the Pharisees and Sadducees who came there (v. 7–12) and finally the baptism of Jesus (vv. 13–17) who had come from the Galilee. If Matthew explicitly mentions the Desert of Judea, why investigate any further?

The reason is that the accounts in the other Gospels are different, and in particular they do not mention the "Desert of Judea".[10] In Mark 1,4 John preaches in an unidentified desert region, the Jordan region is missing regarding the source of John's audience, and John has no problems with the Pharisees or Sadducees in this account (Mark 1,2–12). Luke seemingly is the strangest of them all (Luke 3,2–22): the word of God came to John in the desert.[11] John then preaches "around the Jordan" (v. 3) with no mention of wilderness, although as in the other accounts Isa 40,3 is cited. We are not

---

Desert identification. See, for example, A. Plummer, *International Critical Commentary: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Luke* (Edinburgh, 1989), p. 44, who identifies this desert (or deserts) with the Judean Desert without giving any particular reason. He is hardly alone. See also n. 4 above. If he is already spending his youth in the Judean Desert, then why not spend it being adopted by the Essenes? Cf. A.S. Geyser, "The Youth of John the Baptist", *Nov Test* 1 (1956), pp. 70–75. On the "deserts" implying a peripatetic youth see Scobie, *John the Baptist*, p. 43.

[9] The LXX reads: "a voice of one calling in the desert, prepare the way for the Lord". The Hebrew should be understood as "a voice (of someone) calling, prepare the way of the Lord in the desert". This verse is also used in the Community Rule VIII, 13–16 and IX, 19–20 in the sense of the original Hebrew and not LXX. See Taylor, "John the Baptist", pp. 259–63 who uses this difference to further her case against any John the Baptist and Essene ties. On the difference between the Old Testament understanding and New Testament version see C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary* (London, 1969), pp. 37–38.

[10] The different versions have prompted some scholars to doubt the veracity of this tradition. See R.L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* (JSOTS 62; Sheffield, 1991), p. 170, and the literature cited there. Webb concludes that in the final analysis, the wilderness traditions there may be accepted as based on historically reliable data.

[11] Some have seen this as an allusion to Luke 1,80, or in other words that this is the same unidentified desert. See J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Anchor Bible: The Gospel According to Luke (I–IX)* (Garden City, 1981), p. 459. It is not surprising, though, that Fitzmyer identifies this desert with the Desert of Judea.

informed of where his audience came from, and he has a sharp
exchange with them. In the end Jesus also appeared and was bap-
tized. Luke makes no mention of baptizing in the Jordan River, as
opposed to the other two accounts which do (Matt 3,6; Mark 1,5,9).

The case for the Judean Desert in these traditions is not all that
good. Accepting a Markan priority, at least for these traditions, both
Luke and Matthew come to define the undefined wilderness of Mark.[12]
Luke does a better job than Matthew. Luke assumes that baptism
took place in the Jordan River and thus locates the activities of John
in the region of that river. For this reason he has no need to men-
tion expressly that the baptism actually took place in the Jordan
River; it was understood. Luke, who apparently also understood that
"wilderness" need not be desert in the classical sense, had no prob-
lem identifying the wilderness with the region around the Jordan.[13]
Matthew was apparently less well versed in matters of the desert.
He made the assumption that most others made after him: if it was
a desert, then it had to be the Judean one.[14]

The identification of the desert or wilderness related to John's bap-
tismal activities also tends to be connected to the Byzantine
identification of the traditional site where John baptized Jesus. Some
600 meters west of this spot in the Jordan, along the western bank
of the southern reaches of that river, and not far from where it flows
into the Dead Sea, a church of John the Baptist was built by the
Emperor Anastasius (491–518 CE). In the mid-6th century Justinian
built a cistern in the Monastery of St. John, and by the end of that
century there were two large hospices there.[15] However, as we have

---

[12] Webb, *Baptizer*, p. 169. The source criticism of the Gospels is far outside our
discussion and reference is made to it only in the few matters which may be rel-
evant for our purposes. On the issue in general, and vis-à-vis its relation to the
Baptist material in general, see Webb, *Baptizer*, pp. 47–91, and especially the liter-
ature cited on p. 47, n. 2.

[13] See McCown, "The Scene", pp. 113ff.; Funk, "The Wilderness", pp. 205ff.

[14] See, for instance, W.D. Davies and D.C. Allison, *International Critical Commentary:
The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 290. See also Matt 11,7–15.
Matthew was also capable of identifying the wilderness with the Jordan region.
Jesus, talking about John's period of baptism, said to the crowds: "But what did
you go out into the wilderness to see? A reed blown by the wind?" (v. 7). Here
the reference in Matthew to the "wilderness" clearly pertains to the Jordan region.
See also Luke 7, pp. 24–30.

[15] See the sources cited in Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 152, s.v. Iohannis Baptistae Ecclesia.
The site is identified with Qasr el-Yahud, map reference 201138. On the more
modern monastic churches at the Jordan River dedicated to John the Baptist see

just seen, nothing was built at the site before the 6th century CE
and the earliest literary reference to pilgrimage there is found in the
itinerary of Theodosius (530 CE).[16] The choice of the site probably
had more to do with the proliferation of church and monastic edifices
in this area in the 6th century than with the actual activities of
John.[17] In any case, and as we shall see regarding other John the
Baptist traditions, the Byzantine identifications do not always prove
the best indicators of the events of the 1st century CE relative to
John, although as we shall also see, they should not automatically
be dismissed out of hand.[18]

Once we have gotten rid of these Judean Desert prejudices, we
can return to the traditions above and see if they work also regard-
ing the Desert of Samaria. At this point we are not attempting to
prove that that desert was definitely the venue of the Baptist's activ-
ities, but only to show that the Desert of Samaria is just as possi-
ble as anything else. Later, after discussing John's Samaritan ministry,
the case for the Desert of Samaria should be much stronger and
compelling, and then we shall make our final plea for that desert as
the venue of a good deal of John's activities.

O. Meinardus, *Laurae and Monasteries of the Wilderness of Judea* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp.
46–48.

[16] Theodosius, De Situ Terrae Sanctae 20, *Itineraria et Alia Geographica, Corpus
Christianorum Series Latina* 175, ed. P. Geyer, (Turnhout, 1965), p. 121.

[17] Cf. O. Sion, "Nezirut Midbar ha-Yarden", *Qadmoniot*, 29 (1996), pp. 25–32
(Hebrew) and the bibliography cited there.

[18] The events described in the Gospel of John could at first glance appear some-
what more problematical for our attempts to localize the Baptist's activities in the
Desert of Samaria, although in this case John operates in the Peraea and not in
the Judean Desert. John 1,28 has John baptizing in "Bethany on the other side of
the Jordan". The next verse has John seeing Jesus coming to him. A full discus-
sion of all this is far beyond the scope of our study, but for our purposes it can
be pointed out that there is absolutely to reason to force an agreement between
the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John, which could just as well be pre-
serving a different or additional version of John's career. Moreover, it is also not
necessary to connect v. 29 and the baptism of Jesus with v. 28. In this case, John
could have baptized both in the Peraea as well as in other areas. In addition to
all this, it is also important to remember that no one in ancient times could ever
find this town of Bethany (which is obviously not the Bethany near Jerusalem and
identified with el-Azariye and *contra* the futile attempt of P. Parker, "Bethany Beyond
the Jordan", *JBL*, 74 (1955), pp. 257–261), and already Origen suggested chang-
ing the name to Bethabara. See Murphy-O'Connor, p. 260 n. 4, who claims that
the Fourth Evangelist may have invented the town; and see the much sharper com-
ments of N. Krieger, "Fiktive Orte der Johannestaufe", *ZNW* 45 (1954), pp. 121–23.
All in all, though, this does not oblige us to transfer any of the Synoptic traditions
mentioned above to the Peraea.

For our purposes at the moment, it is important to point out that John, according to most of the Synoptic tradition, came into contact with many people: lay, Pharisees, and Sadducees, some to be baptized and some to argue with him. They came from the area of the Jordan, from Jerusalem, and from Judea. Even assuming that there is some exaggeration in the descriptions and fewer really sought contact with him than what the Gospels imply, the question is where those masses would have come from and how they would have traveled to one active in the region all around the Jordan.

In fact, the center of Jewish settlement at that time was the rural area to the north of Jerusalem, including, in addition to the toparchy of Jerusalem itself, the toparchies of Gophna and Acraba, jutting far into Samaria, and the more distant western toparchies of Lod and Emmaus. To this could be added the toparchy of Jericho to the east.[19] If these people wanted to come into contact with a charismatic plowing the region of the Jordan, they probably would have taken one of the roads leading from northern Judea or southern Samaria (which could quite often be the same thing), whether the main one which passed by Gophna into the Desert of Samaria and from there to the Jordan Valley, or one of the other minor ones.[20] Conversely, if John was interested in establishing contact and not functioning as an anchorite, and apparently he was interested in such contact, then he would have chosen an area that would fulfill his desires and needs of wilderness, as well as bring him into contact with a potential audience; this is precisely the mountainous region of northern Judea and southern Samaria and the wilderness to the east.[21]

John's connection with this desert region, as opposed to the more southern Judean Desert, would have also meant that Jesus could

---

[19] See Z. Safrai, *Gevulot ve-Shilton be-Eretz Yisrael be-Tekufat ha-Mishnah ve-ha-Talmud* (Tel Aviv, 1980), pp. 73–80 (Hebrew).

[20] On these roads in general see Schwartz and Spanier, "Midbar Shomron", p. 15 n. 47 and the bibliography cited there. See also eidem, "On Mattathias and the Desert of Samaria", *RB*, 98 (1991), p. 265, n. 48.

[21] See C.H. Kraeling, *John the Baptist* (New York-London, 1951), p. 10. In spite of John's wilderness abode he permitted and indeed encouraged people to find him. See also P. Hollenbach, "Social Aspects of John the Baptizer's Preaching Mission in the Context of Palestinian Judaism", *ANRW* (eds.) H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin, 1979), p. 859, who claimed that John probably preached in populated areas. Hollenbach was bothered by this conclusion in light of the usual geographic identifications which we have mentioned above, but locating some of John's activities in the Desert of Samaria, right on the fringes of a relatively highly populated area, would dispel Hollenbach's unease.

have met him at a more northern point in the Jordan valley and this would have made his trip to John the Baptist shorter and more convenient.[22] In any case, Jesus himself, at least according to one Gospel tradition, was no stranger to the Desert of Samaria and he might have gone there later on when he was seeking refuge from the Pharisees and Sanhedrin because he knew it from earlier encounters with John the Baptist.[23] All of this is particularly important because it is never explicitly mentioned that Jesus spent any time in the Desert of Judea, except for the baptism tradition in the Gospel of Matthew mentioned above (3,1ff.), which, as we saw, is hardly accurate or compelling in terms of its geographical venue.

The Desert of Samaria can also fulfill the same theological and eschatological functions as the Desert of Judea, if this is important to the Gospel of John or to the authors of the Gospel traditions.[24] For example, if John is connected in any way with the prophet Elijah,[25] it is not surprising to find that the "sons of the prophets" associated with both Elijah and Elisha were active or were found

_____

[22] The "temptation" of Jesus in the wilderness immediately after his baptism (Matt 4,1–4; Mark 1,11–12), or in the wilderness and a "high place" (Luke 4,1–5), and associated in late Christian tradition with Jebel Quarantal near Jericho, is probably no more than the result of simply picking a "high place" near the traditional site of the baptism. See C. Kopp, *Die Heiligen Staetten der Evangelien* (Regensburg, 1964), pp. 147–50, note 61 and the bibliography cited there. The identification with Quarantal does not appear before the 12th century. Even then, this may have been the result of the automatic placing of the desert traditions in the Judean wilderness. In any case, if Jesus met John farther up the Jordan Valley, the "high place" might just as easily have been Alexandrion or Sartaba (Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 60), if it is really necessary to find one. Thus Bethabara mentioned above (n. 18) (or perhaps even Bethany) should be located in the area of Jisr Damiya, site of a Roman bridge over the Jordan (Tsafrir, *Tabula*, 158). This might also explain why neither Origen, nor anybody else for that matter, could ever find these sites on either side of the Jordan at the more traditional site of the baptism of Jesus to the south.
[23] See John 11,54. Jesus withdrew to "a region near the desert (*eis ten xoran engus tes eremon*) to a village called Ephraim". This village is Apharaema (et-Tayyibe map reference 178151) and was the headquarters of a toparchy in southern Samaria added to Judea in 145 BCE (Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 64). The desert is clearly the Desert of Samaria.
[24] See, for instance, W.D. Davies, *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism* (Minneapolis, 1991), p. 42; idem, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Sheffield, 1994), p. 84. In general, we do not deny the significance of these and similar factors relevant to the wilderness, just that they do not necessarily vitiate the more mundane aspects of geography.
[25] Mark 9,11–13 (= Matt 17,10–13) has Jesus identifying John with Elijah, but in John 1,21 John himself denies any such identification. See Webb, "John the Baptist", p. 212, note 116 and the literature cited there. On the connection with the Peraea, see Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist".

both in the area of Bethel and along the banks of the Jordan, in addition to the Jericho region, which certainly brought them into the Desert of Samaria.[26] If alienation was what drew John to the wilderness, he certainly could have been alienated in the Desert of Samaria, as in any other desert, and if it were zealot tendencies that sent John to the desert, the Desert of Samaria, apparently connected with some of the earlier episodes of the Hasmonean revolt, could equally have served the purpose.[27] These episodes could also provide the messianic background.[28]

We have seen that the John the Baptist wilderness traditions discussed up to this point need not be identified with the Judean Desert, and that a logical case might be made for associating them with the Desert of Samaria. Clearly though, we have not gone beyond presenting the possible. An additional John the Baptist tradition, which will hopefully connect the Baptist to Samaria, should reinforce our case.

Aenon near Salem

According to the Gospel of John (3,23), John also baptized at "Aenon near Salem because there was plenty of water". The large amount of water was necessary because, as was the case in the other baptismal traditions examined above, John's baptismal activities here also seemed to have attracted many people. However, unlike the traditions mentioned above, the Gospel of John mentions two sites. These have elicited much interest, as well as many attempts at identification, beginning with the one from the Byzantine period that sought the baptismal site in the Jordan Valley. Modern-day scholars have either continued to accept this identification or have sought the sites in Samaria, for reasons that I shall describe below.[29] One thing is clear

---

[26] See B. Uffenheimer, *Ha-Nevuah ha-Qedumah be-Yisrael* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 275 (Hebrew). The connection to the Desert of Samaria region is even more pronounced if Gilgal mentioned in this connection is to be identified with Jiljilye (map reference 171159) or its environs.

[27] Hollenbach, "Social Aspects", p. 855. On the Hasmonean connections see Schwartz and Spanier, "Midbar Shomron", and eidem, "On Mattathias and the Desert of Samaria", pp. 252–71.

[28] See Scobie, *John the Baptist*, p. 45.

[29] A convenient summary can be found in Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist". We shall presently examine the matter in more detail. See also M.E. Boismard, "Aenon près de Salem (Jean, iii, 23)", *RB* 80 (1973), pp. 218–29.

though, namely that this baptism did not take place in Judea where
Jesus and his disciples were supposed to be baptizing at the same
time. The identification of this baptismal site is of great importance
for the understanding of John's activities in general and for those
relating to the Desert of Samaria in particular, so we now turn our
attention to this matter.

At first glance, the Byzantine tradition would seem to be quite
strong. Eusebius, Egeria, the Madaba Map, etc., all seem to locate
Aenon, the spring in which John baptized, in the general area of
Kh. Khisas ed-Deir (map reference 200199) and Salem at Tell er-
Radgha (map reference 199200), eight miles or so south of Scythopolis.[30]
This identification would also seem to provide a convenient north-
ern boundary for the activities of John in the Jordan Valley, regard-
less of where the Synoptic baptismal traditions discussed above were
located.

However, a number of problems surround the Byzantine iden-
tification. First, if crowds arrived to be baptized, why did John use
a spring when the Jordan was nearby? And if perhaps this particu-
lar stretch of the Jordan was not convenient, would it not have been
more logical to find another rather than to rely on such a spring?
Moreover, was the Byzantine Aenon not too close to the pagan city
of Scythopolis?[31] Also, the Salem in the Jordan Valley was appar-
ently not much of a settlement while the Gospel of John seems to
imply that it was a well known site.[32]

The fact is, though, that the Byzantine period identification itself
is not all that clear or certain. For instance, when Egeria, the late
4th-century CE pilgrim, visits Salem the stress is on Melchizedek (Gen
14,18–20) and the local monks do not volunteer any information
regarding John. Only when Egeria makes the connection herself do
the monks guide her to the nearby garden and spring. The garden
may be named after John, but the local church was named after

---

[30] Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 58, s.v. Aenon and p. 219, s.v. Salem III, Salumias. There
are minor deviations in the identifications, with Avi-Yonah preferring the area of
Umm el-Umdan (map reference 201201) for Aenon and Tell Abu Sus for Salem
(map reference 202197). See M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine: Qedem, 5*
(Jerusalem, 1976), p. 26, s.v. Aenon I and p. 92, s.v. Salem. Salem was shown to
pilgrims as the city of Melchizedek.
[31] W.F. Albright, "Observations Favoring the Palestinian Origin of the Gospel of
John", *HTR* 17 (1924), pp. 193–94.
[32] Scobie, *John the Baptist*, p. 163.

Melchizedek and the emphasis in the area was definitely on him and not John.[33] This may explain way the Madaba Map actually had two entries and identifications for Aenon: one in the area we are now discussing and the other in the Peraea, opposite the traditional spot of the baptism farther south. It is as if the Madaba Map could not make up its mind, and therefore was taking no chances.[34]

For these reasons, and a few others, there were scholars who preferred to look for both sites in Samaria.[35] Salem was never much of a problem and was identified with Salim (map reference 181179) in eastern Samaria, 4.5 kilometers east of Tel Balata.[36] The identification of Aenon, however, was more difficult. The name is certainly preserved in Khirbet Eynun (or Ainun) (map reference 18751898), but from the very beginning there were problems of identifying it with the Aenon of John.[37] The major problem was that there was no spring there and the nearest water source was Ain Farah, some five kilometers away. Also, Khirbet Eynun, in spite of being only twelve kilometers away from Salim, is separated from it by Jebel Tammun and Jebel el-Kabir. This led such scholars as Murphy-O'Connor, who in spite of these problems sought to retain the Samaritan mission, to give up on the Khirbet Eynun area altogether and to seek springs in the Salim region along the eastern slopes of Mt. Gerizim.[38]

However, there is no reason that the name and area of Aenon should be ignored altogether and another likely candidate would be the spring at Ain el-Biddan, located about three kilometers to the south of Ain Farah and situated along the road from Schechem to Tel Farah.[39] This would be an ideal site for mass baptism. It is easily

---

[33] Itinerarium Egeriae XIII, 4–XV, 6, E. Franceschini and R. Weber (eds.), in *Itineraria et alii geographica*, pp. 54–56.

[34] See H. Donner, *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide* (Kampen, 1992), p. 37, #2 s.v. Ainon near Salem and p. 38, #5 s.v. Ainon where now is Sapsaphas.

[35] See Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist", pp. 362ff. Boismard, "Aenon", pp. 218ff.

[36] Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 219, s.v. Salem II.

[37] See Zertal, *Seker*, Har Menashe, p. 211, #58. See also the bibliography cited there. See also p. 104 for Zertal's discussion on this and other identifications relative to the site.

[38] See Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist", pp. 364ff.

[39] Tsafrir, *Tabula*, p. 73, s.v. Baddan. The site is located at Khirbet Ferweh (map reference 180185). The site was also famous for its pomegranates and is mentioned in Rabbinic literature. See Tsafrir *ad loc.* See also Zertal, *Seker*, Har Menashe, p. 389, #156.

accessible both to those actually seeking out the Baptist and for those simply passing by. There is also a good deal of water there. Of course, there still remains the problem of the name, but it seems that too much stress is being placed on the level of geographic precision and accuracy demanded of the Gospel of John here, particularly when we remember that ultimately Aenon is derived from the Hebrew *ayin* for spring and could really refer to any spring in that area.[40]

The Samaritan mission

The preference of many scholars for a Samarian identification of Aenon and Salem is the result of their understanding of a verse in the Gospel of John (4,38) in relation to the mission of Jesus and his students in Samaria, and ultimately to the mission of John the Baptist. Jesus tells his students: "I sent you to reap what you have not worked for. Others have done the hard work, and you have reaped the benefits of their labor". Since they are in Samaria, it is generally assumed that the "others" are John the Baptist, and perhaps some of his students, so John's work would have been in places like Aenon, wherever in Samaria it was located.[41]

Apparently, at some point after Jesus was baptized it was decided that the work should be split up. Jesus took Judea, and John, being more experienced in the work of baptism, took the more difficult and dangerous Samaria.[42] In addition to the matter of experience, if John had already done a good deal of his work in the Desert of Samaria, as we suggested above, then it would have made sense that he should be the one to go westward to Samaria proper. After all, if he needed to escape, for whatever reasons, he already knew his way around the Desert of Samaria and could find refuge.

The Samaritan mission of John also explains a number of strange developments in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. For example, the 3rd-century CE Pseudo-Clementines mention a peculiar legend about a contest between Dositheus, founder of the Dositheans, and Simon Magus, a famous magician of Samaria (Acts 8,9ff.), held

---

[40] See Zertal, *Seker*, Har Menashe, p. 104. It has also been suggested that Khirbet Eynun should possibly be identified with biblical Thebes (generally thought to be Tubas). This might account for some of the confusion of the Gospel of John.

[41] See, for instance, Scobie, *John the Baptist*, pp. 173ff.

[42] Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist", pp. 362–66.

after the death of John the Baptist, who had taught them in Samaria together with 28 other students. The historical foundations of all this are a little shaky, but it clearly attempts to connect John the Baptist to Samaria and it is unlikely that John 4,38 would have been enough to start this legend.[43] These traditions took it for granted that John the Baptist had been in Samaria.

Likewise, there are a number of Byzantine traditions which connect John to Samaria, or in particular, have him buried in Sebaste. Julian the Apostate (361–363 CE), for instance, expressed approval that the pagans of Sebaste desecrated the tomb of John the Baptist (as well as those of Elisha and Obadiah) there.[44] Paula, in describing to Eustochium her tour of the Holy Land, mentions that she saw the tomb of John the Baptist in Sebaste, indicating that it had been rebuilt since the time of Julian and that others continued to visit it.[45] Since Byzantine tradition seems to have John buried there, it is not surprising that it was occasionally forgotten that he was executed in Machaerus in the Peraea and, therefore, it is not surprising either that his execution could also be transferred to Sebaste.[46] Also, a church of St. John the Baptist was built there and visited by pilgrims.[47]

It might be argued that these Byzantine traditions are of no consequence since we have not hesitated to discount other Byzantine traditions, in particular regarding the location of some of the baptismal activities of the Baptist. But an essential difference exists between those traditions and the ones we have just mentioned. The baptismal traditions refer to explicit verses in the Gospels and the relative Byzantine traditions can be considered attempts at identification. The Samaritan ones, including the Pseudo-Clementines, are not based on such verses. Rather, they seem to reflect an undercurrent of tra-

---

[43] See S.J. Isser, *The Dositheans: A Samaritan Sect in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 23–25 and J. Fossum, "Samaritan Sects and Movements", *The Samaritans*, ed. A. Crown, (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 376–77.

[44] Philostorgius, Hist. Eccles. VII.4, *Kirchengeschichte; Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 21* ed. J. Bidez, (Leipzig, 1913), p. 80.

[45] Hieron., *Epistula* CVIII 13, Hieronymus; *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 55* ed. I. Hilberg, (Vindobona, 1991), p. 323. For further references see J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 169.

[46] Theodosius, De Situ Terrae Sanctae 2, in Geyer, *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, p. 115. On his execution see Josephus, *Ant.* 18. 116–19.

[47] A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* (Bonn, 1970), pp. 157–58, #158; Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*, p. 169.

dition and understanding tying John the Baptist to Samaria. John 4,38 can be part of this process, but this hardly seems to be enough to explain the strong Samarian and Samaritan connection. However, if the desert or wilderness traditions are connected to the Desert of Samaria, as we have claimed throughout our entire study, the Samarian and Samaritan infrastructure of the Baptist's mission in that region becomes that much stronger, explaining the later traditions tying the Baptist to Samaria. Otherwise, it is almost impossible to explain the Byzantine fascination with the Baptist in Samaria.

Summary

Everyone agrees that John the Baptist spent a good deal of time in the desert or wilderness preaching and baptizing. It was usually taken for granted that this desert or wilderness was the Desert of Judea, but as we have seen, this need not have been the case. Most of the sources are better understood as referring to the Desert of Samaria. This re-evaluation of the "desert traditions" also makes the Samaritan mission of John and the Byzantine traditions relating to John in Samaria much more comprehensible. John's mission in the western part of the Land of Israel was Samarian-oriented and his desert was that of Samaria.

This page intentionally left blank

BIBLICAL HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

This page intentionally left blank

BOCHIM, BETHEL, AND THE HIDDEN POLEMIC
(JUDG 2,1-5)

Yairah Amit

Tel Aviv

I. *The Problem*

Bochim is called such, because it was there that the Israelites wept after they heard the words of the angel of God.[1] It is stated at the end of the passage: "When the angel of the Lord spoke these words to all the people of Israel, the people lifted up their voices and wept. And they called the name of that place Bochim; and they sacrificed there to the Lord" (vv. 4–5). However, Bochim, which is already mentioned by name at the beginning of the story (v. 1), apparently before this name was even given to it,[2] is not mentioned even one additional time in the entire Bible. The question thus arises as to whether the place called Bochim or, in its definitive form, ha-Bokhim, is one that was well-known by some another name, Bochim being an additional term alluding to it, or whether it was a locale in its own right which, for some reason, ceased to fulfill a significant function in the life of the people, so it was not mentioned in the traditions representing later periods.

Among modern commentators, some associate Bochim with Bethel in terms of geographical proximity, seeing it as an adjacent place,

---

[1] The angel is a messenger; cf. Judg 6,35. An angel of God may be a heavenly creature (Judg 6,11–24) or a human being, a prophet, as in Hag 1,13. Our passage is generally interpreted as referring to a human messenger. According to the Sages, this angel was Phinehas (*Lev. Rab.* 1,1). *Targ. Jon.* reads it as speaking of a prophet: וסליק נבייא בשליחות מן קדם דה. Ralbag emphasizes: "and this angel was a prophet, for it is not possible that an angel of God would speak to many people together in this manner". But there are others who think that the phrase "an angel of God" in Judges refers to a divine being. See G.F. Moore, *Judges* (ICC; Edinburgh, 1895), p. 57; R.G. Boling, *Judges* (AB; Garden City, 1975), pp. 61–62.

[2] The traditional commentators do not find difficulty with this issue. Some ignore it (e.g., Rashi, Radak, R. Joseph Kara, R. Isa di Trani), while others resolve it simply: "That is to say, to the place which they thereafter called Bochim, because of the weeping that the Israelites did there" (Ralbag); or, in the words of R. Joseph ibn Kaspi: "for its end".

while others claim that Bochim and Bethel are one and the same. Burney, who is convinced that Bochim and Bethel are interchangeable, comments on two phenomena: first, it is unusual for a name, given in wake of a specific event, to appear before that event is related; second, that the Septuagint, which presents the name Bethel in a kind of double reading, "to Bochim and to Bethel and to the House of Israel", suggests a connection between the two.[3] In his view, this story thus preserves a tradition from the period of settlement, according to which, after Bethel was conquered by the house of Joseph (according to Judg 1,22ff.: "The House of Joseph also went up against Bethel; and the Lord was with them"), the ark of the covenant was moved from Gilgal to Bethel,[4] which served as its resting place until it was brought to Shiloh (1 Sam 3,3). Kaufmann, by contrast, is certain that the two are not to be identified, and that Bochim was a place of assembly near Bethel.[5]

In my opinion, the application of the technique of hidden polemic[6] to the story of Bochim (Judg 2,1–5) can assist us in deciding whether Bochim and Bethel are one and the same or are two proximate locations. Moreover, treating the story as a hidden polemic will also solve the problem of why the author refrained from mentioning Bethel by name.

---

[3] C.F. Burney, *The book of Judges* (New York, 1970), pp. 35–40.

[4] He also learns of the ark's stay in Bethel from Judg 20,27 and from 20,18; 21,2.

[5] See Y. Kaufmann, *The book of Judges* (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 92–94 (Hebrew). To this end he even raises the possibility that the original reading of the LXX was: "to Bochim near Bethel" (ibid., p. 92). Y. Elitzur (*The book of Judges* [*Da'at Miqra*; Jerusalem, 1976], pp. 24–26, Hebrew) accepts this identification: "a place in the hills in the environs of Bethel. And it may be that this gathering was one for which they assembled on the occasion of mourning or some trouble that befell Israel during the period following the battle of Barak. And the prophet went up to chastise them there, that perhaps they would accept his rebuke at a time of trouble" (p. 24). As Kaufmann is certain that the story is not a cultic legend fixing Bethel as a center, he goes so far as to emphasize that the Gilgal mentioned in the verse is the Gilgal adjacent to Bethel, mentioned in 2 Kgs 2,1–2, and not Gilgal on the fords of Jericho, which was sanctified in the tradition of the people (see Josh 4,19–24; 5,9–10).

[6] I have dealt with the issue of hidden polemic in several studies: Y. Amit, "Hidden Polemic in the Conquest of Dan: Judges XVII–XVIII", *VT* 60 (1990), pp. 4–20; idem, "Literature in the Service of Politics: Studies in Judges 19–21", *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature*, eds. H.G. Reventlow, Y. Hoffman and B. Uffenheimer (JSOTS 171; Sheffield, 1994), pp. 28–40; idem, "Implicit Redaction and Latent Polemic in the Story of the Rape of Dinah", *Texts, Temples and Traditions*, eds. M.V. Fox, V.A. Hurowitz, A. Hurvitz, M.L. Klein, B.Y. Schwartz, and N. Shupak (Winona Lake, 1996), pp. 11*–28*; and elsewhere.

II. The Placing and Its Significance

Placing the story at the end of a list of failures to take possession of the land lends it the status of a summary.[7] The assembly at Bochim is portrayed as the result and conclusion of the events that preceded it, in which the northern tribes (Benjamin, the House of Joseph [Manasseh and Ephraim], Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan) were responsible for most of the failures to take possession listed there.[8] According to this summary, God decided to turn these shortcomings into a permanent reality. The covenant made between God and His people at the Exodus from Egypt committed both sides: God was obligated to maintain His covenant with them forever, while they for their part were required not to make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land. As the people failed to honor its commitments, as follows from their failures to take possession of portions of the land, God also reneged of His promise, and decided not to expel the remaining nations. They and their gods would in the future be a stumbling block to the Israelites; that is: both a factor that would undermine the people by the worship of other gods, and a political threat.[9]

Thus, the ongoing presence of the Canaanites in the land is perceived here as a kind of punishment for Israel's violating the covenant and for their refusal to obey God.[10] The uniqueness of this admonition is that, by virtue of its inclusion here, it points an accusing finger at the northern tribes, and not against Judah. This conclusion is not contradicted by the inclusive use of the term "to all the

---

[7] For a more extensive discussion of the location of this literary unit and its connective function in the introductory units, see my book *The book of Judges: The Art of Editing* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 141–152.

[8] Judg 1,19, which attributes shortcomings in taking possession to the tribe of Judah, is an exception, primarily because this is the only case of non-inheritance by Judah (ibid., vv. 1–20). Likewise, only there does the author mention a reason for the failure to inherit. The description of the failure to inherit the land by the northern tribes (vv. 21–36) lacks any explanation or attempt at justification. Compare Judg 1,27–29 with the explanation that appears in Josh 17,16,18. It would therefore seem that the list of the conquests by Judah is accompanied by an apologetic tone.

[9] Rebuke connected with taking possession also appears in Ex 34,10–13; Num 33,50–56; and Josh 23.

[10] Regarding other solutions for the existence of Canaanites, see further on, in Judg 2,10–3,4. For an analysis of the solutions and their relation to our passage, see Amit, *The book of Judges*, pp. 152–157.

people of Israel" (v. 4). Rather, it must be interpreted in the lim-
ited sense of referring to those who were present at the assembly at
Bochim,[11] which was in any event a location in the territory of north-
ern Israel. In other words, the address "to all the people of Israel"
only refers to those present at Bochim, who—by necessity—are
included among the tribes responsible for the non-inheritance: namely,
the northern tribes.

III. *The Assumption of Hidden Polemic*

Further examination of this story, which due to its context assumed
the double function of summary and accusation, reveals that it is
fashioned as a hidden polemic, namely a story that conveys a con-
troversial subject which there was an interest to conceal or disguise.
It is the nature of hidden polemic to provide the reader with hints
or signs whereby he feels that what is narrated is only the outer
layer, and that something more is hidden beneath the surface. The
reader feels that the extant text reflects a double effort: first, to con-
ceal the subject of the polemic and not to mention it explicitly; sec-
ond, to leave traces within the text alluding to the subject of the
polemic, making it possible to uncover it with a little effort.

It seems to me that the subject concealed in this story is the
identification of the place of the assembly, Bochim, with the temple
city, Bethel, which is a cause of polemic in biblical literature. Bethel,
as is known, was a sacred place, with which were associated both
positive and negative memories.[12] It served as background for the
dream of Jacob and the hope for the house of God in which, fol-
lowing the maxim "the deeds of the fathers are a sign for the chil-
dren", the people of Israel shall in the future serve its God.[13] Parallel

---

[11] Similarly, in the account of the battle of Michmash, after Jonathan tasted of
the honey combs, it is written that: "Then he said to all Israel, 'You shall be on
one side, and I and Jonathan my son will be on the other side'" (1 Sam 14,40).
There is no doubt that Saul did not address all of Israel here, but only the army
that was with him in that place. On various scopes of the use of the name Israel,
see Amit, *The book of Judges*, pp. 69–72; and recently in my article, "The 'Men of
Israel' and Gideon's Refusal to Reign", *Shnaton* 11 (1997), pp. 25–31, (Hebrew).

[12] For an elaboration on Bethel being a cause of polemic, see Amit, "Hidden
Polemic", pp. 4–20.

[13] Already Abram set up an altar near Bethel. Cf. Ramban's remarks in his com-
mentary to Gen 12,6:

Let me tell you a rule that you shall understand in all the following passages
concerning the matter of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; and it is a great mat-

to this, it may serve as a symbol for the sin of Jeroboam I, who set up the northern kingdom of Israel, and evidently also decided that Bethel, together with Dan, would serve as a royal sanctuary centered around the figure of a calf (1 Kgs 12,28–13,34).[14] Hence, there is in my opinion room for the argument that the ambivalence aroused in Judah by Bethel, and the disagreements relating to it, transformed it into a subject of polemic.[15]

Let us now trace how the author guides us to the existence of a polemic, providing us with tools for identifying it.

Discovering the Polemic

Immediately upon beginning to read the story the reader's eye is caught by the strangeness involved in the appearance of a proper name with a definite article: ha-Bokhim (literally, "the weepers" or "the Bochim"). As one is speaking of a place that is unknown to the reader, he may wonder whether the term refers to a group of people who wept (definite participle), or whether it refers to a place name, as implied by the context, namely, "from place X to place Y". While it is unusual for place names to be given with the definite article (*ha-Gilgal, ha-Bokhim*) there are other examples of this, so that the latter possibility is not rejected out of hand.[16] By the end of the story, which contains a pun on the name, the reader has no doubt

---

ter, which our Rabbis mentioned in a brief form, saying (*Tanhuma, Lekh Lekha*, 9): Whatever happened to the fathers was a sign for the children. Therefore Scripture elaborates upon telling of the travels and the digging of the wells, and the other matters. For one might think that these things are superfluous and of no value. But all of them come to teach of the future, for when the thing comes to the prophet from the three patriarchs, he will reflect upon it that thing destined to occur to his seed...

[14] On the definition of Bethel as the royal temple, see Amos 7,13.

[15] From the historical perspective, I refer to moods that were felt in Judah from the reform of Hezekiah. However, some disagree that there was a reform in the time of Hezekiah. See N. Na'aman, "The Debated Historicity of Hezekiah's Reform in Light of Historical and Archeological Research", *ZAW* 107 (1995), pp. 179–195. But it seems to me that there was in fact a reform relating to purification from concrete objects that represented the Godhead. This began in the Israelite kingdom, as we may infer from Hosea's prophecy (Hos 4,17; 8,4–7; 10,5; 13,2; 14,9), and continued in Judah (see 2 Kgs 18,4), and by the nature of things served as a basis for the condemnation of the temple with the calf in Bethel.

[16] Compare: *ha-'Ai, ha-Ramah, ha-Give'ah, ha-Mizpah, ha-Gile'ad, ha-Gilbo'a*, etc. (all with the definite article in Hebrew). Moreover, it is always possible to propose that a proper name with a definite article influences what follows, and that "*ha-Gilgal*" drew the definite article of place that followed.

that it concerns a place and not a group of people. At this stage
the question is, if the place mentioned is a known one that has
merely been given a new name, why is the original name of the
town not mentioned? Alternatively, why is the name to be expounded
already mentioned at the outset? It is generally accepted that in eti-
ological stories, explaining the name of a place, the name thereby
expounded appears at the end, following the occurrence at the place
that provides the materials for the pun on the name.[17] Yet in this
story the previous name of the place is not mentioned at all, while
the name that is the result of the event already appears at its begin-
ning. By way of illustration, let me mention the description of the
flight of Lot from Sodom to Zoar (Gen 19,20–23). The author ini-
tially refrains from noting the city by name, which is only mentioned
as an anonymous city, notwithstanding that it is clearly an existing
place. Lot's words seemingly provide the new name: "Behold, yon-
der city is near enough to flee to, and it is a little one (*miz'ar*). Let
me escape there—is it not a little one?—and my life will be saved!"
(v. 20). In God's words too the name of the city is not yet men-
tioned: "that I will not overthrow the city of which you have spo-
ken" (v. 21). Further on, Lot gives its name: "Therefore the name
of the city was called Zoar" (v. 22), while at the end of the descrip-
tion it is referred to by its new name (with the addition of a loca-
tive termination which expresses direction: *zo'arah* = to Zoar) as if
that had been its name from time immemorial: "the sun had risen
on the earth when Lot came to Zoar" (v. 23).

In the story of Jacob's dream (Gen 28,10–22) the narrator does
not give a midrashic name interpretation, citing instead Jacob's words
of astonishment that provide the material for the name midrash:
"This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of
heaven" (v. 17). Further on, he integrates the new name alongside
the original one: "He called the name of that place Bethel; but the
name of the city was Luz at the first" (v. 19). In this case, the nar-
rator could have cited the original name of the place at the beginning.
Instead, he prefers an anonymous formulation in which the word
"place" is repeated three times, to indicate to the reader that he is
not dealing here with any old place, but with one of deep significance:

---

[17] On the name midrashim see M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of
Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat Gan, 1991), and the bibliography there.

"And he came to a certain *place*, and stayed there that night, because the sun had set. Taking one of the stones of the *place*, he put it under his head and lay down in that *place* to sleep" (v. 11).

These two examples, and many others that I have not mentioned, indicate the usual practice of midrashic names in biblical narration.

Hence, I would not be mistaken were I to say that the textual situation of our story suggests the author's wish to refrain from citing the original or other name of the place. The discovery of this feature is likely to arouse the reader's attention, directing him to the possibility that the story contains a polemic against the place of the event. This is not an underground, marginal, or forsaken place, but one where the community of Israel gathered together and heard a rebuke, which in the future will dictate its destiny. It would therefore appear that the non-mention of the place's name is not by chance, but is connected with the technique of hidden polemic, whose first manifestation is in the reader's wonder, in this case focused on the unfamiliar name of the place of assembly.

Signs

To confirm his suspicion of a hidden polemic, the reader needs to discover signs directing him toward the subject of the polemic. There are a number of signs in this story pointing towards Bethel.

Weeping in Bethel
Bethel is associated with events of weeping. In the incident of the concubine in Gibeah, Bethel is twice explicitly mentioned as a place of weeping and of sacrifice. The first time, it is related that before going out to war the people of Israel inquired of the Lord, and because of their failure they came to Bethel and wept there: "Then all the people of Israel, the whole army, went to and came to Bethel and wept; they sat there before the Lord, and fasted that day until evening, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Lord" (Judg 20,26).[18] Before the battle of Jabesh-gilead the people also came to Bethel, "and they lifted up their voices and wept bitterly . . . and they built there an altar, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings" (21,2–4). Bethel is also associated with weeping

---

[18] See also v. 23, in which Bethel is not mentioned explicitly, albeit it is clear from the context that it was the site of the weeping.

by "Alon-bachuth" (literally, the "oak of weeping"), which was the
burial place of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, "below Bethel" (Gen 35,8).
It seems that Bethel remained in the national tradition or collective
memory as a place that elicited associations of weeping. The con-
trary is also true: a place where they wept, and whose name is not
mentioned, is likely to be reminiscent of Bethel and to allude to it.

Gilgal and Bethel
The connection between Gilgal, whence the angel came up, and
Bethel, appears elsewhere: "Come to Bethel, and transgress; to Gilgal,
and multiply transgression" (Amos 4,4); "But do not seek Bethel, and
do not enter into Gilgal, or cross over to Beer-sheba; for Gilgal shall
surely go into exile, and Bethel shall come to nought" (ibid. 5,5);
and also "Enter not into Gilgal, nor go up to Beth-aven [= Bethel],[19]
and swear not, 'As the Lord lives'" (Hos 4,15). It would therefore
seem that the arrival of the angel of the Lord from Gilgal, known
as a sanctified cultic site, to Bochim, which served as a place of
assembly for the people, also alludes to a known cultic center, evi-
dently Bethel.

Bethel as a Place of Rebuke
In prophetic literature, Bethel enjoys the status of a place of rebuke.
The background for Amos's rebuke of northern Israel and its king
is Bethel (Amos 7,10–17). Bethel is likewise the place where the man
of God arrived from Judah to proclaim the word of the Lord against
Jeroboam and concerning the future of the place of the altar (1 Kgs
13). Bethel symbolizes the separation from the temple in Jerusalem,
so that its removal from being a cultic site is a substantive element
in the Josianic reform (2 Kgs 23,15–20). The prophecy of the man
of God in Bethel therefore serves as a cycle of prophetic rebuke in
the Deuteronomistic reworking of the book of Kings.[20]

I have so far noted signs that confirm and strengthen the assump-
tion that Bochim and Bethel are identical. However, in accord with

---

[19] Amos preferred to refer to the city by the contemptuous name that was attached
to it. Cf. Jer 4,15, "For a voice declares from Dan, and proclaims evil from Mount
Ephraim". For elaboration of this subject, see Amit, "Hidden Polemic", pp. 4–20.
[20] See A. Rofé, *The Prophetical Stories: The Narratives about the Prophets in the Hebrew
Bible, Their Literary Types and History* (Jerusalem, 1986), p. 88 (Hebrew).

the technique of hidden polemic, it is desirable that confirmation of this be found in the exegetical tradition as well.

The Exegetical Tradition

In the Septuagint's version of Judg 2,1, Bethel is mentioned alongside Bochim, in a kind of duplicate version: "to the place of weeping, and to Bethel, and to the house of Israel". It would seem that the duplication in the LXX is intended to explain the unknown name: Bochim. In other words, the LXX version is the beginning of the critical exegetical tradition that identifies Bochim with Bethel.[21] The LXX thus reveals that which in the Masoretic version was hidden. That is, the LXX preserves an ancient exegetical tradition, according to which Bethel and Bochim are one and the same. This tradition is accepted by the majority of the modern exegetes, who likewise connect our story with Bethel.[22] Moreover, the power of the Septuagint's exegetical tradition is so great that commentators who know it but nevertheless claim that there are two sites here feel beholden to reach a compromise, according to which the site of Bochim is adjacent to Bethel, even though there is no explicit evidence for this.[23]

IV. *The Polemic and Its Significance*

According to this interpretation, Bethel, which is none other than Bochim, is a cause of weeping for future generations, because there the fate of Israel was sealed (Judg 2,3). This conclusion is consistent with the aims of the Judaite editing of the book of Judges, namely to justify the exile and destruction of the northern kingdom

---

[21] See Burney, *The book of Judges*, p. 37, who stresses both the originality of the LXX version and the fact that this interpretation was already accepted by the exegetes who preceded him.

[22] Needless to say, the majority of critical exegetes accept this approach. See, for example, Moore, *Judges*, p. 58; Boling, *Judges*, p. 62. According to J.A. Soggin (Judges [OTL; London, 1981], p. 25), Bochim ought to be seen as part of the temple compound in Bethel, and he adds in parentheses: "perhaps Dtr avoided mentioning Bethel whenever it could".

[23] See n. 5 above. Albeit there are those who argued that Bochim was close to Shiloh, and cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 58.

of Israel as the result of the accumulated sin symbolized by Bethel.[24]
Northern Israel was hence responsible for its fate: it permitted the
shortcomings of inheritance, it followed the ways of the nations among
which it dwelt, so it was punished. That which symbolized its sin
more than anything else is Bethel, the beginning of its sin. It is there-
fore only natural that specifically Bethel, called Bochim, was chosen
to serve as the first site for uttering rebuke concerning this sensitive
subject of violating the covenant.

Nevertheless, the question must be asked: why is the name Bethel
not mentioned explicitly, and why was it preferred to substitute allu-
sions to Bethel, using the poetics of the concealed polemic? The
advantage of this tendentious technique lies in the necessity which
it creates, motivating the reader to discover both the fact that a
polemic does exist, and its hidden subject. In the present case, the
author refrains from explicitly mentioning Bethel for an additional
reason, namely the ambivalent attitude to the city, which in his time
still served as a holy city around which were numerous traditions
that sanctified it. Thus, next to the description of the conquest of
the city with the help of God (Judg 1,22–26), a story appears that
has the effect of an antithesis, one that removes from the city its
glory and represents it instead as a place of rebuke and punishment.
This story is intended to obscure the preceding one, albeit not in
an explicit way, but in a concealed manner. Only after the reform
of Josiah, after Bethel had passed into Judaite hands and its cultic
site was rendered impure and destroyed, does it seem that the con-
cealed polemic was substituted by an explicit one, as may be inferred
from the Deuteronomistic literature (1 Kgs 12,29 ff.; 13; 2 Kgs 10,29;
17,24–41; 23,15–20), and from the prophecy of Jeremiah (48,13).

V. *Summary*

In our passage, as in Judg 17–18, Bethel was a controversial sub-
ject, so that the author prefers to fashion the polemic in a concealed
manner and to suffice with allusions. Hence our story deals with
Bochim, while at the same time alluding to Bethel. To my mind,
this literary device reflects the period preceding the Josianic reform,
when the restored Bethel, following the conquest of Samaria by

---

[24] See Amit, *The book of Judges*, pp. 358–383.

Assyria, once again served as a cultic center; in Jerusalem there were those who criticized its cult because of its secondariness to Jerusalem or because of its character.

The book of Judges thus opens and concludes with a concealed polemic whose aim is to criticize Bethel. It seems to me that this literary framework is not by chance, but tests to the pre-Deuteronomic stage, at which the authors still refrained from explicitly blaming Bethel and the kingdom of Israel, and sufficed with a concealed polemic.

JOSHUA AND 1 CHRONICLES

Graeme Auld
Edinburgh

Within the introduction to her massive and detailed commentary, Sara Japhet surveys the sources of the book of Chronicles and how they are used.[1] Her summary conclusions relating to Joshua (16) are brief:

> Of all the potential list material . . ., only two sections have actually been cited: the Simeonite cities (Josh 19.2–8 // 1 Chron 4.28–33), and the priestly and levitical cities (Josh 21.10–39 // 1 Chron 6.54–81 [MT 39–66]). The book of Joshua is, however, also represented by polemic references, such as to the cities of Manasseh (1 Chron 7.29–Josh 17.11–12) and "the land that remained" (1 Chron 13.5–Josh 13.2–5), and allusions such as 1 Chron 2.7 to Josh 7.1ff.

Citations—polemic references—and allusions offer an interesting classification to muse over. Another example of linkage between these books will be discussed later—this one from the end of 1 Chronicles. However, it is convenient if I start with the one allusion Japhet has actually cited. Within the genealogy of Judah, 1 Chron 2,7 offers "And the family of Carmi: Trouble, troubler of Israel, who sinned/broke faith over the ban". A note like this assumes either that the reader must know a story or that the narrator would be willing on another occasion to tell it. And each element of the brief note [עכר עוכר ישראל אשר מעל בחרם] is also a key element of Josh 7. Do these together constitute proof that the note in Chronicles alludes to the story as we find it in Joshua? What should cause "trouble" about such a solution is (a) that מעל a favourite term of the Chronicler and is used also in Ezra, Nehemiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel (admittedly it is also found several times in Leviticus/Numbers, but in very few contexts—Lev 5,15,21; 26,40; Num 5,6,12,27; 31,16); and (b) that the opening clause of Josh 7,1, with its sole mention in Josh 7 of this key term, looks very like an addition to an already adequate opening to the story—and, if an addition, then surely one inspired

---

[1] S. Japhet, *1 & 2 Chron: A Commentary* (*OTL*; London, 1993), pp. 14–23.

by 1 Chron 2,7. There is no intention to argue here that the terse formulation within the Chronicler's genealogy of Judah was pregnant with the as yet unborn story in Josh 7, though such a case could be considered. But the claim is being made that we should at least be open to seeing mutual influence between Joshua and Chronicles—in this case: from the story in Josh 7 to the summary in 1 Chron 2 and back to the new title for the story in Josh 7,1a.

On the relationship between Josh 21 and 1 Chron 6, quite the longest instance of shared material in these books, I hope that the jury is still out—I advanced my heretical case for the priority of Chronicles first in 1979[2] but surveyed the arguments again in a Jerusalem article Japhet does not cite.[3] Since that was prepared, Kartveit[4] and Ben Zvi[5] have added cautionary words. However, I do wonder in passing if there is some tension in what Japhet writes about 1 Chron 6: she claims on the one hand that Josh 21 is the source for the Chronicler on the levitical and priestly cities, and asserts on the other that "for all their differences, the versions of Chronicles and Joshua preserve two readings of the same document: while the Joshua text is the more dependable, Chronicles may in fact retain specific details of an original nature".[6] Albright had argued in an influential article[7] that the connections and differences between Josh 21 and 1 Chron 6 were best explained by reconstructing the common source which both had modified. Albright's "source" had been a simple list of 48 cities, four per tribe, with little or no connecting text. Is this the "document" Japhet mentions? I had hoped I had shown that Albright had been misled by his interest in history and historical geography into concentrating almost exclusively on the place names within the texts, and failing to explore the puzzling links and differences between the texts as wholes.[8] But Japhet still seems to be hovering uncomfortably between arguing on the

---

[2] A.G. Auld, "The 'Levitical Cities': Texts and History", *ZAW* 91, (1979), pp. 26–40.

[3] Idem, "The Cities in Joshua 21: The contribution of textual criticism", *Textus* 15 (1990), pp. 141–52.

[4] M. Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in I Chronik 1–9 (CB OTS* 28; Stockholm, 1989).

[5] E. Ben Zvi, "The List of the Levitical Cities", *JSOT* 54 (1992), pp. 77–106.

[6] Japhet, *1 and 2 Chron*, p. 147.

[7] W.F. Albright, "The List of Levitic Cities", *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1945), pp. 49–73.

[8] Auld, "The 'Levitical Cities'", pp. 26–40.

one side for the priority of just one of the texts and, on the other, comparing each with a source-list, to which it presumably had had independent access. In any case, I wonder whether "citation" is the appropriate term for the sort of substantial rewriting we find—whether of Joshua in Chronicles or of Chronicles in Joshua. By 1990 I was more open than I had been in 1979 to admitting mutual influence on the development of these two texts: some features of both are more at home in Joshua and some in Chronicles.

Japhet's other "citation" is 1 Chron 4,28–33, which is certainly closely related to the account of Simeon's territory in Josh 19,1–9. What interests the reader of Joshua is that this area to the south of Judah has already been described—and somewhat differently—within Josh 15, as the first district of Judah's towns. Where did Joshua find its alternative listing for Josh 19? Was it freely or inexpertly copied from Josh 15? Whatever its source, Josh 19 is certainly closer in detail to 1 Chron 4 than to the relevant verses in Josh 15 (26–32). The punctuation of 1 Chron 4,28–33 is puzzling, both in the Masoretic text and to a somewhat lesser extent in the Septuagint. I should be inclined to agree with BHS that the first word of v. 32 should end the report in vv. 28–31—it had become detached because of the parenthetical דויד עד-מלך ערים אלה ["these were their cities till David ruled"] at the end of v. 31. These words are widely held to be an addition to the text copied from Josh 19, if not a corruption of the sub-total presently in 19, 6b. However, they do offer a reason for the otherwise unexplained existence of two districts: the pre-Davidic nucleus, then an additional few towns. Japhet's observation about מושבתם being used within 1 Chron 1–9 only at the three points where Joshua is cited (4, 33; 6, 39; 7, 28) offers strong support to the regular view—but only if we know in advance that Joshua is earlier than 1 Chronicles. It could be argued in the opposite direction that the Chronicler brings "settlements" into his genealogies not where he is drawing on Joshua, but where settlement patterns are unusual. Simeon within Judah, priests and Levites scattered within Israel as a whole, and a blurred demarcation between Manasseh and Ephraim are all good examples of special cases. Japhet's linked observation[9] about זאת in 4, 33 would be strengthened if the concluding two words of that verse "and their registration" (or "enrolment")

---

[9] Japhet, *1 and 2 Chron*, p. 122.

were also detached to become the subject of a nominal clause, whose predicate would be the personal names listed in the following verses: "And this was where they settled and were enrolled: . . .".

"Citations" and "polemic references", in Japhet's book, apparently differentiate not degrees of literalness of quotation, but varied attitudes of the Chronicler to his source. Even what she calls "citation" allows for much reworking: a clearer distinction in Chronicles between priests and levites, refuge differently understood, cities that were Simeon's "till David reigned". If this is citation, what then is "polemic"?

Once we free ourselves of the predisposition to view Joshua in its entirety as earlier than Chronicles in its entirety, we are able to compare and contrast the details of their presentations of tribal geography more sympathetically. The basic structural comparisons are striking. For the area west of the Jordan, both deal quite separately with Judah (and Simeon) in some detail first, and then the rest of the western tribes more briefly. Both make a special feature of the Transjordanian tribes and of Levi – in Joshua, their treatment brackets the handling of the rest (Transjordan in chaps. 13 and 22; Levi in chap. 21, with an anticipatory note in 13,13); in Chronicles, these groups separate Judah (and Simeon) from the north (Transjordan again first in chap. 5, then Levi in chap. 6).

To continue with contrasts: a further striking difference between these two presentations of tribal geography is that Joshua is very interested and Chronicles studiously uninterested over the number 12.

There are many approximate tribal dozens throughout the books of Chronicles; but the number 12 never appears in connection with them. The actual lists within 1 Chron 2–7 do not include Zebulun or Dan, although both are mentioned among the sons of Israel in 2,1–2, and again in 12,24–37. The latter list of David's armed forces does include 12 "tribal" divisions (though typical of Chronicles it does not count them), but the twelfth is made up of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh. Then 1 Chron 27,16–22 lists 13 officers over the tribes: this time the tribes include Aaron as well as Levi, and count both halves of Manasseh separately, but have no mention of Gad or Asher. By contrast, the second half of the book of Joshua is almost fixated on 12, see Josh 13,7–8,14; 14,2b–4; 16,4; 17,14–18; 18,2–10 (especially v. 7), and this interest of the geographical chapters is anticipated in the report of the Jordan crossing (Josh 3–4) by the 12 men, one from each tribe, carrying the 12 ceremonial stones.

The well-known differences between the two books over the levitical

cities, 48 in Josh 21 from each of the 12 tribes but less than 48
names in 1 Chron 6 and no mention of Dan, seems to be part of
a wider pattern. It could be that the text of Chronicles is defective
or that Chronicles plays down the tradition of the 12 tribes here
and elsewhere by deliberate omissions and silences. Either is possi-
ble. But it must rank as certain that Joshua takes pains to accentu-
ate a 12-tribe scheme to demonstrate again and again that there is
no conflict between its topographical information and the 12-tribe
structure.

To help understand both the similarities and the differences over
shape and structure, we might turn to the different ways our Hebrew
and Greek versions of the book of Jeremiah handle Babylon within
the section on oracles concerning foreign nations. In the Masoretic
text, these oracles are found at the end of the book (chaps. 46–51)
with the Babylon chapters at their very end (chaps. 50–51). In the
Septuagint, the foreign nation materials are in the middle of the
book (chaps. 26–31) with the chapters on Babylon in their midst
(chaps. 27–28). The structures of the two versions of Jeremiah are
different but the aim is the same: whether it appears in the middle
of the middle or at the end of the end, our particular attention is
directed at what is said about Babylon. If we view the tribal mate-
rials in Joshua and Chronicles with the same synoptic eye, we may
fairly conclude that both books have a special concern with Transjordan
and with the levites and priests—right in the middle of Chronicles'
treatment of the tribal genealogies, but at the end of Joshua's tribal
geography (although also more briefly anticipated at the beginning).
I am not concerned here with the priority of either version of
Jeremiah; but I do want to suggest arguments for the priority of
Chronicles over Joshua in spotlighting Transjordan and priests and
levites.

The Chronicler's chapter on the Transjordanian tribes concludes
with an apparently matter-of-fact note in 1 Chron 5,25–26, report-
ing that they were taken captive by the king of Assyria. Though this
passage is brief, its key word "exile" (גלה) has been twice anticipated
within chapter 5 (vv. 6, 22).[10] This two-verse climax to the report
on the eastern tribes helps explain the prominent position of the Trans-
jordanians within the Chronicler's review of the tribes: these eastern

---

[10] Ibid., p. 140.

tribes are the only section of Israel—I mean the so-called northern kingdom—whose "exile" the Chronicler actually reports. גלה is very sparingly used in Chronicles, and elsewhere only of Judah (1 Chron 5,41; 9,1; 2 Chron 36,20) or Benjamin (1 Chron 8,6).

This end-of-chapter note begins with a key word of the Chronicler which we have already discussed: they "broke faith (מעל) with the god of their fathers, and whored after the gods of the peoples of the earth". Now Josh 22 takes pains to deny exactly that charge, and so it must already have known the accusation: it elaborates in a long story (vv. 10–34) that the altar which the returning eastern tribes built near the Jordan was precisely not a further example of מעל: it was built to remind them of the central altar; it was *not* built for sacrifice). (It is worth asking whether the oddly drafted note in 2 Kgs 10,32–33—the only mention together of Gad, Reuben, and Manasseh in all of Judges, Samuel, and Kings—is not another polemical response to the Chronicler's note about the exile of the Transjordanians.)

As for the levitic cities, Josh 21—even more than 1 Chron 6— gives the impression from a literary perspective of being secondary, an appendix, an import from elsewhere. Two other considerations point to the priority of 1 Chron 6. First, priests and levites are a very important theme throughout Chronicles. It is rather more of a surprise that the long chapter 21 should occupy such a large space within Joshua. Secondly, priests and levites are always clearly distinguished throughout Chronicles. Josh 21 in its "pluses" over against 1 Chron 6 emphasises that the priests are levites; and this secondary concern may also be detected in the textual uncertainty throughout Josh 3–4 over how exactly to style the "levitical priests" responsible for carrying the ark over the Jordan.

In sum, priests and levites are inherently important for the Chronicler; and he also wishes to underline the unique role of the Transjordanians. Later editors of Joshua recognised the importance of both topics, but challenged significant details.

Then within both Josh 13–22 and 1 Chron 2–7 we can detect traces of similar late adjustments. One good example relates to northern Transjordan, where half-Manasseh has clearly been added in vv. 18,23–24 to the original Reuben and Gad of 1 Chron 5, as it has to the end of Josh 13 (vv. 29–31) and throughout Josh 22[11]—see

---

[11] A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the Land* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 57–59.

also Num 32,33,39–42 and several other biblical passages. The Transjordan theme, which Chronicles and Joshua accentuated in their different ways and debated with each other, concerned originally only Reuben and Gad. In fact, it is the secondary addition of half-Manasseh in these various passages to an existing geographical concept that has complicated the geographers' discussion in our century of the extent of Gilead and Bashan.

A second instance is the introduction of Joseph into these tribal materials. In Chronicles, Manasseh and Ephraim are separately detailed among the northern tribes (7,14–19, 20–27) before we encounter a surprising summarising mention of Joseph (whether all of 7,28–29, or only 7,29b, we shall discuss below). Similarly in Joshua, details about Ephraim (16,5–8,10) and about Manasseh (17,1–7,11–13) separately and information about their interrelationships (16,9; 17,8–10) appear to be the primary information, round which talk of Joseph 16,1–4 and 17,14–18 has thrown a secondary bracket.

Japhet[12] offers an interesting discussion of the midrash in 1 Chron 5,1–3 which explains deftly how the primogeniture of Joseph which replaced that forfeited by Reuben was legal, although it was Judah that "surpassed all his brothers in strength and became the father of a great ruler".

All the examples of Joshua as source listed in Japhet's summary are drawn from the early chapters of 1 Chronicles.[13] Yet when she comes to discuss the Chronicler's special materials in 1 Chron 22–29 on the carefully planned transition from David to Solomon,[14] she does acknowledge the studies by Williamson[15] and Braun,[16] and does follow their account of how the picture in Deut 31 and Josh 1 of the transfer of authority from Moses to Joshua had influenced the Chronicler. Neither David nor Moses lived to realise his mission, but both undertook many preparatory steps; both Joshua and Solomon were installed and instructed by the previous leader.

The links between Deut 31 and especially Josh 1 and the lengthy

---

[12] Japhet, *I and 2 Chron*, pp. 132–34.
[13] Ibid., p. 16.
[14] Ibid., p. 400.
[15] H.G.M. Williamson, "The Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles", *VT* 26 (1976), pp. 351–61.
[16] R.L. Braun, Solomonic Apologetic in Chronicles", *JBL* 92, (1973), pp. 503–16; idem, "Solomon, the Chosen Temple Builder: The Significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28,29 for the Theology of Chronicles", *JBL* 95 (1976), pp. 581–90.

and repetitive account in 1 Chron 22; 28–29 are undeniable. And it seems sensible to conclude that the Chronicler has drawn on the book of Joshua. Porter had drawn on arguments by Lohfink, and proposed earlier in the opposite direction—though in part from the same evidence—that "The Succession of Joshua" was based on a royal pattern.[17] There is in fact an interesting and complex tissue of links among three groups of passages: Deuteronomy-Joshua on the succession of Joshua, and Kings and Chronicles on that of Solomon. Each of the Joshua and Solomon texts has grown, and so it is clear that the tradition has identified important topics here. Williamson was readily able to dispose of some of Porter's arguments; but, I suspect, he overstated his case when he claimed that the Chronicler based his version on Joshua, and "did not even bother to include [1 Kgs 2,1–4] in his account".[18] Schäfer-Lichtenberger has annotated this discussion fully within her wider discussion of Joshua and Solomon.[19]

I have more recently proposed that the divergent accounts of the transition from David to Solomon, just as all of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, are based on a shorter "shared text":[20]

When David was old and full of days,	23, 1a // 1, 1
he made Solomon his son king over Israel out of all his sons.	23, 1b // 1, 35
And he charged Solomon his son:	22, 12 // 2, 1b
Be strong and show yourself a man,	22, 13 // 2, 2b
and keep the statutes and ordinances of Yahweh,	22, 13 // 2, 3a
in order that you may succeed/prosper.	22, 13 // 2, 3b

The opening four verses of 1 Kgs 2 as we know them may not have been familiar to the Chronicler, but their core was also his source. The pluses within 1 Kgs 2,1–4 form two clusters. Some of them, typical of pluses throughout Kings and Chronicles, repeat elements from elsewhere in the "shared text"; in this case they anticipate language from Solomon's prayer, his second vision, and the Josiah story.

---

[17] J.R. Porter, "The Succession of Joshua", *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, eds. J.I. Durham and J.R. Porter (London, 1993), pp. 102–32.

[18] Williamson, "The Accession of Solomon", p. 354.

[19] C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua and Salomo. Eine Studie zu Autorität and Legitimität des Nachfolgers im Alten Testament* (VTSup 58; Leiden, 1995).

[20] A.G. Auld, *Kings without Privilege* (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 54.

The others use elements found also in Deuteronomy (31,14) and Joshua (1,6–9; but also 22,3; 23,14). Kings, differently from and more briefly than Chronicles, but no less significantly, emphasises links between Moses/Joshua and David/Solomon. Yet were these emphases all the easier for the authors of Kings and Chronicles to develop because the installation of Joshua had been depicted in royal, or more precisely Solomonic, terms in the first place?

A complicating factor in this discussion is that Josh 1 has also undergone revision by supplementation in several stages. The first part of this paper proposed the coexistence of different sorts of relationship between material in Joshua and 1 Chronicles, including influence from Chronicles to Joshua. Few would disagree that the defence of the Transjordanians in Josh 22 from the charge of מעל is one of the latest portions of that book. But the same has often been argued of the *torah*-centred development in Josh 1,7–9 of the more military encouragement given the new leader in 1,6. Much of its language is distinctive and late: the key term הצליח, though found in Gen 24 (4 times); 39 (3 times), Isa 48,15; 55,11 and Ps 37,7; 118,25, is most widely used in Chronicles (13 times), Nehemiah (twice) and Daniel (four times) and, significantly, is part of Psalm 1 (v. 3).

The picture of the Chronicler passing over the Deuteronomist's report of Solomon's installation in favour of his earlier chapter on the installation of Joshua is too simple. It was part of the critique of the kings by the Deuteronomist that he retrojected the significant beginnings of his people into an earlier age than that of David and Solomon. And the transition from David to Solomon, in a situation where there was not (yet) a dynastic expectation, provided him with a model for portraying a prepared transition from Moses to Joshua. The Chronicler in turn repainted his story of royal beginnings in colours learned from the very Joshua portrait that had used Solomon as model. And so the competition—or conversation—between "Deuteronomist" and Chronicler continued.

It is a great pleasure to dedicate these observations on the work of one Jerusalem colleague to another whose friendship I have enjoyed for more than twenty years, and with whom issues of biblical geography have often been discussed.

OBJECTIVE OF BAASHA'S WAR AGAINST ASA

David Elgavish
Bar-Ilan, Ramat Gan

It was traditional for members of the Davidic royal family to fight against separatists in order to maintain a united kingdom. David fought against Sheba, the son of Bichri (2 Sam 20,4–15) and succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Also Rehoboam and Abijah fought against the kingdom of Israel (1 Kgs 14,30; 2 Chron 13, 2–20). Abijah even captured territory in the south of Israel as far as Beth-el, but did not succeed in abolishing the separate kingdom of Israel.

In the third generation of the wars between the two kingdoms the initiative passed to the kingdom of Israel as described in the verse: "Now Baasha, the king of Israel, went up against Judah and he built the Ramah in order to prevent (people) entering and leaving Asa" (1 Kgs 15,17). It appears that there were minor border changes in the years prior to the campaign just mentioned which are referred to vaguely in the Bible: "And there was war between Asa and Baasha, king of Israel, all their days" (1 Kgs 15,16). The Bible does not give details of these battles because of their limited results, whereas in the campaign at Ramah, Baasha penetrated deeply into the territory of Judah and blockaded it, "In order to prevent (people) entering and leaving Asa, king of Judah" (1 Kgs 15,17). The aim of the blockade is nowhere stated: Did Israel want to lay siege to Jerusalem? Did Baasha intend to prevent movement within Judah or from Judah to the outside world? A decision between the two possibilities depends on the definition of the purpose of the *lamed* in the phrase לאסא מלך יהודה. Is it the *lamed* of belonging or the *lamed* of purpose?[1] After surveying and evaluating the various proposals we shall present the solution that appears best to us.

---

[1] A similar problem arose in the explanation of the ostraca from Samaria. See Y. Yadin, "Recepients or Donors: A Note on the Samaria Ostraca", *IEJ* 9 (1959), pp. 184–197; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (London, 1979), p. 363.

I. Arguments in favor of the view that Baasha wanted to capture Jerusalem

Some scholars argue that Baasha, the king of Israel, desired to gain control of the kingdom of Judah and was not merely content to reoccupy the territory that Abijah captured at the battle of Zemraim (2 Chron 13,19). The arguments of these scholars are based on the verse, "And he built the Ramah in order to prevent (people) entering and leaving Asa, king of Judah" (1 Kgs 15,17), which would indicate that Baasha fortified the city of Ramah in order to impose a blockade on Judah.[2] This approach is also reflected in the language of the appeal of Asa to the king of Aram, "Go and break your treaty with Baasha, King of Israel, so that he may go up from me" (1 Kgs 15,19). The king of Judah feared the threat of Israel against his country, and did not see the capture of Ramah as the end of the expansionist ambitions of Baasha.

Israel inflicted great harm on Judah by cutting off the Ramah from the southern kingdom. The ancient city of Ramah is identified with Tell ar-Ram which lies on a hill north of Jerusalem,[3] cut of from the Mount of Ephraim and descending to it from Mount Beth-el.[4] Therefore, the addition of Ramah to the territory of Israel provided for greater security for the district of Ephraim and enabled the kingdom of Israel to overlook Jerusalem, which is only nine kilometers away. The site also has advantages from the standpoint of transportation. Ramah is located on the watershed and on the road which links the various towns in the central mountains, Jerusalem, Beth-el and Shechem. At Ramah the road branches off to a road that leads to the Beth-horon slope and to the Shephelah.[5] Baasha thus captured Ramah as a springboard to Jerusalem and for even-

---

[2] The meaning of the verse "and he built Ramah" (1 Kgs 15,17) is that he fortified it, just as the building of Geba and Mizpah (1 Kgs 15,22) refers to the fortification of these advanced border points on the northern border of Judah.

[3] L.L. Honor, *Books of Kings I: A Commentary* (New York, 1955), p. 217, maintains the name Ramah in this case is not a personal name but indicates a large hill, inasmuch as the text reads הרמה with the definite article.

[4] A.F. Rainey, "Rama, Ramah", *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 5 (Grand Rapids, 1975), pp. 29–30.

[5] J.M. Miller and J.H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 246. However, E.G. Kraeling, *Rand McNally Bible Atlas* (New York, 1952), p. 271, maintained that the route from Judah to Beth-horon was not blocked as a result of this action.

tually continuing the war against Judah. In this vein Josephus wrote, "And after taking it, fortified it, for he had previously determine to leave a force in it, in order that they might use it as a base from which to set out and ravage the kingdom of Asa".[6] This view was accepted by E. Auerbach, who argued that Baasha attempted to restore the unity of the two kingdoms by force,[7] and other scholars maintain that the aim of Baasha's action was to besiege Jerusalem.[8] The validity of this argument depends on the meaning of the phrase "in order to prevent (people) entering and leaving Asa" (1 Kgs 15,17). Did Baasha want to prevent the movement of people from Israel to Judah or that of citizens of Judah to Israel?[9] Some argue that he wanted to prevent emigration of Israelites to Judah. They refer to the verse, "for many in Israel had thrown their lot with him [with Abijah] when they saw that the Lord his God was with him" (2 Chron 15,9). The citizens of Israel came to Judah for cultic purposes, mainly for pilgrimages. This population movement increased with the rise in the prestige of Jerusalem as a result of the victories of Abijah (2 Chron 13,17) and Asa (2 Chron 14,13).[10] This view requires that the *lamed* in the phrase לאסא מלך יהודה be understood

---

[6] *The Works of Josephus Complete and Unabridged* (new updated edition; trans. W.W. Peabody, 1987) 8. 12: 3 (p. 235).

[7] E. Auerbach, *Wüste und Gelobtes Land: Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1936), 2, p. 32.

[8] W.O.E. Oesterley and T.H. Robinson, *A History of Israel* (Oxford, 1932), 1, p. 284; S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times* (London, 1975), p. 201, states, that Baasha advanced to Ramah to besiege Jerusalem from the north so that no one could enter or leave; Auerbach (*Wüste und Gelobtes Land*, 2. p. 37) argued that Baasha attempted to restore the unity of the two kingdoms by force; M. Kochman (and others), *2 Chronicles (World of the Bible*, Tel Aviv, 1995), p. 124 (Hebrew), is undecided whether Baasha's act of fortifying Ramah and blockading Judah was aimed at maintaining the boundary between Israel and Judah or was a preliminary stage towards invading Judah; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus: A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until Its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 BCE* (Winona Lake, 1987), p. 107, maintains that building the Ramah was intended to prevent, or at least control, movement to and from Jerusalem.

[9] J.M. Myers, *II Chronicles: Translation and Notes (Anchor Bible*; New York, 1965) p. 93, accepts both possibilities and maintains that Baasha wanted to prevent movement in both directions.

[10] J.C. Whitcomb, *Solomon to the Exile: Studies in Kings and Chronicles* (Grand Rapids, 1972), p. 33; Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel*, p. 246. S.J. De Vries (*1 Kgs [WBC*; Waco, 1985], p. 191), wrote that according to the narrator the aim was to prevent citizens from the north from coming into contact with Asa, king of Judah; Miller and Hayes added that by fortifying Ramah Baasha could control the commercial traffic entering Jerusalem from the direction of Beth-horon in the west; Kraeling, *Bible Atlas*, p. 271, maintained that this action did not block the road from Beth-horon.

as a *lamed* of purpose, namely, Baasha prevented people from the
northern kingdom from emigrating to the kingdom of Judah.[11]

This explanation raises the following difficulties:

1. The citizens of the north would go to Judah and not to King
Asa.

2. The verse would imply that movement is in one direction, from
Israel to Asa, namely from the north to the south. Why then should
the text say "going out or coming in", a term which implies traffic
in both directions?

3. The appeal of Asa to the king of Aram, a foreign power, to
intervene in the civil war indicates that Baasha damaged vital inter-
ests of Judah, not those of the citizens of the North.

One must therefore conclude that Baasha blocked the movement
of the people of the south.[12] Such an explanation supports the sup-
position that Baasha was not content merely to fortify Ramah but
harbored ambitions to act against the inhabitants of Judah and to
conquer their territory.

II. *Rejection of the arguments regarding Baasha's aim to conquer Jerusalem*

The argument that Israel sought to conquer and annex Judah must
apparently be rejected. Throughout its existence Israel never saw the
conquest of Judah as an aim, towards which it should direct its ener-
gies.[13] In the first years of its existence Israel wished to separate from
Judah and to establish a basis for its own existence, a goal that found
expression in the religious ordinances of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 12,26–33).
In later times Jehoash, king of Israel, captured Jerusalem but did
not annex it to his kingdom (2 Kgs 14,13 = 2 Chron 25,23); Pekah,

---

[11] In similar circumstances the Berlin wall was built to prevent emigration from
East Germany to West Germany, whose status was higher.

[12] B. Oded, *History of Israel in the Days of the First Temple* (Tel-Aviv, 1984) unit 4,
p. 49 (Hebrew), argues that fortifying Ramah was aimed at closing the road from
Jerusalem northwards to Mt. Ephraim; Kochman (*2 Chronicles*, p. 124) noted that
the blockade was intended to prevent contact between the people of Asa and pos-
sible allies on Mt. Ephraim. Baasha acted in this fashion mainly for military rea-
sons as is implied in the term "going out or coming in", whose primary meaning
is "warriors". See E.A. Speiser, "'Coming' and 'Going' at the City Gate", in *Oriental
and Biblical Studies: Collected Writings of E.A. Speiser* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 86.

[13] H.L. Ginsberg, "The Omrid-Davidid Alliance and Its Consequences", *Proceedings
of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1967), 1, p. 92. For a different
view see Auerbach, *Wüste und Gelobtes Land*, 2, p. 32.

the son of Remaliah, attacked Jerusalem with the express purpose
of changing the dynasty there, not to annex it to Israel (Isa 7,6).
Accordingly, a desire to annex Judah should not be ascribed to
Baasha.

Baasha stopped at Ramah and fortified it but did not penetrate
further south. Now a king who fortifies his border is one who sees
it as the permanent border of his country. In the opposite manner,
Rehoboam did not fortify his northern border, despite the constant
wars on it (2 Chron 11,5–10), because he did not see it as perma-
nent.[14] One can therefore deduce that Baasha fought Judah only to
annex the southern portion of the territory of the tribe of Benjamin
to Israel, not to conquer Judah.

If we accept this argument, we must explain the two verses treated
here differently from the accepted way. One should not infer from
the verse "In order to prevent (people) entering and leaving Asa king
of Judah" that Baasha wished to impose a blockade on the popu-
lation of the south. The king of Israel chose to fortify Ramah as a
stronghold on his southern border because of its strategic and com-
mercial significance, but the seizure of Ramah blocked the route
north and west to the people of Judah. The verse, then, should be
explained as indicating not the purpose but a consequence of the
fortification of Ramah.[15] Baasha built Ramah because of its strate-
gic importance, but this act had a side effect in, that it blocked the
route from Judah to the north and the west. The *lamed* in the phrase
לאסא מלך יהודה is *lamed* of belonging. Asa's people could not move
from Judah to the north or to the west of their land. In his distress
Asa appealed to the king of Aram for help to force Baasha to with-
draw, as indicated by the verse "that he should go up from me"
(1 Kgs 15,19). Furthermore, this verse does not imply that Israel
imposed a blockade on Judah. What Asa demanded was that Israel
leave the Judean territory that it occupied. Perhaps Asa ascribed to
Baasha the intention of blockading the territory of Judah so as to
add urgency to his appeal to the king of Aram in order to obtain
military aid from him more quickly.

---

[14] Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, p. 330. Z. Kallai (*Historical Geography of the Bible:
The Tribal Territories* [Jerusalem and Leiden, 1986], p. 81), maintains that the Levitical
cities on this border, Gibeon, Geba, Alemeth and Anathoth, were already fortified,
so that Rehoboam did not have to add fortifications on his northern border.

[15] The word *lblty* "in order not" can begin a result clause, even where the result
is the opposite of the desire of the one acting. Cp. 2 Sam 14,7; Isa 44,10.

III. The aims of the wars of Baasha: Border adjustments

The victory of Abijah at Mount Zemaraim left Israel, the defeated party, with demands from the victor.[16] In the case of Baasha's attack against Judah we must take into account not only the natural desire of Israel to regain territory it considered rightfully its own, but also a personal factor. Baasha had to justify his revolt against Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, hence the transfer of the crown from Ephraim, the senior tribe of the kingdom, to Issachar, which was a small tribe of little importance (1 Kgs 15,27), and of course to enhance the stature of his own dynasty. He therefore began a campaign to regain Israel's own territory and reach a boundary line more satisfactory from Israel's standpoint.

The wars of Israel and Judah were the result of the nature of their common boundary. This was difficult to defend because it lay on the plateau between Jerusalem and Beth-el. Although it ran down the length of local wadis, this fact had no strategic significance.[17] By contrast, the area that extends from the north of Ramallah to the heights of Lebonah, known later as the Gophna mountains, had great strategic value. The region consists of steep mountains and contains good hiding places. It also includes Mount Baal-hazor, the highest peak in the Samaria mountains (1,016 meters), so it was of importance for war and intelligence. Therefore, each side tried to ensure that this area would be included within its boundary.[18] After the battle of Mount Zemaraim Judah controlled the city of Jeshanah, which is located north of mount Baal-hazor (2 Chron 13,19).[19]

Furthermore, the boundary was close to the important centers of the two kingdoms: about ten kilometers north of Jerusalem and approximately four kilometers south of the religious center of the north at Beth-el. Hence both sides tried to move the boundary fur-

[16] On the battle of Zemaraim as historical event see, J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 234.

[17] D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible: A Study in Historical Geography* (New York, 1974), p. 177; Z. Kallai, *The Tribal Territories of Israel: A Geographical-Historical Study in the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 108 (Hebrew); M. Marcus, *The Mountains of Bethel*, (Tel Aviv, 1991), p. 37 (Hebrew).

[18] M. Gichon, "The Strategic Importance of Judah and Samaria: A Historical Analysis", *Judah and Samaria: Chapters in Geographic Settlement*, ed. A. Shmueli et al. (Jerusalem, 1977), 1, p. 58.

[19] Jeshanah is identified with Burj-a-lisana, which is north of Silwad. See S. Barbas, "Jeshanah", *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 3, p. 495.

ther from its major centers, which were vulnerable to occupation by the enemy.[20] Therefore, any displacement of the boundary added security to one side but increased the danger for the other.[21]

The war also resulted from tribal factors. The border bisected the territory of Benjamin.[22] This situation encouraged both sides, to gain control of all the territory. For this reason, after the battle of Zemaraim Abijah annexed the territory of Benjamin that was under control of Israel. The occupation of Ramah by Baasha had the opposite aim, to annex the territory of Benjamin occupied by Judah to the kingdom of Israel.[23]

The border area had good economic, commercial and agricultural potential. As important roads passed through the plateau north of Jerusalem it was of great commercial importance.[24] Moreover, the boundary passed near water sources and was located in a fertile region. In the west, the boundary ran down the length of wadi Beit-hanina; the northern sector of the border followed wadi Soreq; and the eastern section followed wadi Nuima until Jericho.[25] It is understandable why both sides wanted to control this stretch of territory.

---

[20] Beth-el and Jerusalem were even captured in the course of the wars between Judah and Israel (2 Chron 13,19; 25,23).

[21] Various scholars maintain that Rehoboam captured territory of Benjamin in order to defend his capital, Jerusalem. See M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (London, 1960), pp. 234–235; Bright, *A History of Israel*, p. 233.

[22] In Josh 18,22 Beth-el is reckoned among the cities of the Tribe of Benjamin. It was also part of the northern kingdom, for Jeroboam set up one of the golden calves there (1 Kgs 12,29). The border thus traversed the territory of Benjamin. This view is maintained by J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1959), p. 372; Baly, *The Geography of the Bible*, pp. 176–178; S. Yeivin, "The Divided Kingdom", *The World History of the Jewish People, The Age of the Monarchies: Political History*, ed. A. Malamat, IV/1 (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 134 (Hebrew); Noth, *The History of Israel*, p. 234. However, Kallai (*Historical Geography*, p. 130), argued that Jos 18,22 was inserted in the text after Abijah's conquests. The northern boundary of Benjamin was also the boundary between the two kingdoms. But Kallai recognized that the city of Jeshanah, which was included in the territory occupied by Abijah, is not mentioned in the list of cities of Benjamin in Jos 18. Therefore, there is no sufficient reason to negate the biblical evidence that these cities were part of the territory of Benjamin prior to Abijah's conquest.

[23] Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, pp. 321–322; Noth, *The History of Israel*, pp. 234–235; Bright, *History of Israel*, p. 233.

[24] J.A. Montgomery and H.S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (Edinburgh, 1951), p. 275.

[25] For the fountains, wadis and their drainage basins in the territory of the tribe of Benjamin see Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible*, pp. 128–137; Marcus, *The Mountains of Bethel*, pp. 33, 45.

IV. *The Activities of Judah were also aimed at border adjustments*

In Judah too a change occurred in the war aims against Israel. In the third generation after the division Judah relinquished its goal of restoring the united kingdom but continued to try to improve its border positions. Baasha was defeated by the king of Aram,[26] he unilaterally abandoned Ramah and returned to his country. Asa however, did not use this opportunity to occupy any territory of Israel, but was satisfied to return the boundary to its approximate position before the battle, namely the Geba-Mizpah line.[27] Geba and Mizpah were the most suitable places for their purpose as advanced strongholds. They are two high places with wadis at the foot, and they commanded the two major routes on the plateau. Mizpah, located above wadi Bet Hanina, controlled the main north-south route; Geba, located above wadi Suweinit, controlled the route to the east.[28] Mizpah protected Jerusalem from attack from the north and the west, whereas Geba protected the city from attack from wadi Suweinit.[29] The Geba-Mizpah line afforded Judah a defensible border. This fact appears to strengthen our view that the conflict was from the beginning a border dispute. Furthermore, Asa fortified the border, something which Rehoboam refused to do (2 Chron 11,5–12).[30]

---

[26] H. Eshel ("An allusion to the War Asa-Baasha in a Prophecy to Ahaz", *Shnaton for Biblical and Near Eastern Studies* 7–8 [1984], pp. 250–253), sees in Isa 8,23 an allusion to the territorial conquests of Ben-hadad of Aram. In the above verse "the first" refers to Ben-hadad while "the latter" refers to Tiglath-pileser III, two kings who were hired by the kings of Judah in similar historical and geographic circumstances.

[27] Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, pp. 321–322. This position is in contradiction with the verse in 2 Chr 17,2, where it is stated that Asa captured cities of Ephraim. Aharoni maintained that this refers to the region around Rama and Mizpah, *The Land of the Bible*, p. 231. Also Kraeling, *Biblical Atlas*, p. 272, maintained that it refers to areas of Benjamin occupied by Baasha. It is surprising that those areas should be called cities of Ephraim. However, F.M. Cross and G.E. Wright, "The Boundary and Provincial Lists of the Kingdom Of Judah", *JBL* 75 (1956), p. 223, argued that most of the conquests of Abijah remained in the hands of the Judeans until the days of Amaziah. But it is difficult to reconcile this position with the alliance between the two countries in the Omrid period, in which Israel enjoyed a certain superiority.

[28] Mizpah is to be identified with Tell-en-Nasbeh and Geba with Kfar Jaba. For their identification and importance see Kallai, *Historical Geography*, pp. 399–403; Miller and Hayes, *History of Israel*, p. 247.

[29] Cp., Isa 10,28.

[30] On the fortifications of Mizpeh see C.C. McCown, *Tell-en Nasbeh: Archaeological and Historical Results* (Berkeley, 1947), 1, p. 202; J.R. Zorn, "Tell-en Nasbeh", *The*

This action showed that Judah recognized the separate and independent status of the kingdom of Israel and regarded the fortified line as the permanent border. Baasha also accepted the results of the war and ceased his attacks. This is indicated in the phrase "and he dwelt in Tirzah" (1 Kgs 15,21), which means that he stayed at home and did not embark on any more wars.[31]

Conclusions

The border disputes between the two Hebrew kingdoms had limited aims and only persisted a short period of time, but the outcome was lasting. Baasha's military action had limited aims; he was not tempted to extend his occupation of Judean territory. Nor did Asa use the opportunity of Baasha's defeat by Aram to inflict a crushing reverse on him. The restraint in determining the war aims shows that the spirit of brotherhood between the two Hebrew kingdoms was recognizable in days of war as in days of peace. The border fixed at the conclusion of the battle of Ramah was recognized as the border of Judah even in the days of Josiah, when the extent of Judah was described as "from Geba to Beer-sheba" (2 Kgs 23,8). This stability was achieved because Israel and Judah could each defend its interests either by means of its own military forces or with foreign help. The recognition of these facts brought about an end to the war between them.

New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 1100.

[31] Compare the Akkadian phrase *ina mātim* "remain in the land". See A. Ungnad, "Eponymen", *Reallexicon der Assyriology*, eds. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin and Leipzig, 1938), 2, p. 430.

DAVID'S WARFARE AGAINST THE PHILISTINES IN THE VICINITY OF JERUSALEM (2 SAM 5,17–25; 1 CHRON 14,8–16)

MOSHE GARSIEL

Bar-Ilan, Ramat Gan

Parallel passages in 2 Sam 5,17–25 and 1 Chron 14,8–16 tell us (with slight differences) of two battles fought by David and his army against the Philistines which took place in the vicinity of Jerusalem, immediately after David's anointment as king over all Israel. Here we shall attempt to look at the political background of these battles, follow their course, operative and tactical, and evaluate the strategic significance of their outcomes.

I. *Political and military background*

The last campaign fought by Saul[1] against the Philistines in the Jezreel Valley and on Gilboa, in the course of which both he and his sons fell, brought in its wake not only the shattering of Israel's military power and the loss of weaponry and its best warriors (2 Sam 1,27), but also the creation of a military barrier, Philistine and Canaanite, interposing between the different sections of the kingdom of Israel. After their overwhelming victory, the Philistines settled in various regions in the Jezreel and Jordan valleys (1 Sam 31,7),[2] and thereby drove a wedge of settlement and military force between the tribes of the center of the country (Benjamin, Ephraim, and the half-tribe of Manasseh) and those north of the Jezreel Valley. Several approaches to the Israelite settlements in Gilead east of the Jordan

---

[1] For an analysis of this battle see Z. Kallai, "The Wars of Saul," *The Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times*, ed. J. Liver (Tel Aviv, 1964), pp. 141–44 (Hebrew).

[2] In the parallel passage in 1 Chron 10,7 the author minimizes the effects of the Israelite overthrow, in keeping with his general tendency to play down Saul's sin and military defeat. The original description in the formulation of 1 Samuel is therefore to be preferred to the reworking of the Chronicles.

were likewise partially cut off—and these villages had in the past constituted focal points of support for Saul's government.

The Philistines' military strategy was complemented by political activity: they allowed David to go to Hebron and rule over the land of Judah as their vassal. He was at this period regarded as loyal to the Philistines, having obtained their trust during his stay in Ziklag by his defense of their land against the incursions of looters from the south. In permitting him to govern Judah from Hebron the Philistines secured its complete severance from the authority of Ish-bosheth and Abner, whose influence was thereby restricted to the center and north of the country and the territories east of the Jordan (2 Sam 2,8–9). By countenancing David's rule over Judah the Philistines hoped to deepen the separation between the various regions which in the past had made up the kingdom of Saul. The rivalry and war between David and Ish-bosheth[3] were the fruit of this policy of divide and rule, carefully nourished by the Philistines during this interme-diate period. It enabled them to watch over their military achieve-ments and preserve their control throughout Israel without risk of encountering a unified power that might threaten their hegemony.[4]

After about two years Abner and Ish-bosheth were murdered one after the other, and the northern kingdom was left without a leader for about five and a half years. Throughout this time David con-tinued to rule over Judah alone. Two questions have been asked by many scholars.[5] Why did not David exploit this opportunity to realize his heart's desire of reigning over Israel as a whole, and why did he not take the vital step of coming to an agreement with the leading personages of the northern kingdom to be made king, immediately after his path was eased by the murder of Abner, the commander-in-chief, and Ish-bosheth, the king?

The answer, it seems to me, must be sought primarily in the pol-icy actively implemented by the Philistines: they would not allow David to enlarge his kingdom out of fear that a political consolida-tion of the tribes of Israel would significantly reinforce his military

---

[3] See 2 Sam 2,12–32; 3,1–6.

[4] On this period see M. Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David* (Tel Aviv, 1975), pp. 11–25 (Hebrew).

[5] See e.g., the lecture and discussion in B. Mazar, "David's Kingdom in Hebron and the Conquest of Jerusalem", *El Ha-Ayin* 18 (1963; Hebrew).

capacity, and that this would ultimately be turned against them, as happened at the beginning of Saul's reign.

On this view of the situation, the question must be reversed. If for five and a half years David refrained from making himself king over Israel because of the inevitable Philistine reaction, why did he finally decide to disobey them and involve himself in a military confrontation with them? What change in conditions influenced his decision to take control of the north as well, at the risk of a massive Philistine attack?

To understand his carefully considered course of action we must go back a little to the time when he and Ish-bosheth ruled in parallel. The increasing Philistine pressure presented him with two alternatives. The first was to unite the tribes of Israel as quickly as possible and fight the Philistines while he had the army of the united kingdom of Israel behind him; it seems reasonable to suppose that this was his fundamental motive for agreeing to the convenant proposed by Abner in Hebron (2 Sam 3,6–39). Nothing came of it, however: the murder first of Abner and then of Ish-bosheth aroused apprehension in the tribes of the north and their notables. A full and immediate unification of the sister kingdoms would have been difficult to image, plunged as they were by the murders into a state of fear and suspicion; nor was there any leader in the north with sufficient stature to effect the transfer of power to David in an orderly manner. At this point only the second alternative was really available to David: to wait a number of years until the tension between the two rival kingdoms had diminished, and use the time to improve the performance of his small army to the greatest possible degree—a difficult task under the suspicious eyes of the Philistines. Thus, the murders of the leaders of the northern kingdom, on the one hand, and Philistine might, on the other, obliged David to change direction and adopt the second course of action, which essentially involved preparation of his army for future confrontation with the Philistines.

In this connection the testimony as to the unit of "mighty men whom David had"[6] is of great importance, for it attests to the improved operational capacity of David's army and more particularly to the forging of the special warriors of his own unit. We are

---

[6] See 2 Sam 22,15–22; 23,8–39; 1 Chron 11,4–47; 20,4–8; and B. Mazar, *Canaan and Israel: Historical Essays* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 183–207 (Hebrew); Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David*, pp. 26–40.

told of some of the senior members that they stood as individuals against hundreds of the enemy and overthrew them with many casualties. Benaiah son of Jehoiada, armed only with a staff, fought an Egyptian giant who wielded a spear; several others defeated armed Philistine giants. A group of three broke through the Philistine camp at Bethlehem and drew water from the cistern there to quench David's thirst. From these narratives and others like them it emerges that David presented his soldiers with difficult challenges, infused them with a spirit of competitiveness and spurred them on to prevail over a superior foe. He expected them to fight well in small groups against larger numbers, poorly armed as they were in comparison,[7] and to sustain their movements with vigor and coolheadedness even when they were within territory dominated by the enemy. Heroic exploits were extolled and those who undertook them were included in the prestigious unit of "the mighty men whom David had". This unit established fighting norms at a particularly high level, which provided the army as a whole with a challenge and a model for imitation. In this way David brought about a significant improvement in the general quality of the army.

When he felt that his small force was sufficiently tempered and that it was able to stand against even the professional and well-equipped Philistine army (if he could supply adequate operative and tactical support), he committed a decisive action: he accepted the petition of the Israelites in the north that he would rule over them as well. This act of unification had no immediate significance in the short term. He could give real force to his government in the north and absorb the remnants of its army only after a period of transition and adaptation—and in the meantime he expected a prompt Philistine attack, which indeed was not long in coming. With great precision the text records the Philistines' motives: "And the Philistines heard that David had been anointed as king over [all] Israel, and all the Philistines went up to seek David" (2 Sam 5,17; cf. 1 Chron 14,8). The phrase "all the Philistines" indicates how badly shaken they were by this political development and its long-term strategic implications, while the verse as a whole tells us that they assembled immediately concentrate their full power in order to break apart the

---

[7] Compare David's own conduct in refusing Saul's armor and equipment and facing Goliath armed only with a sling. This narrative provided a symbol for the principles and battle norms laid down for his army.

political union between the kingdoms before it could consolidate itself militarily and threaten their hegemony in the region.[8] Two campaigns, one after the other, were directed into the heart of the central hill country. We shall now try to analyze the course they took and their consequences.

II. *The First Battle: Geographical data*

The presumed axis of movement for the Philistines on their first campaign against David seems to have been along the Valley of Sorek, today the route of the railway up to Jerusalem, although in the opinion of one scholar they went through the Valley of Elah in the direction of Bethlehem, leaving one unit behind them there while the bulk of their power moved north across the Valley of Rephaim.[9] It is generally accepted that the Valley of Rephaim, where the Philistines formed up for the war against David, is to be identified with Baq'ah, in the region of the present-day railway station in Jerusalem.[10] Assembly there meant that the Philistines threatened both the settlements of Judah to the south and the settlements of Ephraim and Benjamin to the north. It also had a strategic significance: to create a barrier near the axis of the central route which connected the southern range with the central hills, along the line of the watershed (the route which today runs from Hebron and Bethlehem across Jerusalem to Ramallah and Shechem). This step imperiled the unification of the two kingdoms and seriously menaced important towns in the central hill country. The Philistines were well aware that David could not ignore this threat and that he would have to take the risk of a confrontation with them, which would give them the chance to destroy him and the national union he had brought about.

---

[8] In contrast with this view, which gives full military and historical significance to David's battle against the Philistines in the Valley of Rephaim, Tidwell suggests that the first battle at any rate was in fact of restricted scope, the narrative describing a limited foray by a Philistine unit sent to plunder crops in Rephaim, which served as the regional granary (Isa 17,5), and that only in the later tradition reflected in 2 Sam 5 was exaggerated historical significance ascribed to this incident. See N.L. Tidwell, "The Philistine Incursions into the Valley of Rephaim", SVT 30 (1979), pp. 190–212.

[9] See S. Yeivin, "David's Wars", *The Military History of the Land of Israel*, ed. J. Liver, pp. 152–54.

[10] This identification has been accepted by most scholars; for a list (and for the opinions of those few who suggest other identificafions), see S. Ahituv, s.v. "Valley

His response was to "come down" to הַמְצוּדָה (*Meṣudah*) (2 Sam 5,17; the site is not mentioned in the parallel 1 Chron 14,8).[11] What this was has been much debated. One hypothesis[12] is that the terms מָצֵד or מְצוּדָה can support two interpretations: *stronghold* and *hiding-place*. In adopting the second sense quite a few scholars identify מְצוּדָה with the Cave of Adullam (which has been identified with Chirbet esh-Sheikh Madhkur, near the modern moshav of Aderet),[13] which at first glance also seems to be referred to in another passage as מְצוּדָה (1 Sam 22,4). This identification too is apparently supported by the episode in which three of David's warriors broke through the Philistine lines at Bethlehem to draw water from the cistern at the city gate (2 Sam 23,13–17; 1 Chron 11,15–19) and which would appear to be connected with the Philistine campaign against David under discussion, since both passages mention the Valley of Rephaim and Meṣudah as the places where the Philistines and David respectively encamped. Similarly, the Cave of Adullam is named as a spot where David's warriors gathered. Scholars have therefore taken the episode to indicate that Meṣudah was the Cave of Adullam.

The course of the battle is analyzed at length by S. Yeivin,[14] on the basis of the above hypothesis. The Philistines, he suggests, moved along the Elah brook and the Valley of Elah, their destination being Bethlehem. David and his men were hidden a little to the south of the Valley of Elah, in Meṣudah—the Cave of Adullam. From this hiding-place they were able to observe the Philistine movement eastwards. On reaching Bethlehem the Philistines left behind a detachment

---

of Rephaim", *Encyclopedia Biblica* (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 299–300 (Hebrew); C.E. Hauer, "Jerusalem, the Stronghold and Rephaim", *CBQ* 32 (1970), p. 573, n. 10.

[11] David's movements and descent to Meṣudat Zion may be ignored in the tendentious reworking in Chronicles because according to the order of events in its historical account Meṣudat Zion had already ceased to be a Jebusite stronghold and had become the "City of David", David being said to dwell in it as his capital. The author therefore refrained from saying that David went down to it from some other place (such as Hebron) so as not to imply that he had not yet moved to Jerusalem and made it his capital. It is further possible that the change in formulation in Chronicles was intended to block any impression that David shut himself up in a fortress for fear of the Philistines. At any rate, the author of Chronicles altered the account here in order not to injure David.

[12] K.D. Schunck, "Davids 'Schlupfwinkel' in Juda", *SVT* 33 (1983), pp. 110–13.

[13] See, e.g., Yeivin, David's Wars, p. 152; Hauer, Jerusalem, p. 573; Schunck, ibid., pp. 110ff.; C. Herzog and M. Gichon, *Battles of the Bible* (London, 1978), pp. 79–81; R.P. Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel: A Commentary* (Exeter, 1986), p. 229.

[14] See, Yeivin, David's Wars, pp. 149–65.

called חיה while most of their army proceeded north and camped
in the Valley of Rephaim. Having concentrated their forces there,
they sent out bands (חיות) in various directions to destroy fields and
crops. David still remained in Adullam, and only after some time
did he come back and make a sudden attack upon the main Philistine
camp, which had been weakened by the feckless dispatch of these
units on a massive scale.

This description does not make tactical or strategic sense, nor does
it fit the literary context; and Mazar quite rightly criticizes it.[15] It
seems fairly clear that the Philistines would not have concentrated
such extensive forces merely to engage in punitive expeditions and
lay fields waste. Their main goal was to force David into a frontal
battle in which he could be crushed, before he could build up his
strength through his union with the regions of the center, north and
east—as the text indeed implies: "And the Philistines heard that
David have been anointed as king over [all] Israel, and all the
Philistines went up to seek David . . ." (2 Sam 5,17). Similarly, on
Yeivin's view it is difficult to understand why the Philistines should
have gone up to "seek" David in the center of the country, in the
Valley of Rephaim, if at that point he was some twelve or thirteen
miles behind them and to the west, in the Cave of Adullam, which
was in the border district of Judah, near Philistia. Moreover, a flight
to Adullam, reasonable as it was in the past when he had to escape
from Saul, could make no sense when defense against the Philistines
was in question. How could David have given up a position in the
central hills, where assistance in manpower and supplies were avail-
able from the dense Israelite population? The more thinly spread
people of the lowland and the country bordering on Philistia, by
contrast, were far more vulnerable to Philistine reprisals, and it is
doubtful if David could have used them to build his strength. On
the contrary, fear of the Philistines to the west might have led local
residents to betray David and his men to them.

Furthermore, the language of the text in 2 Samuel, "And David
heard, and he went down to מצודה (hmṣwdh) . . ." compels the inter-
pretation that "the" מצודה was the one already mentioned twice in
that very chapter (2 Sam 5,7,9) namely the stronghold of Zion or
Meṣudat Zion. The context also implies that his descent was in some

---

[15] See Mazar, David's Kingdom, p. 35.

way associated with the Philistine disposition in the Valley of Rephaim, which means that מצודה is to be sought in geographical proximity to the Valley,[16] and certainly not in a locality as distant as the Cave of Adullam. Objections to the identification of מצודה with Meṣudat Zion can readily be answered:

(a) The phrase "went down" is not inappropriate, since the range on which was built the Canaanite stronghold of Jebus—later called the City of David—was relatively low, and the hills which closed it in on every side were much higher. The early Psalmist had the same impression: "Jerusalem, hills are about it" (Ps 125,2). "Go down" is therefore a suitable term for anyone who approaches Jerusalem from any direction, even if in the last part of the journey one climbs up from the valley into which one has descended. In addition, if David went out from his capital Hebron, the movement in the direction of Jerusalem, which is on a ridge between the Judean hills and the hills of Beth-el, is generally thought of as a descent.

(b) As we have noted, some scholars point to 1 Sam 22,1–5 as proof of the identity of מצודה with the Cave of Adullam. But as Vargon has demonstrated,[17] the two are not identified in this passage either, מצודה here referring to a stronghold on the Moabite side of the border where the King of Moab stationed David and his band in exchange for watching over David's parents. David remained there for some time, until the seer Gad told him to return to Judah.

(c) Some scholars, as we have seen, assign to this Philistine campaign the episode recorded in 2 Sam 23,13–17 and 1 Chron 11,15–19, when three of David's warriors broke through the Philistine lines to bring David water from the cistern at Bethlehem, in a narrative where מצודה is apparently identified with the Cave of Adullam. However, confutation is available from two different directions.

---

[16] Mazar suggests another identification for מצודה—el-Hadzer, which is about three miles southwest of Bethlehem. Arrowheads from the 11th century BCE have been found there which may have belonged to David's bowmen, who were in a fortified camp in this locality. See his *Canaan and Israel: Historical Studies* (Jerusalem, 1974), p. 192 and n. 27 (Hebrew). Elsewhere, however, he joins those who place Meṣudat Zion in Jerusalem; see B. Mazar, "David's Reign in Hebron and the Conquest of Jerusalem", *Essays in Honour of Abba Hillel Silver*, ed. D.J. Silver (New York & London, 1963), p. 242, n. 12. For those who support the last identification, see Hauer, Jerusalem, p. 571, n. 4; and add to these S. Abramsky, eds. S. Abramsky and M. Garsiel, (*The World of the Bible*, Ramat Gan, 1989), p. 54 (Hebrew).

[17] See S. Vargon, "David's Wanderings: A Geographical and Historical Analysis", *Haguth Ba-Miqra* ed. E. Hamenachem, 4, Tel Aviv, 1984, pp. 113–14 (Hebrew).

First, the episode may belong to an earlier period, when David was fleeing from Saul, as the language of David's challenge to his soldiers implies, "Who will give me water to drink from the cistern of Bethlehem which is in the gate?" David, who was perhaps staying at Adullam at this point, longed for water specifically from the city of his birth, from which he had long been separated. Such was the reason he offered for his surprising request—surprising because the region where he was, near the Elah brook, was rich in water sources and there could be no reason to give three soldiers the trouble of covering about 25 miles, there and back, and endangering their lives by penetrating a city controlled by the Philistines. It would therefore seem that a different motive lay behind the dispatch of the warriors, namely the wish to train and toughen them up. Had thirst been the real reason a larger group should have been sent to bring back enough water not merely for David himself but for the entire band, which at this point numbered at least four hundred.

Secondly, the episode may indeed have taken place during the first Philistine campaign, as reported in 2 Sam 5. David was then in Mesudah (the City of David). The men were sent out ostensibly to fetch him water, but as water could be obtained from several springs closer to the City of David than Bethlehem their real task, most likely, was to gather intelligence for the besieged David. Even according to this interpretation, it should be added, the text cannot mean to identify the Cave of Adullam with Meṣudah when it states that David was in the former, since the very use of the two separate terms demonstrates that they constitute different places. Why then is the Cave of Adullam named here? The reason, I would suppose, is the wish to indicate that because David was besieged in Meṣudat Zion, three of his veterans, men who had joined him in the early days when he founded his band at the Cave of Adullam, responded to his challenge to bring water. Thus even if the episode took place after David had become king over all Israel, it commemorates, through a reference to the distant past, the background of the men who rallied to him long before, at Adullam, at the beginning of his flight from Saul and his wanderings.

(d) The identification of Meṣudah with Meṣudat Zion has been further challenged by some scholars on the grounds that the context of 2 Sam 5,6–8 apparently implies that David conquered Jerusalem at about the time he became king over the whole of Israel, while the battle against the Philistines took place immediately after

that. If so, when did David have the time to conquer Meṣudat Zion and provision it with the weapons and supplies required for a Philistine siege, and why in any case did the Philistines allow him to take it over? On this it should be remarked that the passage describing the conquest of Jerusalem appears in the midst of a series of pieces of information which are not organized chronologically. For many reasons Mazar's views which brings the conquest of Jerusalem forward to the second year of David's rule in Hebron, is to be preferred.[18] The Philistines allowed David to conquer Jerusalem at the same time because the effect was to exacerbate the situation in Ishbosheth's kingdom, and tension between the Israelite kingdoms suited them very well. This means that David had about six years to strengthen and fortify Jerusalem and provision it for emergencies.

The last geographical issue which requires attention is Baal-perazim, which is mentioned in the parallel texts in 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles as the site where David smote the Philistines, and where he offered a homiletic gloss on the name it bore.[19] But if the Philistines were encamped in the Valley of Rephaim, why are we told that he fell upon them in Baal-perazim? Moreover, it is clear that Baal-perazim must have been elevated ground, since in Isa 28,21 it is called "Mount Perazim", while the element *ba'al* indicates a hill on which Baal rites were carried out, as in Mount Ba'al Ḥaṣor. Similarly the use of the verb *go up* in connection with David's attack on Baal-perazim in the different formulation in 1 Chron 14,11 is suggestive (*go up* also appears in the text in 2 Samuel—not in the description of the attack but in the instructions given by the Lord).[20] At any rate it is clear that the Valley of Rephaim and Baal-perazim are not to be identified, the first being a valley and the second a hill.

Various scholarly identifications have been offered for Baal-perazim. The starting point must be a search for a locality which borders on the Valley of Rephaim, or one of the hills which overlook it. Dalman suggests a hill beside the monastery of Mar Elias, about halfway

---

[18] See Mazar, "David's Region", pp. 235-44.

[19] For an analysis of the homiletic etymology of "Baal-perazim" see M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* (Ramat Gan, 1991), p. 15.

[20] Japhet thinks the text of Chronicles preferable as *go up* serves as a leitmotif and keyword in the narrative in its two parallel versions. See S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL: London, 1993), p. 288.

between Bethlehem and Jerusalem.[21] However, this site is some dis-
tance to the south of where David was established in Meṣudat Zion,
and a spot which abuts on Meṣudat Zion seems preferable. Alt points
to the hill of Shar'afat at the southwestern end of the Valley of
Rephaim, about two miles from the present-day Ramat Rahel and
south of the railway line up to Jerusalem;[22] but this hill is even
further from Meṣudat Zion than the previous candidate. Recently
A. Mazar has put forward the claims of the site of settlement dis-
covered in the southern suburb of Gilo,[23] but it is slightly more dis-
tant from the City of David than Shar'afat, and A. Kempinski rightly
demurs.[24] Press's suggestion of Ras el-Muchbar (now Armon Hanatziv)
is a little closer to Meṣudat Zion,[25] but still seems rather too far
away.

It appears to me that the identification of Baal-perazim with Mount
Abu Tor, near the modern railway station and looking down on it
from the southwest (the locality is today called Givat Hananya), is
the most reasonable,[26] for this hill is southwest of Meṣudat Zion and
dominates it from that side. It is not impossible that the Arab name
of Abu Tor preserves the name שור (šwr), which was applied to Baal
when he took the form of a bull or calf;[27] this would explain the
connection between Mount Abu Tor and Baal-perazim. Below we
shall see how this identification can assist us in understanding how
events developed.

---

[21] See G. Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu* (Gütersloh, 1924³), p. 21.

[22] See A. Alt, *PJB* 23 (1927), pp. 15–16.

[23] See A. Mazar, "A Site from the Beginning of the Israelite Settlement in the
Vicinity of Jerusalem", *Qadmonioth*, 13 (1980), pp. 34–39 (Hebrew).

[24] See A. Mazar, ibid., pp. 34ff.; A. Kempinski, "Baal-perazim and the Disagree-
ment of Different Schools With Regard to the Settlement", *Qadmonioth*, 14 (1981),
pp. 63–64; and and compare Mazar's reply to criticism on p. 64 (Hebrew).

[25] See I. Press, ed., s.v. Baal-perazim, *Topographical and Historical Encyclopedia of
Palestine* 1, (Jerusalem, 1946), p. 114.

[26] See Z. Kallai, s.v. Baal-perazim, *Encyclopedia Biblica* 2, pp. 290–91 (Hebrew);
P. Na'aman, s.v. Baal-perazim, *Encyclopedia of Biblical Geography* (Tel Aviv, 1963), pp.
320–21 (Hebrew).

[27] On the god Baal in the form of a bull see A.H.A. Curtis, "Some Observations
on 'Bull' Terminology in the Ugaritic Texts and the Old Testament", *Oudtestamentishe
Studien*, 26 (1990), pp. 17–31.

III. *The course of the First Battle*

Now that the geographical details mentioned in the text have been clarified, the battle's operative and tactical dimensions can be described. As we have noted, the Philistines went up by the Sorek gorge (the present-day railway route up to Jerusalem), and deliberately set up camp in the Valley of Rephaim (where the train station now is). This maneuver meant that they threatened the important towns in the heart of the central hills. Had they moved a little to the east they could have deepened the barrier thereby established and cut off the hill route connecting the southern with the central regions of the kingdoms but they apparently preferred to choose their own arena for battle, one suited to their heavy weaponry and slow movement. In the past too the Philistines made a point of camping in valleys. In the war of Eben ha-ezer they camped in the Yarkon basins, at Aphek; in the period of Saul the battle in which David killed Goliath took place in the Valley of Elah; and the main engagement of Saul's last campaign was fought in the Jezreel Valley. On this occasion their expectation was that David, unable to ignore their threatening array, would be drawn into joining battle with them on ground suited to their type of fighting.

But David steered clear of the trap. Instead of attacking their position he moved closer to the area and barricaded himself in Meṣudat Zion. Here he was near them, but the two sides did not enter into battle as the spur now known as Mount Zion separates the Valley of Rephaim from Meṣudat Zion. This movement appeared to be essentially defensive,[28] but it compelled the Philistines to abandon their formation. Now they had to spread over the ridges closing in Meṣudat Zion on all sides, changing their entire disposition of forces to a siege order. Both of its very nature and as a result of the topography of the district, made up of the extended ridge of Meṣudat Zion, the valleys round about it and the lengthened chain of hills behind the valleys, this new arrangement made necessary an extremely wide scattering of camps and a dispersal of forces along the whole range of hills around Meṣudat Zion. This was the exact opposite of the Philistines' previous array of thickly packed lines in the Valley of Rephaim.

---

[28] Perhaps feeling that it was unseemly for David to shut himself up in a stronghold, the author of Chronicles omits this detail. See above, n. 13.

The dispersion and thinning of forces considerably reduced the striking power of the Philistine military machine and presented David with the chance to break through the lines of one section. Where he did it was on Mount Perazim or Baal-perazim (the Mount Abu Tor of today, which looks across to Meṣudat Zion from the southwest), and his action formed the basis of the secondary etymology by which he glossed the name of the site, comparing this "bursting apart" of the Philistine lines to a bursting out of waters: "The Lord burst apart (*prṣ*/פרץ) my enemy before me, as water bursts out; therefore he called that place בעל פרצים (*bʿl prṣym*)".[29] This misleading tactical movement, whose apparent defensiveness masked an offensive thrust, and David's ability to manipulate the enemy into abandoning its chosen position in favor of one more convenient to David himself, gave him an advantage over an army superior to his own in numbers and heavy weapons. At the same time it must be noted that the battle did not essentially change the situation. David broke the siege only in the southern sector, while the rest of the Philistine army remained untouched. Nevertheless the morale of his men was boosted by the realization that their small force could fight the terrible Philistines. The Philistines left their idols behind them, and David and his men took them as a souvenir and symbol of their victory.[30]

IV. *The Second Battle: Location and course*

Since the first battle had ended in victory for David but not in the overthrow of Philistine power—the enemy were not even pursued— it was clear to everyone that the Philistines had lost only a little of their ability to threaten the central hills again. They did in fact

---

[29] The verse creates an analogy between the bursting apart of the lines of the Philistine camp and the name פרצים, which would seem to refer to the spouting of water there caused by the meeting of the streams of the Kidron, Tyropean, and Hinnom valleys, south of the City of David. See M. Garsiel, "Metaphorical and Metonymical Methods of Description in the Biblical Story", *Criticism and Interpretation* 23 (1983), pp. 13–14 (Hebrew).

[30] The author of Chronicles alters the nature of this action in reporting that David ordered the idols burnt. It was customary for conquerers to carry off the gods of the conquered, as the Philistines themselves did when they captured the Ark of the Lord at the battle of Eben ha-ezer (1 Sam 4.1–5.1). For parallels see P.D. Miller and J.J.M. Roberts, *The Hand of the Lord* (Baltimore & London, 1977) pp. 42–43.

return to the Valley of Rephaim and set up camp there.[31] The oper-
ation indicates the conservatism of their strategic thinking, since they
adopted the same disposition of troops as before, although on the
other hand David could not use the same misleading device for a
second time, and had to think of a new tactic of attack.

Instead of going up against the Philistines by daylight in a frontal
attack on their encampment in the Valley of Rephaim, he and his
men waited in one of the valleys or ravines near the City of David
and the Valley of Rephaim. Elsewhere I have suggested that they
hid in the Valley of Ḥaruz in the Jerusalem vicinity (Joel 4,14),
which was probably the stream bed referred to by Josephus as the
Theropoeon. The brook makes a north-south descent; from the direc-
tion of the present-day neighborhood of Morasha it cuts through the
Damascus Gate, passes near the Western Wall and reaches the pool
of Shiloah, emptying into the Kidron brook. An allusion to David's
place of encampment can be found in the divine instruction to him,
". . . and it will be, when you hear the sound of marching at the
tops of the בכאים [trees], that you shall go out (thrs/תחרץ), for then
the Lord will go out before you to smite the camp of the Philistines"
(2 Sam 5,23–24). The word תחרץ operates as a gloss upon the loca-
tion, which is not actually named in the text—the Valley of Ḥaruz
(הֶחֶרוּץ).[32] The author of Chronicles, deliberately or not, forgoes the
use of this homiletic etymology and "translates" תחרץ by the ordi-
.nary verb go out [from hiding, to the attack], an interpretation which
rests on Ex 11,7: "And against the children of Israel not a dog will
put out (יֶחֱרַץ) its tongue" (cf. Josh 10,11), where the verb is taken
to refer to a dog's habit of letting its tongue loll out. Following his

---

[31] Several scholars doubt if the second battle took place in the Valley of Rephaim,
since the parallel text in Chronicles says that the Philistines spread "in the valley",
without naming it. As the axis of David's pursuit of the Philistines, was from Gibeon
in the direction of Gezer, they argue that the battlefield is to be sought northwest
of Jerusalem, apparently by Gibeon, and not in the Valley of Rephaim, which is
southwest of Jerusalem. See N. Na'aman, "The 'Conquest of Canaan' in Joshua
and in History", *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, eds. N. Na'aman and I. Finkelsetein
(Jerusalem, 1990), p. 322 (Hebrew). But we should note that the author of Chronicles
may simply be writing in an abbreviated style and that "valley" means the valley
mentioned a few verses before, namely the Valley of Rephaim. The Septuagint pro-
vides the name in full. It is therefore preferable to accept the hypothesis that the
second battle took place in the valley of Rephaim and not near Gibeon.
[32] See M. Garsiel, "The Biblical Origin of the Place Name of the Valley of
Theropoeon in Jerusalem, mentioned by Josephus Flavius", *Beit Mikra* 40 (1995),
pp. 127–34 (esp. pp. 133–34) (Hebrew).

usual practice of replacing rare terms with commoner or simpler words, the author of Chronicles therefore substitutes הצא for חרץ.

According to the description, God instructs David not to make a frontal attack upon the Philistines but to turn to their rear (2 Sam 5,23), that is, to adopt the tactic of an indirect approach and attack from behind—from the western part of the Valley of Rephaim, which was apparently known as the Valley of Baca (הבכא or בבכאים/ha-bk', bk'ym); it is mentioned in Ps 84,7 as the route climbing to Jerusalem from west to east. This attack was undertaken by night, when the camp was asleep. To avoid premature discovery by the sentries, David moved slowly and with caution, taking advantage of the nocturnal sounds, the rustle of the wind as it blew through the בכאים trees[33] and muffled his men's footsteps as they moved up silently for the attack. Since they were approaching from the rear they blocked the Philistines' escape route westwards along the Sorek gorge. In their confusion the Philistines had to flee first to the north, and only then retreat west, along the west, along the line of the Valley of Ayalon.[34] This time David did pursue them, apparently to inflict such damage on their forces that an early recovery and a renewal of their pressure upon him would be beyond their power.

David's energetic attempts to improve the quality of his small army and his brilliant use of tactics in war are what gave him military superiority over the Philistines and enabled him to free the center of the country from the Philistine threat and make Jerusalem his capital. Once he was free from the yoke of the Philistines and their watch on his army, the way was clear for a significant increase in the size of his army, as the text tells us: "And David gathered again every chosen man in Israel thirty thousand" (2 Sam 6:1). From this point he was able to prepare for the next stage: to drive the Philistines from the slopes of Samaria and the Judean lowland.

---

[33] For the various identifications of the בכאים trees see Y. Feliks, *The World of Biblical Plants* (Tel Aviv, 1957), p. 102 (Hebrew); H.N. and Alma L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (New York, 1952), pp. 183–84.

[34] The Masoretic text for 2 Sam 5,24 reads גבע (gb'). This has been identified with the Arab village *Gab'a*, which is well to the east of the Philistines' natural flight route westwards. The reading of גבעון (gb'wn) in 1 Chron 14,16 (and the Septuagint) is therefore preferable, since it indicates that David pursued the retreating Philistines along the route leading from Gibeon to the Valley of Ayalon and Gezer.

RECOVERING "THE WOMEN WHO SERVED AT THE ENTRANCE"*

E.L. Greenstein

Tel Aviv

The Torah, as a literature that emerged among an ancient, historical community, contains not a few allusions that are obscure to the later reader. Entire books, such as "the book of the Wars of YHWH",[1] which were once familiar to the Israelites who first transmitted the biblical materials, were lost even to the earliest interpreters of Scripture. Among the most arcane allusions in the Torah is the reference in the narrative of building the divine dwelling in the Israelite camp, the *miškan*, to "women who serve at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting" (הַצֹּבְאֹת אֲשֶׁר צָבְאוּ פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מֹעֵד) (Ex 38,8). The precise meaning of the term "women who serve" has not been much elucidated. On the basis of the phrase "to serve service" (לִצְבֹא צָבָא) in Num 4,23 (cf. 8,24), where it occurs in a cultic context and in apparent apposition to לַעֲבֹד עֲבֹדָה most commentators have understood the service of the women at the entrance to the tent of meeting to be of a cultic character.[2] If, as Milgrom contends,[3] the verb צָבָא means "to participate in a work force" and עָבַד means "to perform physical work", the commentators who understand the "women who serve" to have engaged in weaving fabric, tanning hides, or simply cleaning, may be justified.[4] Benno Jacob

---

* An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago, November 1994.

[1] Num 21,14–15. Compare "the book of Yashar", which is cited in Josh 10,13, 2 Sam 1,18, and the Greek version of 1 Kgs 8,12–13 (assuming a metathesis of שִׁיר from יָשָׁר).

[2] E.g., Y. Kiel, *The book of Samuel* (Daʿat Miqra'; Jerusalem, 1981), 1, p. 27 (Hebrew). De Vaux compares these women to the young girls who in pre-Islamic Arab society would keep watch over the *qubba* containing a tribe's idols; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London, 1965²), pp. 296, 383.

[3] J. Milgrom, "The Term עֲבֹדָה", *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology* (SJLA; Leiden, 1983), pp. 18–46, esp. 31 on Num 4,23f.

[4] Cf., e.g., S.D. Luzzatto, *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (Tel Aviv, 1965), p. 389 (Hebrew); S.R. Driver, *The book of Exodus* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 391; idem, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1913), p. 33; H.W. Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel* (OTL; Philadelphia, 1964), p. 36; N.M. Sarna, *Exodus* שְׁמוֹת (*JPS Torah Commentary*; Philadelphia, 1991), p. 230.

maintains, on the other hand, that the situation of the women's serv-
ice at "entrance to the Tent of Meeting" defines the service as rit-
ual rather than menial.[5] We may not be in a position to decide the
issue. In the present discussion we shall only assume that the women
were engaged in some ill-defined type of service for the sanctuary.[6]

Ex 38,8 relates that the craftsman Bezalel made the copper/bronze
washing basin for the divine dwelling and the stand for the basin
out of the mirrors of the women who served at the entrance. Copper
was, in fact, the material out of which most mirrors in the ancient
Near East were made.[7] What the women were doing with mirrors
at the entrance to the sanctuary is not explained in the text. Some
scholars, basing themselves on the fact that copper mirrors were
largely manufactured in Egypt and that Egyptian art depicts women
standing before a goddess with mirrors in hand, have suggested that
these Israelite women were adopting a pagan form of worship.[8] Their
mirrors might then have been taken from them and placed into a
more properly biblical cultic function.[9] The biblical text, however,
is highly laconic; there is no indication at all that the women were
engaged in worship, although we cannot rule out the possibility that
such a background lies hidden behind the present text. What is clear
is that if there ever were a connection between the mirrors and the
function that the women may have served, from the perspective of
the narrator such a function no longer exists because the women no
longer have their mirrors.[10]

Most interpreters, both ancient and modern, who express an opin-
ion on the matter, suppose that these women brought their mirrors
to the sanctuary in order to contribute them freely to the divine

---

[5] B. Jacob, *The Second book of the Bible: Exodus* (trans. W. Jacob with Y. Elman;
Hoboken, 1992), pp. 1029–30.

[6] Cf., e.g., P. Bird, "The Place of Women in the Israelite Cult", in *Ancient Israelite
Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. P.D. Miller, Jr., and P. Hanson
(Philadelphia, 1987), p. 406; M.I. Gruber, "Women in the Cult according to the
Priestly Code", *The Motherhood of God and Other Studies* (Atlanta, 1992), pp. 54–55.

[7] Cf., e.g., E. Stern, "מַרְאָה" *Enciclopedia miqra'it*, 5, (Jerusalem, 1968), pp. 440–42
(Hebrew).

[8] Cf., e.g., M. Görg, "Der Spiegeldienst der Frauern", *Biblische Notizen* 23 (1984),
pp. 9–13.

[9] Cf., e.g., U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin: Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum
weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt* (OBO; Freiburg/Göttingen,
1983), p. 65.

[10] Cf., e.g., W.F. Adney, "Woman", *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings,
(Edinburgh, 1898), 4, p. 934b.

dwelling that was under construction.[11] There is, however, no hint in the verse that the women brought their mirrors with them to the tent of meeting—we read only that Bezalel made use of them for the purpose of manufacturing the wash basin. Nor is there the slightest indication that the women donated the mirrors; they may have parted with their mirrors in some other fashion. The interpretation I shall propose does not posit that the mirrors were freely given.

Before constructing my interpretation, it will be useful to underscore the relative independence of this little episode about the women and their mirrors. In the command passage, when Moses is first instructed to make the wash basin and its stand out of copper, or bronze, nothing is said about getting the metal from a special source (Ex 30,18). Moreover, the reference to the women already stationed at the tent of meeting is, in its present context, anachronistic since the tent will only be erected after all the ritual furniture and paraphernalia will have been made (chap. 40).[12] In other words, in the narrative sequence relating the construction of the divine dwelling (the *miškan*), the basin cannot be made out of the mirrors of the women at the entrance to the tent of meeting because there are no women, or men, at the tent of meeting. The tent of meeting has not yet been set up.

The lack of fit between the enigmatic episode and its narrative surroundings has led scholars to two different conclusions. Some have seen the episode as a later, quasi-midrashic interpolation.[13] Others have seen it as a mere allusion to a tale that was once known to the implied audience but is no longer fully understood.[14] I am not persuaded that our verse is an interpolated gloss because it in no way explains anything. It is so obscure a remark that, rather than

---

[11] Cf., e.g., Abraham Ibn Ezra, ad loc.; Nahmanides, ad loc.; A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus* (KHAT; Leipzig, 1880²), p. 364; N. Leibowitz, *Studies in Shemot* (trans. A. Newman; Jerusalem, 1976), 2, pp. 689–95; A. Hakham, *The book of Exodus* (Da'at Miqra'; Jerusalem, 1991), 2, p. 279 (Hebrew); Sarna, *Exodus*, p. 230.

[12] Cf., e.g., Driver, *Exodus*, 391; J.I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC; Waco, 1987), p. 487.

[13] Cf., e.g., J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin, 1963²), p. 145; Dillmann, *Exodus und Leviticus*, pp. 363–64; S.R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Cleveland, 1956), p. 144; A. Rofé, *Introduction to the Composition of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, 1994), p. 58 (Hebrew).

[14] Cf., e.g., Jacob, *Exodus*, p. 1030; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the book of Exodus* (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem, 1967), p. 467; B.S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (OTL; Philadelphia, 1974), p. 636.

provide a midrashic explanation, it sows a need for midrashic expla-
nation. Accordingly, a classical rabbinic midrash connects our episode
with the ordeal of the wife suspected of adultery, the *soṭa* (Num
5,11ff.), contrasting the depravity of the latter—belonging presum-
ably to the younger generation of Israelites—with the purity of the
former—presumably the older generation of women who left Egypt
(*Bemidbar Rabbah* 9,14).

The midrash involves a chain of inferences beginning with the *soṭa*
and leading back to the women who serve at the tent of meeting.
The suspected wife must drink a priestly potion made with holy
water (מים קדושים; Num 5,17). It is supposed that this water was
taken from the copper water basin in the sanctuary. If the water in
this basin was holy, the logic goes, its container must have been
made of specially pure copper. The copper, we are told in Ex 38,
came from the mirrors of the women who served at the tent of
meeting. These women, who owned and handled the mirrors, must
therefore have been paragons of purity. The *soṭa* will be judged by
the water that has been touched indirectly by the pure women who
served at the sanctuary entrance.

The rabbinic midrash seeks to normalize the anomalies of the bib-
lical text by providing a link between the instructions to build the
miškan and the passage relating the execution of the command—
Moses was told to use the mirrors of the women at the entrance;
and it resolves the ambiguities concerning how and why the mirrors
left the possession of the women and became the property of the
official cult. The lengths to which the midrash must go in order to
produce a fully intelligible story only highlight the opaqueness of the
episode.

Accordingly, I suppose with Cassuto and others that our episode
of the women and their mirrors is but a remnant of an earlier tale
that was part of the Torah's oral or literary sources.[15] Sometimes
there seems to be no way to retrieve the contents of those sources.
In other instances, however, the missing material may be restored
from extra-biblical and/or other biblical texts. This, I believe, is true
of the case at hand. I suggest that the essential outlines of the episode
of the women at the entrance can be reconstituted from two other
passages in the Bible.

---

[15] E.g., Cassuto, *Exodus*, pp. 466–67; Childs, *Exodus*, p. 636. I have discussed the
controversy over whether the sources or the Torah were oral or literary in "The
Formation of the Biblical Narrative Corpus", *AJS Review*, 15 (1990), pp. 151–78.

My reconstruction follows from the thesis I elaborated several years ago in an article entitled "The Formation of the Biblical Narrative Corpus".[16] That thesis, which is, of course, hardly altogether original, is that the stories that we find in the narrative literature stretching from Genesis through Kings are composed of a limited number of characters, personal names, geographic locations, themes, motifs, and plots. These narrative components, many of which can be associated with the earliest kings of Israel, such as David and Jeroboam, are then reconfigured and recycled in the telling of other stories that chronologically precede and succeed them. A well-known example is the narrative of Lot and the men of Sodom in Gen 19 and its more horrific *Doppelgänger* in the Judg 19 narrative of the Levite and his concubine at Gibeah.[17]

As commentators typically observe, the "women who serve at the entrance to the tent of meeting" reappear near the beginning of the book of Samuel. The elderly priest of the Shiloh shrine, Eli, hears that his two sons, Hophni and Phineas, were, in addition to other corrupt behaviors, "having sexual relations (lit., lying down) with the women who serve at the entrance to the tent of meeting" (1 Sam 2,22). The verse has interested biblicists for primarily text-critical reasons. Wellhausen and others have regarded the latter half of the verse as a late interpolation, borrowing "the women who served at the entrance" from Ex 38.[18]

The main reasons for taking 1 Sam 2,22b as secondary are as follows: (a) The half-verse in question does not appear in the Greek of the Codex Vaticanus, nor does it appear in the early Dead Sea manuscript 4QSam^a. (b) The "tent of meeting" is a distinctively priestly term that is out of place in the book of Samuel, where the shrine is generally denoted by the terms בית and היכל. (c) Neither Eli nor the divine condemnation of Hophni and Phineas refers again to their sexual depravity. It is suggested by scholars who consider 1 Sam 2,22b to be interpolated that the clause was added to an earlier text in order to magnify the crime, and thereby justify more

---

[16] Greenstein, ibid., pp. 151ff.

[17] For the comparison and references to some of the secondary literature, see Ibid., pp. 169–70; cf., e.g., L.R. Klein, *The Triumph of Irony in the book of Judges* (JSOTS; Sheffield, 1989), pp. 165–69.

[18] For references and discussion, see S. Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel* (OBO; Freiburg/Göttingen, 1984), pp. 70–75; cf., e.g., E.C. Ulrich, Jr., *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM; Missoula, 1978), p. 58; E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis/Assen, 1992), pp. 273–74.

fully the severe retribution that is taken out on the Elide priest-hood.[19]

The secondary status of the verse in question is, however, by no means certain. First, the clause that is considered a gloss is present in other Greek versions, and something like it was already known to Josephus.[20] In *Antiquities* Josephus describes the corruption of Hophni and Phineas near the beginning of his version of the Samuel story, as soon as he mentions them:

> These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men, and of impi-ety towards God. . . . They were also guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God, obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes (5,10).[21]

Second, although the term "tent of meeting" (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד) is unex-pected in Samuel, it does occur in Josh 18,1 and 19,51 and could be employed in Samuel as well. It should be borne in mind that although a term may be characteristic of the priestly literature, it is generally not exclusive to that corpus and may also be employed by other ancient Hebrew authors. For example, the term עֵדָה tends to be used in the priestly literature for designating the "community" of Israel, in contrast to the term favored by the Deuteronomic litera-ture, namely, קָהָל.[22] Yet the term עֵדָה occurs in the same corpus to which Samuel belongs, the so-called Deuteronomistic History (e.g., Josh 9,15, 18; 18,1; 22,12, 30; 1 Kgs 8,5; 12,20) alongside the term קָהָל (e.g., Josh 8,35; 1 Kgs 8,14,22,55; 12,3).[23]

Third, it is highly plausible that an original reference to the sex-ual depravity of the Elide priests was omitted deliberately by some of the Greek translators in order not to overly tarnish the priestly image. As Geiger and other proponents of this view have indicated, such a move by the Greek translators would be in keeping with a tendency evident among the ancient Aramaic translators and classi-

---

[19] Cf., e.g., D. Barthélemy, "La qualité du Texte Massorétique de Samuel", *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel*, ed. E. Tov (Jerusalem, 1980), p. 6; Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, p. 75.

[20] Ulrich, assuming the text is a gloss, is compelled to argue that it was inter-polated very early; Ulrich, *Qumran Text of Samuel*, p. 58.

[21] W. Whiston, *The Life and Works of Flavius Josephus* (Philadelphia, n.d.), pp. 168b–69a.

[22] Cf., e.g., M. Weinfeld, "Pentateuch", *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), 13, pp. 252–53.

[23] Cf., e.g., S. Abramsky, *Shemu'el I ('olam hattenakh)* ed. S. Abramsky and M. Garsiel (Jerusalem and Ramat Gan, 1985), p. 38a (Hebrew).

cal rabbinic exegetes to remove the stain of sexual perversity from the priests.[24]

A widely documented Jewish exegesis holds that Eli's sons did not themselves sleep with the women who served.[25] Rather, the women would come to Shiloh after childbirth in order that the priests make purification offerings on their behalf. The priests would delay the offerings, preventing the women from sleeping again with their husbands. The priests' sin, in this view, is tantamount to their having slept with the women (e.g., J. *Ketubbot* 13,1; *Soṭa* 1,4; b. *Shabbat* 55b). Alternatively, delaying the offerings might have another deleterious effect. When the women would indeed return to their husbands and presumably have intercourse with them, Eli's sons would be violating the laws of purity because on their account the prerequisite purification offerings had not yet been performed (e.g., *Midrash Hagadol* 1.400–1). The interpretation that fails to fault Hophni and Phineas is based on the verse 1 Sam 2,24, in which Eli tells his sons that they "cause the people of YHWH to transgress" (מעבירים את עם-ה), namely, they do not themselves commit sins but they create the circumstances in which others do.

In any event, the classical Jewish exegesis seeks to acquit the priests of personal misconduct. The Codex Vaticanus as well as the 4QSam[a] text may be doing the same thing by dropping 1 Sam 2,22b.

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that those text versions that attribute a sin of sexual misconduct to "the women who served at the entrance" and to their priestly partners did not derive it from Ex 38,8. In Exodus, not a thing is reported about what the women at the entrance of the sanctuary did. There would seem to have existed a textual or oral tradition concerning some hanky panky between the women who served and the attending priests.

That such was the case may be supported by the one textual clue we do have relating to the women who served. Their mirrors were

---

[24] A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigheit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums* (Breslau, 1857), pp. 271–72; cf., e.g., N. Peters, *Beiträge zur Text- und Literarkritik sowie zur Erklärung der Bücher Samuel* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 103; M.Z. Segal, *The Books of Samuel* (Jerusalem, 1964), p. 25 (Hebrew); W. McKane, *I and II Samuel: Introduction and Commentary* (London, 1963), p. 38. I thank Prof. Alexander Rofé for directing me to the Geiger reference.

[25] Some classical Jewish texts acknowledge the fornication of Eli's sons; cf., e.g., b. *Yoma* 9a–b, and see the commentaries of Rashi and R. David Qimḥi to 1 Sam 2,22, who contrast the favorable rabbinic reading of Hophni and Phineas's behavior with the plain sense of the wording.

used to make the copper, or bronze, basin. There is only one other similar episode in the Torah.[26] The rebellious Levites led by Korah had been instructed by Moses to bring forward their copper/bronze trays for burning incense. The Lord then incinerated the rebels, leaving their censer-trays undamaged. Elazar the priest, Aaron's son, appropriated the trays, had them beaten into metal sheets, and used those sheets to plate the altar (Num 17,4). The plating is expressly meant to serve as a reminder (זכרון) to the Israelites that no one but a legitimate priest may offer incense before the Lord (v. 5). Similarly, the sprouting staff of Aaron, a symbol of his legitimacy and the illegitimacy of other priestly clans, is to be kept as a reminder and cautionary sign (אות) of the same rebellion (v. 25).

Most modern commentators regard Num 17,4–5 as a late addition in order to explain the plating of the altar.[27] The altar had been bronze plated at the time it was first manufactured, however, so there would be no need for such an explanatory addition. Indeed, the addition produces a contradiction between the passages in Exodus and Numbers in relation to when and how the altar was covered with bronze. The contradiction leads the Septuagint to harmonize the two passages by adding at Ex 38,2 that Bezalel "made the bronze altar out of the bronze censers that belonged to the men who rebelled with the congregation of Korah".[28]

The critical point for the purposes of the present argument is that the use of Israelite-owned implements for making a part of the sanctuary is not a sign of piety or generosity. To the contrary, it is a reminder of Israelite shame and an admonition, not to violate the sanctity of the divine cult.

One may deduce the same origins for the use of the women's mirrors for constructing the bronze basin and its stand. The mirrors were confiscated from the women who served at the entrance as a penalty for some infraction of the cultic rules. The women's transgression would continue to serve as a monitory measure, every time anyone looked at the bronze washing basin.

---

[26] Cf. Driver, *Exodus*, p. 391.

[27] Cf., e.g., G.B. Gray, *Numbers* (ICC; New York, 1920), p. 208; P.J. Budd, *Numbers* (WBC; Waco, 1984), p. 194.

[28] In a similar attempt to harmonize the text, Milgrom, in contrast to most moderns, takes this passage to refer to a *second* plating of the altar; J. Milgrom, *Numbers* במדבר (*The JPS Torah Commentary*; Philadelphia, 1990), p. 140. Licht regards the Num 17 notice as an early etiology of some historical bronze altar; J. Licht, *Commentary on the book of Numbers 11–21* (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 115–16 (Hebrew).

What, then, was the women's crime? In light of the text we have compared in 1 Samuel 2, the transgression was not theirs alone. There had been some sort of fornication between them and some of the priests. Perhaps on account of its unseemly nature, the details were omitted-or expunged-from the Torah's account.

However, the same episode, or a similar one, is remembered in the biblical tradition in connection with Eli's sons, Hophni and Phineas. The fact that the name Phineas belongs both to a son of the Torah's priest Elazar and to a son of Eli facilitates the doubling of the episode, or its displacement from the Torah to the book of Samuel. In any event, the enigmatic story of the women-who-served and their mirrors can be filled out by reading it in conjunction with the fornication of Eli's sons, on the one hand, and with the plating of the altar with the bronze trays of the rebels, on the other.

The enigma of Ex 38,8 is one puzzle that would seem still to have most of its pieces. They have not all been lost by tradition. The puzzle has been taken apart by the processes of literary history. I have tried to do the puzzle on the twin assumptions that we have some of its major pieces in Ex 38 and in 1 Sam 2, and that we have an idea of how the puzzle fits together from Num 17. Literary reconstruction is like the archaeologist's piecing together a broken jar. If one has a sufficient number of shards and a model of how the whole jar might look, one can apply a measure of imagination and make an informed restoration.

MESHA'S ATTEMPT TO INVADE JUDAH (2 CHRON 20)

A.F. RAINEY
Tel Aviv

M. Noth agrees that the Chronicler's statement about building pro-
jects and military activities probably are derived from a genuine
ancient source.[1] We see no reason not to accept this evaluation in
spite of many critical objections by 20th-century scholars. We would
add that the military exploits have a special ring of authenticity by
virtue of the geographical details that they include; the same holds
true for the geopolitical outlook expressed by the Chronicler in citing
such sources.

Opinions have varied concerning the narrative about an attempted
invasion of Judah from the east (2 Chron 20,1–30). Noth argued
that the geographical details must derive from some local tradition;
he felt that the background was some otherwise unknown invasion
by the Nabateans.[2] Rudolph[3] agreed that there was some source
behind the narrative and Williamson[4] agrees that that account may
have already been part of the Chronicler's historical source. This is
not to deny that the Chronicler has reworked the material to suit
his own theological goals.[5]

The chronological sequence of the Chronicler is of major impor-
tance here. He places the invasion after Jehoshaphat's return from
the battle at Ramoth-gilead. His statement, ויהי אחריכן "And it came
to pass after this . . ." is more than a literary convention here.[6]
Furthermore, the details of the narrative fit just this particular time.

---

[1] M. Noth, *The Chronicler's History* (Trans. By H.G.M. Williamson, JSOTS 50;
Sheffield, 1987), pp. 58–60.
[2] M. Noth, "Eine palästinische Lokalüberlieferung in 2 Chr 20", *ZDPV* 67
(1944–45), pp. 45–71.
[3] W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT; Tübingen, 1955), pp. 260–261.
[4] H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB; Grand Rapids and London, 1982),
pp. 292–93.
[5] Ibid., S. Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles, A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, 1993), pp.
785–803.
[6] Contra Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 785.

The invasion took place in 853 BCE just after the death of Ahab.[7] It is also significant that the Chronicler refers to the joint nautical venture with Ahaziah in the subsequent verses (2 Chron 20,35–37). Again the expression ואחריכן "after this", is intentional; it is meant to confirm the sequence of events. The reign of Ahaziah was two official years (non-accession system) but only one calendar year, namely 853/852 BCE. By placing the attempted Moabite-Ammonite invasion between the death of Ahab and the reign of Ahaziah, the Chronicler enables us to date that campaign to 853/852 BCE.

2 Chron 20,1–30

1: ויהי אחריכן באו בני-מואב ובני עמון ועמהם מהעמונים (*מהמעונים = Mιναίων
על-יהושפט למלחמה: (LXX: ἐκ τῶν

2. ויבאו ויגידו ליהושפט לאמר בא עליך המון רב מעבר לים מארם והנם כחצצון
תמר היא עין גדי: ... : 10 ועתה הנה בני עמון ומואב והר שעיר אשר לא נתתה
לישראל לבוא בהם בבאם מארץ מצרים כי סרו מעליהם ולא השמידום: ... 22
ובעת החלו ברנה ותהילה נתן יהוה מארבים על בני עמון מואב והר שעיר הבאים
ליהודה וינגפו:

And it happened after this that the Moabites and the Ammonites and with them some of the Meunites (LXX) came against Jehoshaphat for battle. And they came and reported to Jehoshaphat, saying: "A great host is coming against you from beyond the (Dead) Sea, at the instigation of Aram; and behold they are at Hazazon-tamar (that is En-Gedi)". . . . And now behold, the men of Ammon and Moab and Mt. Seir, whom you would not let Israel invade when they came from the land of Egypt, whom they avoided and whom they did not destroy". And when they began to sing and praise, the Lord set ambushers against the sons of Ammon, Moab, and Mt. Seir who had come against Judah and they smote one another.

Three points determine the correct interpretation of this passage: (1) The LXX reading ἐκ τῶν Mιναίων is to be preferred and taken to represent an original Hebrew *מהמעונים "some of the Meunites" (RSV).[8] (2) מארם is not to be amended to *מאדם "from Edom".[9] The LXX has ἀπό Συρίας "from Syria", and the implication is that the Arameans had incited the Ammonites and Moabites to launch this

---

[7] E.R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, 1983³), pp. 94–96.

[8] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, pp. 293–94.

[9] Cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Trans. By A.F. Rainey: Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 293–94; Williamson, ibid., p. 294; Contra Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 781.

invasion. This can be seen as an offensive move designed to avenge Jehoshaphat's participation in the war against Aram alongside Ahab. (3) The Mt. Seir in vv. 10 and 22 is not to be sought to the east but to the west of the Arabah Valley (cf. 1 Chron 4,42).[10] The people of Mt. Seir in this passage are those Meunites from LXX 20,1. They were the pastoral people living in southern Transjordan and who controlled the caravan routes across the Sinai desert. They paid tribute to Uzziah later on (2 Chron 26,7,8; cf. also 1 Chron 4,41) and afterwards paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III.[11] It is not surprising that their misfortune in this attempted invasion was followed by Jehoshaphat's enterprise on the Gulf of Eilat. He had the upper hand in the southern expanses of his kingdom. The Meunites were undoubtedly included among the "Arabians" who brought tribute to Jehoshaphat (2 Chron 17,11).

The Deuteronomist skipped over this event as well as many other interesting details of the life of Jehoshaphat. Nevertheless, he does allude to the fact that Jehoshaphat engaged in military activity (1 Kgs 22,46). The Chronicler included the narrative of chap. 20 because it served to balance the picture presented in 2 Kgs 3 (a narrative from the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel). That latter campaign took place after the death of Ahaziah of Israel, when Joram of Israel took over his brother's throne (852 BCE).[12] The Israelite motivation was revenge for Mesha's revolt and conquest of towns in the Moabite tableland north of the Arnon (as depicted in the Mesha Inscription). Jehoshaphat's motivation for joining Israel was to get revenge for the attempted invasion via En-gedi.

---

[10] F.M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 1, (Paris, 1933), pp. 389–91; G.I. Davies, "The Significance of Deuteronomy 1.2 for the Location of Mount Horeb", *PEQ* 111 (1979), pp. 97–101. Williamson, ibid., pp. 294–95.

[11] H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglatt-pileser III, King of Assyria* (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 178–79.

[12] Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers*, p. 99.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND
SIGNIFICANCE OF ISA 1,10-17

SHMUEL VARGON

Bar-Ilan, Ramat Gan

The first chapter of the book of Isaiah has been the subject of many studies that have attempted to determine when the prophecies included in this chapter were composed. We feel that the literary unit Isa 1,2–20 consists of four different prophecies vv. 2–3, 4–9; 10–17; 18–20, which were delivered on different occasions and assembled by the editor through a process of thought and associative connection. In our view the prophetic section in chap. 1,10–17 was originally an independent prophecy that was later combined with other prophecies in the broader context of this chapter as it now exists.[1] After proving this contention we shall treat the literary structure and content of this particular prophecy, and show that it was delivered at the time when many of the inhabitants of Judah were suffering from the repercussions of the religious reforms instituted by Hezekiah, king of Judah. Against this historical background the prophecy receives a new significance.

I. *The prophecies in Isa 1,2–20*

It appears that in Isa 1,2–20 four different prophecies were woven together. They are vv. 2–3; 4–9; 10–17; 18–20. These prophecies have different contents and messages and it is possible that they were delivered at different times. An examination of the content of each shows that there is no integral link between them:

(1) The first prophecy (vv. 2–3) contains a rebuke of the people who do not recognize God. The prophecy receives an ironic twist by means of the contrast between the animals, the ox and the ass,

---

[1] We have dealt with this proposition elsewhere; see S. Vargon, "Construction and Meaning of Isaiah 1:18–20", *Studies in Bible and Exegesis*, IV eds. R. Kasher, Y. Sefati and M. Zipor, (Ramat Gan, 1997), pp. 37–54. For the sake of clarity we summarize the argument in this paper. Compare H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (Trans. T.H. Trapp, Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 8–9.

who do recognize their owners, and the inhabitants of Judah, who lack the comprehension to recognize that they belong to God.[2]

(2) In the second prophecy (vv. 4–9), by contrast, the nation is accused of deliberately distancing themselves from God (v. 4), a distancing which brought them to a difficult state. Verse 9, "Had not the Lord of Hosts left us some survivors, we would be like Sodom, another Gomorrah", is the climax of the prophecy when the prophet illustrates the seriousness of the blow.[3]

(3) The third prophecy (vv. 10–17), describes a confrontation between the formal, external worship of God (a ritual ceremonial worship), which is performed by the heads of the nation, and true worship of God demanded by the prophet (vv. 16–17).

(4) The fourth prophecy (vv. 18–20) has no complaint against a misdirected cult but a call by the prophet in which he gives the people a choice: either observe the covenant, which means life, or disobey the covenant, which will result in disaster.

The first two prophecies are indeed directed at the people as a group, but each has a different message and a different way of delivering it. The first prophecy (vv. 2–3) makes no direct appeal to the people. The prophet turns to outside witnesses—the heaven and the earth—and lays his complaints before them; the accused—the people—are mentioned only in the third person. The second prophecy (vv. 4–9) opens with a direct appeal to the nation and addresses the people in the second person (vv. 5–7).

In contrast to the previous prophecies, the third prophecy (vv. 10–17) is directed to the leadership of the people. This is clearly seen in the epithets used in the opening of the prophecy in v. 10:

---

[2] Even though the first prophecy says "they have rebelled against me", its main thrust is that Israel does not recognize or comprehend who is their benefactor. This is emphasized by the comparison between man and the animals. See J.L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry—Parallelism and its History* (New Haven and London, 1981), p. 9.

It seems that the parallelism הִתְבּוֹנֵן \ יָדַע—the verb "to know"—is not necessarily linked to the observing of the covenant; rather it belongs to the semantic field "recognition". On the pair יָדַע \ בִּין which occurs many times in the Bible (e.g., Isa 11,2; 29,24; 32,4; 40,14, 21; 43,10; 44,18–19; Micah 4,12), and in Ugaritic literature see M. Held, "More Parallel Pairs in the Bible and Ugaritic Literature", *Leshonenu* 18 (1952), p. 148 (Hebrew); Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literature* (Neukirschen-Vluyn, 1984, pp. 316–17; 366–67; 652).

[3] For the time when this prophecy was delivered and its significance, see e.g., Y. Kaufmann, *The History of Israelite Religion*, Vols. VI–VII (Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, 1960), pp. 164, 193–95 (Hebrew).

> Hear the word of the Lord,
> You chieftains of Sodom;
> Give ear to our God's instruction,
> You folk[4] of Gomorrah!

and in the content of the demands voiced in vv. 16-17:

> Devote yourself to justice;
> Aid the wronged.
> Uphold the rights of the orphan;
> Defend the cause of the widow

which are addressed to those who are capable of acting in these matters, namely the heads of the people.

The fourth prophecy (vv. 18-20) differs from the third in that it is directed at the people in general. True, the terms "people", and "Israel" are not found there, but because of the prophet's use of the form of the covenant[5] it is reasonable to suppose that he directed his speech to the people in general, for the covenant is obligatory on the entire nation. Also the content of the covenant—the choice between its observation and its disregard—is directed by its very essence to the entire nation and not only to its leaders.

Further proof that four separate prophecies were united in this literary unit is the opening words in each of the prophecies: v. 2: Hear!; v. 4: Ah!; v. 10: Hear!; v. 18: Come![6]

One can therefore say that Isa 1,2-20 contains various prophecies that have no organic literary link. One must then ask why the editor chose to combine prophecies so different from each other, and delivered at diverse times, in one literary unit.

---

[4] The term עַם "folk", is also used in the Bible to describe a part of the people such as those in authority, e.g., ministers, in Jer 26,16; priests, in Ex 19,24; Hos 4,9. See E.Z. Melamed, *Biblical Studies in Texts, Translations and Commentators* (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 38, 41 (Hebrew). The prophet very likely chose to the term עַם because of the similarity with the first syllable of the name עֲמוֹרָה, the next word.

[5] Compare e.g., Lev 26,2ff.; Dtn 28,1ff. On the conditional phrase term, וְהָיָה אִם or אִם, which is an important element in the model of the covenant in this prophecy, see B. Uffenheimer, *Ancient Prophecy in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1973), pp. 42-45 (Hebrew).

[6] For examples of the word "Hear!" as the opening word of the prophecy see Isa 46,3; 48,1; Hos 5,1; Joel 1,2; Amos 8,4; Mic 1,2; 3,1,9; 6,1. For examples of the word "Ah!" as the opening word of the prophecy see Isa 5,8,11,18,20,21, 22; 10,1, 5; Jer 22,13; 23,1; Ez 13,3,18; Amos 5,18; 6,1; Hab 2,6,9,12,15,19. For examples of the word "Come!" as the opening word of the prophecy see Hos 6,1; Ps 95,1.

The reason apparently lies in various content-based and associa-
tive links[7] between them, in language and content, such that the edi-
tor could join them into a continuous logical whole.

The first prophecy begins with the summons of the cosmic wit-
nesses[8] and continues with a general accusation against the people,
but uncharacteristically contains no threat of any punishment. The
second prophecy contains an accusation and a description of the
punishment. It is natural therefore that the editor completed what
was missing in the first prophecy, namely the punishment. However,
not only the content but also linguistic-associative links seemingly
caused the two prophecies to be joined. The first prophecy contains
the following idioms: עמי "my people", בנים "sons", ארץ "land", (vv.
2–3), while the second prophecy contains the same terms used in
the following expressions: עם כבד עון "a people laden with iniquity",
בנים משחיתים "corrupt sons" (v. 4), ארצכם שממה "your land is a waste"
(v. 7).

The second prophecy (vv. 4–9) concludes with the simile of dev-
astation "we should be like Sodom, another Gomorrah", whereas
the third prophecy (vv. 10–17) opens with the call:

> Hear the word of the Lord,
> You chieftains of Sodom;
> Give ear to our God's instruction,
> You folk of Gomorrah!

There is a literary and content difference between the two occur-
rences: in v. 9 the simile compares the condition of desolation of
Judah with that of Sodom and Gomorrah after their destruction,
whereas in the third prophecy the sins of the leaders of the people

---

[7] On associative links between prophecies in the prophetic books see M.D. Cassuto,
Biblical and Canaanite Literatures, Studies on the Bible and the Ancient Orient, Vol. 1 (Jerusalem,
1972), pp. 200–4 (Hebrew). For a summary of Cassuto's approach see A. Rofé,
"Arrangement of the Laws in the book of Deuteronomy", *Studies in Bible* [Cassuto
Volume], ed. S. Loewenstamm (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 217ff. See also M. Haran,
"Amos", *Encyclopedia Biblica*, Vol. 6 (Jerusalem, 1971), cols. 276, 278–82 (Hebrew);
idem, *Between Rishonot (Former Prophecies) and Hadashot (New Prophecies)* (Jerusalem,
1963), pp. 11–23.
[8] Compare Deut 4,26; 32,1; Mic 6,1–2; Ps 50,1–6. On this component in the
"lawsuit prophecies" see B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets",
JBL 78 (1959), pp. 285–95. On the meaning and structure of the prophetic speech
form, the *rib*, see the study of E.B. Wilson, *Rib in Israel Historical and Legal traditions:
A Study of the Israelite Setting of Rib-Form* (Ann Arbor, 1970).

are compared with the sins of the leaders of Sodom before the over-
throw of the city.[9] The external association of the mention of the
cities stands out, and no doubt was the reason why the editor arranged
the prophecies as he did. Finally the term עם which occurs in the
two prophecies, עם כבד עון (v. 4) and עם עמרה (v. 10), also serves
to link them.

The associative-content-based link between the third and fourth
prophecies is also very obvious. The call רחצו "wash" and הזכו
"purify" in v. 16 raises an association with v. 18, which alludes to
the cleansing of the sins. The expression יאמר ה' "says the Lord"
introduces both prophecies. The blood which is mentioned in the
third prophecy in v. 15, ידיכם דמים מלאו "your hands are filled with
blood", raises an association with the red of the sins in v. 18.

The content of these prophecies is such that the editor found it
possible to tie them together as part of a single extensive discussion.
In the first prophecy the prophet invites heaven and earth to be
judges at the trial of Israel. The prophet in the name of God argues
that his children have rebelled against Him (vv. 2–3). In the second
prophecy the prophet once again presents the sin of the children
and describes in pain or rebuke and lament their punishment. At
the end of the prophecy he expresses the view that the only reason
that they have survived is the mercy of God, the prosecutor (vv.
4–9). Indeed the people try to calm the anger of God by cultic acts.
The prophet however, in the name of God, rejects these acts because
they are not done wholeheartedly. He proposes instead the true way
of repentance (vv. 10–17).

The last prophecy (vv. 18–20) may similarly be linked with the
preceding one. The third prophecy ends with the call to repentance
elliptically, as if the people had objected: We have not sinned; indeed
we were at pains to revere God with the fattest, choicest animals.
Precisely for this the prophet calls the people to consider in the
fourth prophecy. At the end of it comes the threat that if they do
not keep the covenant as they are obligated God will punish them
by means of an enemy—a divine messenger.

---

[9] Both facets of the simile are to be found in Deut 29,22 with regard to the
destruction and in Deut 32,32–33 with regard to the sin of the city. On the use
of metaphors relating to Sodom and Gomorrah see R. Weiss, "As Cities Overturned
by God", *Mishut Bamikra* (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 32–34; (Hebrew). T. Rudin-
O'Brasky, *The Patriarchs in Hebron and Sodom* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 111–115 (Hebrew).

Though many scholars see the associative links between the third and fourth prophecies as an indication of their being one unit,[10] I feel that it is necessary to stress their differences. The third prophecy concludes with a series of verbal commands רחצו "wash", הזכו "cleanse", הסירו "remove", חדלו "cease", למדו "learn", דרשו "search", אשרו "right", שפטו "judge", ריבו "defend", (vv. 16–17). True, the fourth prophecy begins with a command לכו "come", but this is not characteristic of it. In fact the command לכו "come" is not an imperative to moral action but a term of urging. Moreover, whereas in the third prophecy the prophet reproves the leadership of the people for sins specific to their class, in particular oppression of the weaker classes,[11] the fourth prophecy, from v. 18 onwards, refers to sins in general. Similarly in v. 16 the prophet calls for active purification among the leadership while in v. 18 he speaks of a passive cleansing of the sins of the people: "they can turn snow-white", "they can become like fleece". The cleansing is not linked with any moral demands on the people.

Finally, the uniqueness of the prophecy in vv. 18–20 is seen in the opening and closing phrases: The passage opens with a summons to a trial, לכו נא ונוכחה "let us reach an understanding—says the Lord", and closes "For it was the Lord who spoke". The opening and closing of the prophetic unit create therefore, the frame of a closed unit.[12]

We conclude that Isa 1,2–20 consists of four separate prophecies without any organic link that were delivered at different times during the active lifetime of Isaiah. The editor combined these individual prophecies into one larger literary unit in accordance with the two principles noted above.[13]

---

[10] See, e.g., J.T. Willis, "On the Interpretation of Isa 1,18", *JSOT* 25 (1983), pp. 35–54, esp. 44–46; idem, "The First Pericope in the book of Isaiah", *VT* 34 (1984), pp. 63–77, esp. pp. 68–72; Y. Gitay, "Reflections on the Study of the Prophetic Discourse—The Question of Isaiah 1,2–20", *VT* 33 (1983), pp. 207–20; idem, *Isaiah and His Audience—The Structure and Meaning of Isaiah 1–12* (Assen, 1991), pp. 14–34.

[11] For the use of the metaphor of murder and blood to emphasize the oppression of the weaker classes see, e.g., Mic 3,2–10; 7,2; Hab 2,12; Ps 5,7; 55,24; 59,3.

[12] For the uniqueness of this literary unit see J. Schoneveld, "Jesaia 1,18–20", *VT* 13 (1963), pp. 342–44. Those who feel that vv. 2–20 form a unified literary unit also rely on "For the Lord has spoken" as an expression that closes the opening statement in v. 2, "For the Lord has spoken". However it seems to me that the many arguments presented here to establish our position are superior.

[13] For this approach see J. Lindblom, *A Study on Immanuel Section in Isaiah*, (Lund,

II. *The structure of the prophecy*

This prophecy is a complete literary entity in structure as well as content. It opens with a call to the leaders of the people who bear responsibility for justice and righteousness to listen to the word of God:

> Hear the word of the Lord,
> You chieftains of Sodom;
> Give ear to our God's instruction,[14]
> You folk of Gomorrah! (v. 10).[15]

This is followed by a reproof (vv. 11–15b) and closes with instructions on what is to be done to rectify the matter.

> Devote yourselves to justice;
> Aid the wronged.
> Uphold the rights of the orphan;
> Defend the cause of the widow. (vv. 16–17)

Between these two components is a sentence that does not belong to them, namely v. 15b, "your hands are filled with blood", and which accentuates the contrast with "And when you lift up your hands". Indeed, even the component of punishment is to be found in this prophecy. God hides his presence from them and does not listen to their prayers:

> I will turn my eyes from you;
> Though you pray at length,
> I will not listen.[16]

We will now list some of the literary and artistic considerations which support the view of the prophecy under consideration as a complete unit.

(a) The conclusion ריבו אלמנה "defend the cause of the widow", creates an alliterative association with the opening of the reproof למה לי רב זבחכם "What need have I of all your sacrifices?"

1958), pp. 27, 32, 52, 54; S. Vargon, "Micah 7,8–10—Message and Encouragement", *Studies in Bible and Exegesis*, Vol. II (Ramat Gan, 1986), pp. 135–37.

[14] The term תורת אלהינו "God's instruction" is parallel to "word of God". Isaiah uses the term instruction to indicate the words of the prophecy. Cp. 2,3; 5,24; 30,9. See Weiss, "On the concept 'Torah'", pp. 3–4.

[15] The term עם is not directed against all the inhabitants of the kingdom but only a specific group, the leadership. See above n. 4.

[16] C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, (trans. H.C. White; London, 1967), pp. 203–4.

(b) The heavy use of the consonant *mem* (מ) creates a special type of alliteration in the prophecy, especially at the beginning vv. 10 and 11 and at the end of v. 17:

שמעו דבר ה' קציני סדם / האזינו תורת אלהינו עם עמרה (10)
למה לי רב זבחכם יאמר ה'/ (11)
שבעתי עלות אלים וחלב מריאים/ודם פתם וכבשים ועתודים ...
למדו היטב / דרשו משפט / אשרו המוץ/ (17)
שפטו יתום / ריבו אלמנה.

(c) The list of commands, רחצו "wash", הזכו "cleanse", הסירו "remove", חדלו "cease", למדו "learn", דרשו "search", אשרו "right", שפטו "judge", ריבו "defend", all of which are directed to the leaders of the people, stand as an antithesis to the preceding list of negations: "And I have no delight" (v. 11), "no more ... I cannot abide" (v. 13), "I will not listen" (v. 15). The transition from negative terms to positive commands is congruent with its content: against the meaningless cult a demand for ethical deeds.

(d) The motif of "eyes" connects the various themes of the prophecy: God who shrinks from and averts his eyes from the unacceptable cult practices, "And when you lift up your hands, I will turn my *eyes* from you", demands instead that they "put your evil doings away from my *sight*".

This reproof contains criticism of all aspects of the cult: sacrifices; pilgrimage; offerings; holidays; sabbaths; sacred assemblies and prayer. In the reproof there are explicit demands which begin in v. 16:

> Wash yourselves clean;
> Put away your evil doings
> Away from my sight.
> Cease to do evil

and conclude in v. 17:

> Learn to do good.
> Devote yourself to justice;
> Aid the wronged.
> Uphold the rights of the orphan;
> Defend the cause of the widow.

From the content of the prophecy, Isaiah directs his reproof against the leaders of Judah, those that bear the responsibility for justice and righteousness, but he does not give the name of the king who is after all the main leader. The prophetic message seems to be high-

lighted in the setting of the events that occurred when it was deliv-
ered. The time of this prophecy can be established by a process of
elimination.

III. *The historical and social background of the prophecy Isa 1,10–17*

Scholars differ as to the date of this passage. Some maintain that
the prophecy was delivered in the reign of Ahaz when Rezin, king
of Aram, and Pekah, king of Israel, besieged Jerusalem.[17] In that
same year Judah was attacked in the west by the Philistines who
occupied the northern portion of the Shephelah and by the Edomites
in the south who took prisoners. In the course of these events many
cities were destroyed by the attackers but Jerusalem itself was not
conquered (see 2 Kgs 16,1–6; 2 Chron 28,5–19).

However, as is seen from 2 Chron 28,2; 25, the major sin of Ahaz
was his importation of foreign cults into Judah.[18] In this prophecy
there is no mention of such a sin, so it clearly cannot be dated to
Ahaz's time.

---

[17] See, e.g., A. Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Hand-
buch zum AT 5; Leipzig, 1898), p. 3; R.B.Y. Scott, *The book of Isaiah: Chapters 1–39*,
(IB, Nashville, 1976), p. 174; O. Prockcsh, *Jesaia (1–39)*, (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 37, 44;
E. Kissane, *The book of Isaiah*, 1, (Dublin, 1960), pp. 4, 9; Y. Gitay, *Isaiah and his
Audience—The structure and Meaning of Isaiah 1–12*, (Assen, 1991), pp. 10–11.
    On the period of Ahaz see S. Yeivin, "The Divided Kingdom Rehoboam-
Ahaz/Jeroboam-Pekah" *The History of the People of Israel; The Age of the Monarchies—
Political History*, ed. A. Malamat (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 115–19; J.M. Miller and J.H.
Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 341–45; S.A. Irvine, *Isaiah,
Ahaz, and the Syro-Ephraimitic Crisis*, (Atlanta, 1990), p. 239.
[18] We accept the view of W.F. Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshafat",
Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume (New York, 1950), pp. 49–73, that the historical infor-
mation provided by the book of Chronicles is authentic. See also B. Mazar, "Ancient
Israelite Historiography", *IEJ* 2 (1952), pp. 80–82; Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*,
(trans. A.F. Rainey; London, 1979), p. 82. For the view that stories which were
handed down for many years by oral tradition eventually reached the Chronicler
and were incorporated in his work, see P.R. Ackroyd, "Historians and Prophets",
Svensk Exegitisk Årsbok 33 (1968), p. 35 and cf. S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Chronicles
and its Place in Biblical Thought* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 145–47 (Hebrew). In contrast
to this approach see, e.g., N. Na'aman, "The Historical Background of the Philistine
Attack on Ahaz in 2 Chr 28,18", *Dor Le-Dor—From the End of Biblical Times Up to
the Redaction of the Talmud*, eds. A. Kasher and A. Oppenheimer (Jerusalem, 1995),
pp. 11–26. For definitive summing up on the adherence to foreign cults see M.
Cogan, "Religion and Cult in the Kingdom of Judah Under Assyrian Hegemony:
A New Examination", *Cathedra* 69 (1993), pp. 3–17 (Hebrew).

Furthermore, according to biblical historiography the period of Ahaz cannot be described as one of many sacrifices and festival days in the Temple. On the contrary, already in the time of Jotham, and even more under Ahaz, the security and economic situation in Judah was poor. The period was one of regression from the days of prosperity of Uzziah. In the time of Ahaz, Judah lost control of the king's highway in eastern Transjordan and also of Eilat. Chunks of territory in western Judah were occupied by Philistine armies. These wars resulted in much loss of life and a decline in the economic strength of the kingdom of Judah (see 2 Kgs 16,6; 2 Chron 8,5–6; 17–18; Isa 9,11). It is entirely possible that 2 Chron 28,24, describing how the vessels of the Temple of God were removed and the doors of the House of God were closed, is a reflection of the grave economic situation in Judah which even had an adverse effect on the divine service in the Temple. It is therefore not likely that this was a period of increasing sacrifices and flowering of the cult in the Temple as described in the prophecy under discussion.

Others maintain that the prophecy was delivered after Sennacherib's campaign against Judah in 701 BCE.[19] In its course many cities in Judah were captured and destroyed but Jerusalem remained undamaged.

Both theories are based on the description of the situation of the destruction in Judah apart from Jerusalem as found in the vv. 7–8:

> Your land is a waste,
> Your cities burnt down;
> Before your eyes, the yield of your soil
> Is consumed by strangers—
> A wasteland as overthrown by strangers!
> Fair Zion is left
> Like a booth in a vineyard,
> Like a hut in cucumber field,
> Like a city beleaguered.

These views are in fact based on verses found in the previous prophecy, which describes destruction and desolation in Judah, a land conquered by foreigners. But our prophecy contains no refer-

---

[19] See, e.g., J.A. Alexander, *Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, (Grand Rapids, 1842), p. 80; G.B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the book of Isaiah IXXXIX (ICC;* New York, 1912), pp. 8–13; R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39 (CBC,* London, 1980), pp. 28, 30. For summary of scholars' views see J.T. Willis, "book of Isaiah", *VT* 34 (1984), pp. 75–76.

ence to such circumstances. Nor is it linked either topically or in time with the prophecy of vv. 4–9, but only editorially.[20] The background of the prophecy must be deduced from the prophecy itself.

It appears that the prophecy in question best fits the period of Hezekiah. The biblical historiographical literature is very favorable to the cultic reforms of Hezekiah. The book of Kings placed great emphasis on purifying the cult of idolatrous elements (2 Kgs 18,14), whereas in the book of Chronicles the emphasis is placed on renewal of the cult and restoration of the worship of God to its proper mode. Ahaz closed the doors of the house of God while Hezekiah reopened them (see 2 Chron 28,24; 29,3). This act marks the beginning of the cultic change in the kingdom of Judah which is described at length in 2 Chron 29–31.

These chapters contain a rich description of the bringing of sacrifices at various times (2 Chron 29,20–24; 31–34; 30,24; 31,3). There are a number of unique linguistic components in the prophecy of Isaiah that gain in significance when viewed against the descriptions of the sacrifices in 2 Chron which contain many parallel expressions to the prophecy being examined here.

The expressions רב זבחיכם "all your sacrifices" in v. 11 and רמס חצרי "trample my courts" grow in significance when set against the descriptions of the masses going to the Temple and the many and varied sacrifices offered there: "A great crowd assembled at Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the second month, a very great congregation", (2 Chron 30,13); "King Hezekiah of Judah contributed to the congregation 1,000 bulls and 7,000 sheep. And the officers contributed to the congregation 1,000 bulls and 10,000 sheep. And the priests sanctified themselves in large numbers" (2 Chron 30,24).

Similarly the phrase in v. 11 "and blood of bulls, lambs and he-goats I have no delight" become more meaningful in light of the triple emphasis on the sprinkling of blood in the ceremony of renovation of the Temple in the time of Hezekiah: "The cattle were slaughtered, and the priests received the *blood* and dashed it against the altar; the rams were slaughtered and the *blood* was dashed against the altar. The lambs were slaughtered and the *blood* was dashed against the altar" (2 Chron 29,22).

---

[20] See n. 1 above and discussion in Section I of this article.

Alas, she has become a harlot,
The faithful city
That was filled with justice,
Where righteousness dwelt-
But now murderers.
. . . .
. . . .
Your rulers are rogues
And cronies of thieves,
Every one avid for gifts;
They do not judge the case of the orphan,
And the widow's cause never reaches them.

It is a truism that social ills are to be found in the criticism of any society that has social conditions that create centers of power. But the harshness of the criticism seems more fitting for Hezekiah than for any other king in whose reign Isaiah prophesied, for under that king Judah expanded, and there was a great increase in building in the Shephelah of Judah and in Jerusalem as a result of the increase in population in a short period of time.[23] These wide-ranging actions evidently carried with them the moral corruption that the prophet denounced.

After the passing of the bad years of economic hardship and political pressures of the reign of Ahaz, Judah enjoyed several years almost free of warfare and marked by economic prosperity. This was in the time of Hezekiah and of Sargon of Assyria, 720–705 BCE. This situation was the result of economic hegemony of the Assyrians and their policy towards the area, together with the Hezekiah's loyalty to the Assyrian empire for most of his reign.[24]

---

[23] In the Shephelah of Judah, there were practically no settlements in the period of the conquest and the early monarchic period. During the reign of Hezekiah, there was unprecedented expansion there, and many large and strong settlements were founded or built on ancient sites. The area of the city of Jerusalem expanded at this time too, and now included the western hill. See N. Avigad, *The Upper City of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1980), pp. 31ff.; 54–60 (Hebrew). Compare M. Ben-Dov, *Jerusalem's Fortification: The City Walls, The Gates and the Temple Mount* (Tel Aviv, 1983), pp. 26–28.

[24] On the period of Hezekiah, see H. Reviv, "The History of Judah from the days of Hezekiah until Josiah", *The History of the People of Israel; The Age of the Monarchies-Political History*, ed. A. Malamat (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 131–35 (Hebrew); J.M. Miller and J.H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 346–63; H. Eshel, "Sennacherib's Campaign to Jerusalem", *Jerusalem in the First Temple Period*, eds. D. Amit and R. Gonen (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 143–56 (Hebrew); G. Galil, "Judah and Assyria in the Sargonid Period", *Zion* 57 (1992), pp. 111–33 (Hebrew); I.W. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Book of Kings* (*BZAW 172*; Berlin, 1988).

According to the Bible there was extensive public building in the reign of Hezekiah: the בית נכות "his storehouse",[25] בית כלים "his armory",[26] and ערי מסכנות "treasure cities"[27] (2 Kgs 20,13; Isa 39,2; 2 Chron 32,28). Existing cities were developed, waterworks were built, and much effort was expended in the construction of a new wall and in fortifying the old wall (2 Kgs 20,13; 20; 2 Chron 32,5; 28–30; Isa 22,8–11). The list of items in the tribute sent by Hezekiah to Sennacherib in the year 701 BCE reflects the wealth accumulated in Judah from fruitful trade under Sargon II.[28]

The Chronicler summarizes the period of Hezekiah similarly: "Hezekiah enjoyed riches and glory in abundance; he filled treasuries with silver and gold, precious stones, spices, shields and all lovely objects; and store cities with the produce of grain, wine, and oil, and stalls for all kinds of beasts, and flocks for sheepfolds. And he acquired towns, and flocks of small and large cattle in great numbers, for God endowed him with very many possessions" (2 Chron 32,27–29).

The wealth of the royal house and the building and development enterprises of the kingdom of Judah, in particular the massive expansion of the territory of Jerusalem, were no doubt a source of pride for the royal family, much as similar enterprises were a source of pride for other kings in the Ancient Near East who recorded their building projects and waterworks in their inscriptions.[29]

However, the prophets of our period reacted to these works not with admiration but with criticism. Micah criticized the leaders of Judah for perverting justice:

---

[25] The term בית נכות is a hapax legomenon. Some scholars, e.g., J. Gray, I and II Kgs (London, 1970), p. 702; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, 2 Kings (AB; New York, 1988), p. 259; H.R. Cohen, Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic, (SBL Dissertation Series; Ann Arbor, 1978), pp. 40, 67, nn. 110, 112, maintain that it is parallel to the Assyrian bit nakkama, which means "treasure house".

[26] בית כלי is also a hapax legomenon. It has been suggested that this building was an armory. It is known that the Assyrian kings built warehouses to store weapons, ekal massarti, which covered very large areas, and Hezekiah, under Assyrian influence, may have built similar buildings (M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, 2 Kings (AB); New York, 1988), p. 259. On such buildings and their like see G. Turner, "Tell Nebi Yunus: The Ekal Masarti of Nineveh", Iraq 32 (1970), pp. 68–70.

[27] See B. Mazar, "Miskenot", Encyclopaedia Biblica, Vol. 5 (Jerusalem, 1968), cols. 165–67 (Hebrew).

[28] See M. Elat, Economic Relations in the Lands of the Bible (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 218–22 (Hebrew).

[29] See, e.g., the inscription of Mesha: S. Ahituv, Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 250–51, 254–60; H. Reviv, A Commentary on Selected Inscriptions from the Period of the Monarchy in Israel (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 19–20; 26–30. See also

Hear this, you rulers of the House of Jacob
You chiefs of the House of Israel,
Who detest justice
And make crooked all that is straight.
Who build Zion with crime,
Jerusalem with iniquity (Mic 3,9–10).

Micah connects the building of Jerusalem with perversion of justice.
In another place he charges that

They covet fields, and seize them;
Houses, and take them away.
They defraud men of their homes,
And people of their land (Mic 2,2).[30]

Isaiah also defended the social, economic, and legal rights of the
underprivileged classes. He accused the leadership of oppression and
stealing from the poor:

The Lord will bring this charge
Against the elders and officers of His people.
It is you who have ravaged the vineyard;
That which was robbed from the poor is in your houses. (Isa 3,14)

He cries out in sympathy with the oppressed

How dare you crush My people
And grind the faces of the poor? (Isa 3,14–15)

In another reproof Isaiah accuses those in power of devising laws
that perverted justice, robbed the poor, trampled the rights of widows,
and deprived orphans of their possessions:

Ah,
Those who write out evil writs
And compose iniquitous documents,
To subvert the cause of the poor,
To rob of their rights the needy of my people;
That widows may be of their spoil,
And fatherless children may be their booty! (Isa 10,1–2)[31]

---

the Short Inscription of Yahdun-Lim, p. col. 1, l. 25; col. 2, ll. 1–25. See also the
Long Inscription of Yahdun-Lim, col. 1, ll. 20–24; col. 4, ll. 5–17 (F. Thureau-
Dangin, *Revue d'assyrologie et d'archéologie orientale*, 33 (1936), pp. 49ff.). See also the
Inscription of Azitawadda, col. 1, l. 17 and col. 2, ll. 9–19 (Y. Avishur, *Phoenician
Inscriptions and the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 219–39, esp. 223–24.
    [30] See S. Vargon, *The Book Of Micah: A Study and Commentary* (Ramat Gan, 1994),
pp. 21–22, 64–72, 81, 101–7 (Hebrew).
    [31] See M. Weinfeld, *Justice and Righteousness in Israel and the Nations* (Jerusalem,

This perverted legislation, in writing, is the apparent cause for the dispossession of people from their ancestral lands of which the prophet complains:

Ah,
Those who add house to house
And join field to field,
Till there is room for none but you
To dwell in the land! (Isa 5,8)[32]

In Chap. 22 Isaiah describes the preparations made in Jerusalem for the imminent siege of the city by Sennacherib. The preparations included the building of the broad wall on the northern part of the western hill, fortification of the earlier wall, and laying in supplies of food and water. The fortification work was difficult and arduous. Part of the wall passed through an area of houses that had to be demolished:

And you counted the houses of Jerusalem
And pulled houses down to fortify the walls;
And you constructed a basin between the two walls
For the water of the old pool. (Isa 22,10–11)

The prophet's criticism in this case was not in fact social but political and ideological, for he criticizes the self-confidence of people who really believe that they can defend the city by military and logistic preparations, without trusting in God.

But you gave no thought to Him who planned it,
You took no note of Him who designed it long before. (Isa 22,11)

One can deduce from this that the land and houses of the people of Jerusalem were expropriated for defense purposes. Also, diverting the Gihon spring water to Jerusalem and sealing all the wells of the

---

1985), p. 20; S. Vargon, "The Social Background of Reproach Prophecies from the Latter Half of the 8th Century", *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 1, Jerusalem, 1986, pp. 81–86 (Hebrew). Cf. Ps 94,4,16,20.

[32] The word *whushavtem* is the hophal of the root *yashav* which in this passage refers to the future, i.e., you take the land so that you will be the only inhabitants of the plots of land belonging to the families (Gen 23,15; Ex 23,10) or to the city (Gen 34,10,21). It is very possible that the prophet is not protesting against a dispossession in a particular locality or family but against the process whereby the king or his officials add house to house or join field to field, much like Ahab when he took over Naboth's property which was actually next to his palace (1 Kgs 20,1). See S. Bendor, *The Bet-ab in Israel from the Settlement to the end of the Monarchy* (Tel Aviv, 1986), pp. 130, 141, 143 (Hebrew).

region so that the Assyrians should not be able to use the water (2 Kgs 20,20; 2 Chron 32,2–4) harmed the inhabitants of the city. Their fields that previously had been irrigated by the springs now became dependent on rainfall only.[33]

Archaeological finds in Jerusalem show that the city expanded in the 8th century BCE three- or four-fold. The houses of the city spread over the heights of the western hill. To date, no pottery of the period before the 8th century BCE except for a few shards have been discovered on this hill. Scholars have concluded that this great expansion of biblical Jerusalem was largely due to the refugees who streamed in from kingdom of Israel when the Assyrians conquered Samaria in 720 BCE.[34] The new part of the city that lay outside the old walls was enclosed by a wall towards the end of the 8th century BCE. It was built on the ruins of earlier houses that were also built in the 8th century BCE. The choice of the course of the wall did not take into account the existing houses, which were destroyed when necessary to make room for the wall.[35]

In our prophecy the evaluation of Hezekiah's reign differs from that of biblical historiography as found in the books of Kings and Chronicles. Isaiah approves and expressly criticizes the great religious reform of Hezekiah, which is praised by biblical historiography. The debate between Isaiah and those who favored the reforms finds expression in the use of the second person: "your sacrifices", "your new moons", "your festivals", and "when you spread". One can posit that Isaiah at first supported Hezekiah's religious reforms, but when he saw that its main emphasis was only on the cult he awoke from the delusion that this was the pinnacle of divine service, and he emphasized the demands that the leadership act with social justice.[36] From the socio-economic standpoint the nation was in great difficulty and the prophet demanded that the leadership pay more attention to the people's distress. True service of God, he

---

[33] See Eshel, "Sennacherib's Campaign", p. 146.

[34] M. Broshi, "The Population of Ancient Jerusalem", *Between Hermon and Sinai—Memorial to Amnon*, ed. M. Broshi, (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 65–74 (Hebrew); idem, "The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Menasseh", *IEJ* 24 (1974), pp. 21–26; H. Geva, "The Western Boundary of Jerusalem at the end of the Monarchy", *IEJ* 29 (1973), pp. 84–91.

[35] See Avigad, *The Upper City*, pp. 54–60. Compare Ben-Dov, *Jerusalem Fortification*, pp. 26–28, 181.

[36] Jeremiah had a similar attitude towards Josiah's religious reforms. See Kaufmann, *The History*, pp. 443–6, 452–5.

insisted, is not expressed in sacrifice but in proper regard for the weaker layers of society.

The economic boom of the time of Hezekiah, the expansion of population, and private and public building entailed rules and regulations that led, in the eyes of the prophet, to a perversion of justice and the justified protest of the poor. The great construction enterprises of the kingdom required rules for the expropriation of houses and land, or their confiscation for the building of the wall and other state purposes, as well as for the drafting of the necessary workforce. One may surmise that the latter was made up partly of the refugees from the kingdom of Israel and partly of those who were evicted from their property as a result of the wars in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, as well as those evicted from property expropriated for the needs of the kingdom. The leadership seemingly exploited the building and development to accumulate houses and land for themselves; on this the prophet says with the exaggeration and irony of the critic that they were acquiring land so that only they could dwell in the land (Isa 5,8).

If our thesis is correct, this prophecy (Isa 1,10–17) reflects a society whose juridical leadership is, in the eyes of the prophet, similar to that of Sodom and Gomorrah. The leaders have created a legal system that permits the expropriation of land from the weak and so have very gravely perverted justice. On the other hand, those same leaders participated in a great number of cultic ceremonies. On account of this internal contradiction in their behavior the prophet informs them in this prophecy of God's revulsion at their cultic acts. He also informs them of the way to satisfy God, according to "God's instruction": through proper behavior in the socio-economic sphere.

PART THREE

TEXTS AND TEXTUAL STUDIES

This page intentionally left blank

THE NARRATIVE OF THE REVELATION AT SINAI (EX 19–24)

YITZHAK AVISHUR

Haifa

In our consideration of the account of the revelation at Sinai we refer to the narrative part and not the Decalogue (20,1–12) or the "book of the Covenant" (20,23–3,39); that is, the account that runs through chap. 19, through a part of chap. 20 (vv. 18–22), and through chap. 24. Nor are we concerned here with when the Decalogue or the "book of the Covenant" was introduced or if these parts were introduced separately or together, or what the link is between law and story, subjects that have already benefited from extensive scholarship. Because of its duplications, contradictions, and unevenness the narrative that we consider here has also been much studied, by way of the sources or by way of the traditions or by the independent approaches of scholars. Many proposals have been made to resolve the contradictions, elucidate the duplications, and smooth the unevenness, in an attempt to indicate the original story or stories and the different editing stages by the various schools before the final formulation in the present version. Matters have reached such a pass that some scholars have despaired of finding any order at all in the composition of the tale as it stands.[1]

Here our aim is to take a fresh look at the structure of the narrative by a method not so far applied to it, and to see if the detection of the narrative structure may help us to discover its component

---

[1] A bibliography on this subject until 1971 may be found in A. Toeg, Lawgiving at Sinai (Jerusalem, 1977, Hebrew). See also B.S. Childs, Exodus (*OTL*; London, 1974), pp. 340–511 on the book of Toeg: see S.E. Loewenstamm, *From Babylon to Canaan* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 424–42. See also J. Licht, "The Sinai Theophony", *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to S.E. Loewenstamm*, eds. Y. Avishur and J. Blau (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 251–67 (Hebrew with English summary, pp. 201–202); Z. Weisman, "Reflections on Lawgiving at Sinai and its Interpretation", *Shnaton—An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 5–6 (1978–9), pp. 55–68 (Hebrew with English Summary, p. LXV); E.W. Nicholson, *Exodus Sinai in History and Tradition* (Richmond, 1973).

parts, either in the present version or in one of the editing stages
that this story has undergone.

We set about determining the narrative structure with no pre-
conceptions and without adopting any existing theory regarding its
structure and composition. Having ascertained that there is enough
in the story for us to determine that it is constructed on the chias-
tic principle,[2] a widespread structural form for narrative units in the
Bible, we now clarify which elements of the existing story do not
belong to the chiastic scheme we have detected but are no more
than later additions to the story that once was so constructed.

After determining the range of the narrative according to the chi-
astic scheme and the verses of Chaps. 19, 20, and 24 belonging to
it, we shall see if the conclusions we reach conform to any partic-
ular school or to some individual view in the scholarship on this
narrative. If our conclusions accord nicely with a given theory on
the structure of the tale, then we shall have added further support
to the its accuracy in terms of the form of the story; such support
will derive from objective research findings rather than from unprov-
able assumptions on the subject. If our conclusions partially harmo-
nize with some of the proposals previously advanced, then ours will
have lent support to the part suggested in that approach to the study
of the narrative. Therefore, we must endeavor to prove the prefer-
ability of our entire proposal over the proposal that only partly fits
our own.

Our narrative in the chiastic scheme is present in the three chap-
ters we have noted, Chap. 19 and passages from chaps. 20 and 24.
These are the verses that belong to the narrative we propose: 19,3–8,
10–13b,14,16–21,23–24a, 25; 20,21–22; 24,3. Below is the chiastic

---

[2] For chiasmus in the Old and New Testament, see A. diMarco, "Der Chiasmus
in der Bibel. 1. Teil", *Linguistica Biblica* 36 (1975), pp. 21–97; R.L. Alden, "Chiastic
Psalms (2): A Study in the Mechanics of Semitic Poetry in Psalms 1–50", *JETS*
17 (1974) pp. 1–28; idem, "Psalms 51–100", *JETS* 19 (1976), pp. 191–200; J.P.
Fokkelman, *Narrative Art in Genesis* (Amsterdam, 1975); J.R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah: A
Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric* (*SBL Dissertation Series*; Missoula, 1975); A.R. Ceresko,
"The A.B.A.B. Word Patterns in Hebrew and Northwest Semitic with Special
Reference to the book of Job", *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 73–88; idem, "The Function of
Chiasmus in Hebrew Poetry", *CBQ* 40 (1978), pp. 1–10; I.M. Kikawada – A. Quinn,
Before Abraham Was—The Unity of Genesis, 1–11 (Nashville, 1977); W.G.E. Watson,
"Strophic Chiasmus in Ugaritic Poetry", *UF* 15 (1983), pp. 259–270; Y. Avishur,
"Treaty Terminology in the Moses-Jethro Story (Ex 18, 1–12)", *Aula Orientalis* 6
(1988), pp. 139–147.

scheme of the Sinai revelation, with most of its phrases included, the emphasis being on the parallel sections and lines.

A   1   And Moses went up unto the Lord
      2   And the Lord called to him out of the mountain saying
      3   Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob and tell the children of Israel
      4   Ye have seen . . . (19,3–4)
      5   And Moses came and called to the elders of the people
      6   And laid before them all these words which the Lord commanded him
      7   And all the people answered together and said
      8   All that the Lord hath spoken will we do (19,7–8)
B   And the Lord said to Moses, Go unto the people
C   And sanctify them today and tomorrow (19,10)
D   And thou shalt set bounds unto the people round about, saying
E   Take care not to go on the mountain (19,12)
F   And Moses went down from the mountain to the people (19,14)
G   And there were sounds . . . and the sound of the trumpet waxed very loud
H   And all the people that were in the camp trembled (19,16)
I   And mount Sinai was altogether smoke
J   On which the Lord descended in fire
I'   And the smoke of it went up like the smoke of a kiln
H'   And all the mountain trembled very much (19,18)
G'   And the voice of the trumpet sounded long and waxed ever louder (19,19)
F'   And the Lord called Moses to the top of the mount (19,20)
E'   The people cannot go up to mount Sinai
D'   For thou chargedst us saying, Set bounds around the mount
C'   And sanctify it (19,23)
B'   And the Lord said to Moses, Away, get thee down . . . and Moses went down unto the people (19,24–25)
A' 1   And Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was (20,21)
      2   And the Lord said unto Moses
      3   Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel
      4   Ye have seen (20,22)
      5   And Moses came and told the people
      6   All the words of the Lord
      7   And all the people answered with one voice and said
      8   All the words which the Lord hath said will we do (24,3)

In the structure proposed here, the centerpiece of the chiastic scheme is the literary unit 19,10–25, which is already recognized by scholars as independent owing to its unique nature; in the narrative we suggest, only few verses and fragments of it appear to be secondary

additions (as given in detail below). The central point of the unit, which is the pivot of the entire account, is the phrase concerning God's descent onto Mount Sinai in fire (v. 18), which serves as the pinnacle of the story of the revelation. True, it may be claimed that a text on God's descent onto Mount Sinai appears elsewhere in this literary unit (v. 20), but only the phrase that we regard as the high-point of the story is presented in an awesome fashion, with empha-sis on the descent of God being in fire; and only this is written in the context of the majestic theophany that causes the mountain and the people to tremble. From this peak the narrator repeats the main components of the story chiastically, giving the last first and the first last, up to the end of the unit. The repetition comprises eight com-ponents and all are in the same order, whence we learn that it is not fortuitous but intentional, its purpose being to enhance the high point of the story through the structure also.

The chiastic parallels

A–A'   The chiasm proposed in this narrative is exemplified in iden-tical, or almost completely or partially identical repetitions of ele-ments in their original phraseology. The verses "A", 19,3–8, serve as the opening of the story and verses "A", 20,21–22 and 24,3, as its close. The parallel of the close to the opening in this story is chi-astic in respect of its position in the frame, but the discrete elements follow the same order, that is, the eight lines constituting the open-ing are parallel to the eight lines constituting the close.

In the first chiastic pair there is complete identity of content, but there are language differences:

> And Moses went up unto the Lord: And Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.

In fact, the line in the close repeats all the words of the line in the opening with one change—the verb: instead of ʿalah (he went up) in the opening there is niggash (he drew near) in the close—and the addition of a few words: (the thick darkness where . . .). Such changes and additions are common in chiastic parallels.

In the second pair too we find identity of content and slight changes in language:

> And the Lord called to him out of the mountain saying: And the Lord said unto Moses

In the close the whereabouts of God is not mentioned; and Moses is referred to by a pronoun in the opening and by name in the close. In the third pair we find stylistic differences:

> Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob and tell the children of Israel:
> Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel

In the close, the statement of the opening is made in abbreviated form and the two lines display duplication as in poetic parallelism: *to 'mar/ taggid, bet ya'acob/ bene yiśra'el*, which imparts grandeur to the style of the opening.

The fourth lines begin identically: *'attem re'item* (Ye have seen) In the fifth lines there is complete identity of content but slight language differences:

> And Moses came and called to the elders of the people:
> And Moses came and told the people

In the sixth lines too there is identity:

> And laid before them all these words which the Lord commanded him:
> All the words of the Lord and all the judgments

The identical base is *'et kol haddebarim* (all these things) as compared with *kol dibre YHWH* (all the words of the Lord); as already mentioned, the words *we'et kol hammishpaṭim* (and all the laws) seem to us a later addition intended to intimate the pericope of the "book of the Covenant". The seventh lines are identical but for a single stylistic difference:

> And all the people answered together and said:
> And all the people answered with one voice and said

The change from *yaḥdaw* (together) in the opening to *qol 'eḥad* (in a single voice) in the close is a stylistic variation. There are virtually no differences in the eighth and last lines, only an additional word in the close:

> All that the Lord hath spoken will we do:
> All the words which the Lord hath said will we do

The addition of the word *haddebarim* (the words) in the close is merely more emphatic and has no informative significance.

B–B'   In these lines there is contextual identity and almost complete identity of language.

> And the Lord said to Moses, Go unto the people:
> And the Lord said to Moses, Away, get thee down . . . and Moses went down unto the people

In the close there is a repeat of the entire text of the opening; and in the close there is duplication, which stems from the divine command and its fulfillment by Moses.

C–C'   There is contextual identity in these lines:

> And sanctify them today and tomorrow: And sanctify it

In the opening there is an indication of the appointed time, whereas this is absent in the close as it is not required.

D–D'   Here the close is contextually identical with the opening, with only a small difference, this being that in the opening the "bounds" concern the people while in the close they concern the mountain. Virtual identity of language is exemplified in the principal word *wehigbalta* (and thou shalt set bounds) as paired with *hagbel* (set bounds).

E–E'   In these lines the warning not to ascend the mountain appears in almost identical terms:

> Take care not to go on the mountain:
> The people cannot go up to mount Sinai

F–F'   Identity of content in these lines lies in their both relating Moses's movements on the mountain:

> And Moses went down from the mountain to the people:
> And the Lord called Moses to the top of the mount

G–G'   These lines are identical in content and in language:

> And there were sounds . . . and the voice of the trumpet waxed very loud:
> And the voice of the trumpet sounded long and waxed ever louder

In line G the word *qol* (voice) is duplicated while in G' the intensifier is added to the voice of the trumpet: *holekh* (sounded long).

H–H'   These lines are essentially identical in terms of content with one difference: in H the phrase concerns the trembling of all the people, while in H' it speaks of the trembling of all the mountain.[3] Also, in H the location of the people is given—"who were in the camp"—while in H' the magnitude of the trembling of the mountain is indicated with the adverb "very much".

I–I'   In these lines the smoke on Mount Sinai is described at the moment of the descent of God upon it:

> And mount Sinai was altogether smoke:
> And its smoke ascended as the smoke of a furnace

These two lines actually complement each other: I gives the place of the smoke while I' gives a description of the smoke.

J   As stated, this is the climax of the narrative and the pivot of the account, where God's descent onto Mount Sinai in fire is related. This story turns on this point in the text, and from then on the description is repeated in the opposite order.

Although not all the parallels in our narrative are literally identical, their acceptability as parallels is in no way diminished by this: a frequent stylistic feature of the Bible is the modified repetition of a phrase, often with deletions and additions, duplication and reduction, or the introduction of a synonym. The principle of contextual and informative identity is upheld in the parallels, but in the language and style shading and modifications occur in the repetition.[4]

---

[3] On emphases in the biblical narrative by means of structure and repetition see M. Buber and F. Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung* (Berlin, 1936); J. Muilenburg, "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric Repetition and Style", *VTSup* 1 (1953), pp. 97–111; L. Alonso-Schokel, "Erzähl-Kunst im Buche der Richter", *Biblica* 42 (1961), pp. 143–72. F. Rosenzweig, *Naharayim* (Jerusalem, 1961), pp. 7–30 (Hebrew); M. Buber, *Darko shel Miqra* (Jerusalem, 1964), pp. 272–99 (Hebrew); M. Weis, "Einiges über die Bauformen des Erzählens in der Bible, I", *VT* 13 (1963), pp. 456–75; idem, "Einiges über die Bauformen des Erzählens in der Bible, II", *Biblica* 40 (1965), pp. 181–206.

[4] On these stylistic principles see, S. Talmon, "Synonymous Reading in the Textual Tradition of the Old Testatment", *Scripta Hierolymitana* 8 (1961), pp. 335–383; idem, "The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook, Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text", eds. F.M. Cross – S. Talmon (Massachusetts and London, 1975), pp. 321–400; Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (*AOAT* 210; Neukirchen Vluyn, 1984), pp. 634–68.

For all that, we do not claim that the narrative found in the chiastic scheme is the first and original story of the revelation on Sinai. Scholarship has long recognized independent literary units now integrated into the chiastic scheme. This is the case with the literary unit 19,3–8 and the unit 19,10–19 or 25.[5] Therefore it is possible that the narrator of the account in the chiastic scheme suggested here combined existing units into his story, thus creating a new scheme; this is apparent not only formally, but also contextually. The chiastic narrative represents a certain stage in redaction of the account of the revelation on Sinai prior to the final formulation presently before us.

---

[5] In contrast to the version of the MT "And all the mount (hahar) trembled" (21,18), the versions "And all the (ha'am) people trembled" appears in nine Hebrew manuscripts and in the Septuagint. This suggestion too was suspect in the eyes of scholars as a version intended to equate texts. The amendment is criticized even by Ibn Ezra in his Commentary to the Bible as unfounded. In his Commentary to Exodus Ibn Ezra attacks a Spanish commentator and grammarian, whom he does not name, who made the suggestion: "This nonsense spouter held that a word was replaced by a word 'people' instead of 'mount'"; and in his Commentary to Daniel he returned to this theme, remarking: "There was a great commentator in Spain, and he propounded books on grammar... He put bounds around the 'mount' instead of 'people', and so with many words, about two hundred, and the wind will carry them all off for there is not in any tongue that a man speaks a word when he means another word; and he who says is considered a fool" (1,1). Ibn Ezra is quoted from Commentaries to the Torah of Rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra, ed, A. Weiser, Vol. 2, p. 122 (Hebrew). But it seems that in fact there are grounds for the version of the Septuagint and their Hebrew manuscripts, as they reflect the original version, which is supported by the chiastic principle, for the following reasons: Nowhere in the entire Bible does the verb "ḥrd" ("trembled") appear in connection with "hr" ("mount") on the other hand, "ḥrd" does appear 12,7, Amos 3,6, etc. It may be claimed that the appearance of the verb "trembled" with "mount" is possible as we find that "trembled" appears with inanimate nouns, such as "islands" (Ez 26,18), "Rama" (Isa 10,29), "Kush" (Ez 30,9). But it seems to me that these cases do not refer to natural elements but to places representing their inhabitants, and there is no similarity between them and a mountain. The verb "ḥrd" ("trembled") is not found in the descriptions of the theophany in the Bible, which Loewenstamm found surprising and on account of which he isolated the revelation of Sinai from the other revelations described in the biblical poetry. Loewenstamm claimed that the long series of verbs found in the descriptions of the theophany indicate the shock sustained by nature before God and "the abundance of verbs that the biblical language uses in the poems, which magnify the shock to nature at the sight of God, does not include the verb 'ḥrd', which is used in the Revelation of Sinai" (S.E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical an Ancient Oriental Literatures* (AOAT 204; Neukirchen Vluyn, 1980) pp. 179–189. If we accept that the verb "trembled" is not a description of a shock to nature before God, there is no need to isolate the description of the theophany at Sinai from the other descriptions in the Bible; the chiastic structure can support this suggestion. (I would like to thank my colleague Dr. T. Fenton for calling my attention to this issue).

According to the reconstruction of the narrative there was no actual face-to-face revelation of God offered to the people, but nor was there a revelation to Moses alone. In the development of the story a situation arises that seems to reconcile the two traditions of the revelation at Sinai. One tradition told that the revelation of God took place before the eyes of all the people, and survivals of this tradition appear in the present narrative. According to this tradition, at the moment of revelation the people went to the mountain, onto which God descended, on receipt of the sign *bimshok hayovel hemmah ya'alu bahar* (when the trumpet soundeth long they shall come up to the mount, 19,13b); echoes of this tradition are found in Deuteronomy in the text "The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire" (5,4).[6] A fragment of this tradition also seems to have entered the description of the revelation in the story, this being the mention, among the natural phenomena in 19,16 and in 20,18, of the sound of a *shofar*, which is associated with and has the same sense (trumpet) as the *yovel* mentioned in the preceding text but which is here out of place.[7] The second tradition held that the revelation of God was to Moses alone and its clearest indication is expressed in Ex 34, cf. 33,11, Num 12,8 and Deut 34,10.

As stated, it seems to us that our story in the chiastic scheme reconciles these two traditions, as becomes apparent from the development of the narrative:

The narrative develops on the mediation of Moses between God and the people. It is composed of four episodes—the four ascents by Moses to God to hear his words and his four descents to the people bringing with him the word of God. In the first, Moses ascends

---

[6] As stated, from the viewpoint of the position, the chiastic structure parallels the phrase "set bounds around the mount" (v. 23) with the phrase "set bounds around the people" (v. 12). Variety in repetition, including chiastic repetition, is indeed observed (see Y. Avishur, "Ways of Repetition of Numbers Signifying Wholeness", *Beer Sheva* 1 (1973), pp. 1–55; idem, *Stylistic Studies*, pp. 634–668; idem, "Literary Models in the Historiographical Descriptions of the Conquest of Canaan in the Bible and their Background in the Literature of the Ancient Near East", in: *Exile and Diaspora: H. Beinart Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 28–31. But with the first and natural parallel in the chiastic structure, there are well-known suggestions to amend the version in the text to "set bounds around the mount" (instead of "the people") on the basis of the Samaritan text, which has this (see BH). However, for certain scholars this version was suspect and regarded as intended to coordinate and equate texts in the Bible (see Cassuto, *Exodus*, pp. 158, 161; Childs, *Exodus*, p. 343.)

[7] See Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai*, p. 35.

to God and God informs him of His conditions for the people to
be "a peculiar treasure" above all peoples. Moses comes to the people
and presents them with the words of God and all the people accept
them with the declaration that "all that the Lord hath spoken will
we do". Moses ascends a second time and brings the words of the
people to God who instructs him on the preparations to be made
for his revelation on the third day "in the sight of all the people"
on the mountain. Moses descends and fulfills God's commands and
on the morning of the third day leads the people out towards God
and stations them at the foot of the mountain. God descends to the
summit of Mount Sinai in fire and there is fear lest the people break
through and make for the mountain top. God calls Moses and he
ascends a third time to God, who commands him to descend and
to warn the people not to break through the bounds "to look". Moses
is certain that the people will not do so, but God insists, so Moses
descends and tells the people the words of God. The people stand
far off and then Moses ascends for the fourth time and approaches
the smoke where God is. God tells Moses his commandments and
Moses brings them to the people and they declare, as at the begin-
ning of the narrative, that "All the words which the Lord hath said
will we do" (24,3). According to this, the place for the phrase *'et kol
dibre YHWH we'et kol hammishpatim* (all the words of the Lord and all
the judgments; 24,3) is at the end of the narrative.

What are the words and judgments of God mentioned at the end
of this story? In the account as it is now, they are the "book of the
Covenant" in Chapters 21–23; but from the solemnity of the nar-
rative and of the act of revelation it seems to us that originally the
Decalogue was placed at the end, being as fitting for the narrative
as the narrative is for it. Support for this assumption seems to lie
in the addition by the last editor of the words "and all the judg-
ments" (24,3), making them appear to refer to the "book of the
Covenant" (cf. "And these are the judgments which thou shalt set
before them"—21,1). But it is our belief that in the original Moses
told the people only "all the words of the Lord", which is an apt
definition of the Decalogue. According to Deuteronomy (5,1–22),
God delivered the Decalogue to the people at the revelation of Sinai,
whereas in Exodus the events are vague, and the "book of the
Covenant" has been threaded into the narrative of the Sinai reve-
lation in addition to the Decalogue. Here we touch upon a subject
that has been extensively studied, namely the place of the Decalogue

and the "book of the Covenant" within the setting of the narrative of the revelation of Sinai. Without going into detail let us note that many scholars have challenged the present positioning of the Decalogue and of the "book of the Covenant" for a variety of reasons and have made various suggestions, for example, that only the Decalogue was incorporated into the original account, as is our contention; some propose various possible places for its insertion into the story; some uphold the present version with slight modifications; and some even deny that there is any natural place for its insertion into the original story of the revelation at Sinai.[8]

We return to our claim that the narrative in the chiastic scheme combines the two traditions. The question is, which is the primary tradition and which the secondary?[9] We do not favor the view that in the basic story the revelation of God to Moses alone is the principal element, while the public revelation is a later motif,[10] becoming fully developed in Deuteronomy.[11] We believe the opposite to be the case. The motif of the public revelation, in which the people saw God face to face, is the primary element,[12] and the motif of the revelation to Moses alone is nothing other than a polemic against the tradition of the public revelation. The narrative we suggest is an attempt to present an account that reconciles the two traditions. In it, the traces of neither tradition are completely eliminated; and in addition to this narrative of the revelation of Sinai they are discernable elsewhere, in texts in Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

Let us now examine the verses and passages that did not enter the narrative in the chiastic scheme we propose and see if they belong organically to the story or if they wholly or in part are merely secondary additions inserted into the tale in its various subsequent stages of redaction. Similarly, we should check if these verses and passages are identical to those that scholars have regarded as secondary appendages arising from various sources or if they grew out of the theological conflict between one tradition and another.

---

[8] As this tradition aroused opposition in Exodus so did it arouse opposition in Deuteronomy also. Next to this verse (v. 6) a gloss comes that contradicts the public revelation, see Loewenstamm, *From Babylon to Canaan*, p. 392.

[9] See Loewenstamm, ibid, p. 438, and see also their note 8.

[10] See Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai*, pp. 17–59 and other studies mentioned in note 1.

[11] See Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai*, pp. 48–50.

[12] Cf. Loewenstamm, "Ma'amad har Sinai", *Encyclopedia Biblica*, 5 (Jerusalem, 1968) Col. 1029; Loewenstamm, *From Babylon to Canaan*, p. 302.

19,1–2

Most scholars are of the opinion that these verses do not belong to
the narrative but are connecting material introduced by the editor;
however, some harmonistic researchers see them as a ceremonial
introduction and as belonging to the body of the narrative.[13]

Many scholars have long since discerned that this verse is a later
addition because it interrupts the flow of the narrative. After the
statement "And Moses returned the words of the people unto the
Lord" (19,8) the text states that God spoke to Moses again, and this
time the reason for the event at Sinai and God's revelation to Moses
is given: "That the people may hear when I speak with thee, and
believe thee for ever" (19,9). Finally come the words of the narra-
tor concluding this insertion and returning to what was interrupted
with a *Wiederaufnahme*:[14] "And Moses told the words of the people
unto the Lord" (19,9). This insertion has been defined in scholar-
ship as a secondary gloss, bringing the basic narrative to the climax
of its development. In terms of content the gloss attempts to com-
bine the two traditions in the story of the event at Sinai—the rev-
elation to Moses alone and the public revelation to all the people;[15]
according to the content of our suggested chiastically constructed
narrative, it is apt. However, its absence from the chiastic scheme
attests that it is an afterthought, introduced to reinforce the inte-
gration of the two traditions.

19,13c,15,22,24bc

Is there one rule for all the verses added to the narrative unit vv.
10–25 enumerated above? That is, were they added by a single hand
and do they stem from a single concept? Or are they the product
of various stages of editing and of diverse motivation? Two verses
(22, 24bc) concern the same subject, namely, the involvement of the
priests. In v. 22 the priests who come near the Lord are required
to sanctify themselves "lest the Lord break forth upon them". According

---

[13] See Cassuto, *Exodus.*
[14] See C. Kuhl, "Die wiederaufnahme"—Ein literarkritische Prinzip", *ZAW* 64
(1952), pp. 1–11.
[15] See Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai,* 58ff.

to this tradition the priests, unlike the people but like Moses, are permitted to approach God, although they are required to sanctify themselves. But the question is, where were the priests mentioned previously? They are not mentioned at all in the entire chapter, and therefore this verse should be seen as an addition aimed at according the priests a privileged status and elevating them to the rank of Moses: persons titled to a approach God. As against this, v. 24bc seems to attack this tradition of privilege for the priests, granting it only to Aaron but denying it the priests and placing them on the same footing as the people: "And thou shalt come up, thou and Aaron with thee; but let not the priests and the people break through to come up to the Lord lest he break forth upon them".

As for v. 13c, this seems to be a combination from an ancient tradition of public revelation of God when all the people went up to the mountain (see above), but here the narrator inserted this fragment as the continuation of the prohibition against ascending the mountain. V. 15 is an addition emphasizing the ritual purity of those approaching for the public revelation. In this verse the meaning of "and sanctify them" (v. 10) and "and he sanctified the people" (v. 14) is given.

20,18–20

These verses, as stated, do not fit into the scheme of our story as presented above and they appear to reflect another tradition on the stationing of the people, farther away than that found in our proposed narrative. According to the latter it is the repeated demand by God that causes the people to stand far off, while these verses indicate that the fear of the people of the descent of God onto Mount Sinai and His revelation on it causes them to withdraw and stand back. Moreover, according to these verses Moses calms the fearful people with "Fear not", while in the narrative we propose Moses instructs the people to remove some distance from the mountain. Further, according to these verses it was the people who did not wish to continue to hear the word of God after the revelation and the giving of the Ten Commandments and who called for mediation by Moses between themselves and God. As already stated, throughout our proposed narrative the act of mediation by Moses between the people and God is paramount.

In view of this contradiction between the two passages we find it hard to accept the attempt by several scholars to combine the contrary theories in the development of a single narrative.[16] The latter have indeed suggested removing from the story the repetition emphasizing the command of God to set bounds about the mountain lest the people break through (19,22–25), with the claim that this is a duplication of the first command, which precedes it (19,12–13). But by our method this repetition is not a duplication but a stylistic figure found in many narratives: in ours it is necessitated by the rules of the chiastic scheme. There are scholars who seem to have sensed the contradiction and therefore propose total excision of the principal literary unit concerning the revelation on Sinai (19,10–25).[17]

Chap. 24

In the chiastic scheme of the account of the Sinai revelation proposed above, only one verse, which is to be found at chap. 24, 3, is required to complete the structure. We cannot be charged with making an assumption of what is required and then selecting this verse from the narrative because it suits our purpose, for the opposite is the case, namely the closing of the narrative must accord with the opening, for this is the essence of chiastic structure. To perfect the structure of our proposed narrative only one item is required to complete what is stated in chap. 20 (21–26), and this will parallel a single verse in the opening (19,9). Just such a verse is to be found at the beginning of the narrative in chap. 24 (v. 3), which fully satisfies the requirement (see the parallel in the chiastic scheme above).[18]

What then is the place of chap. 24 in the framework of the narrative of the revelation on Sinai? An examination of the content and structure of the chapter shows that contextually it includes motifs more developed than those in the original narrative. The narrator

---

[16] Ibid.

[17] See D. Patrick, "The Covenant Code Source", *VT* 27 (1972), pp. 145–57 who suggests reconstructing the narrative of the Revelation of Sinai: 19, 3–8, 20, 22–23; 19; 24, 3–8. Against this suggestion, see Loewenstamm, *From Babylon to Canaan*, p. 439.

[18] Scholars have already considered the similarity between the opening and the closing but they attached nine verses from chap. 24, and believed that there was duplication in the narrative, and proposed dividing the verses, e.g., between J. and E.; see H. Gressmann, *Mose und Seine Zeit* (Göttingen, 1923), pp. 180–81.

of chap. 24 took the concluding verse from the original account and introduced it as the opening of his narrative, and even developed it; he also created and integrated literary units, the principal of which have a chiastic structure. This too attests that the author of chap. 24 was acquainted with the chiastically constructed narrative of the revelation of Sinai and wished to construct additional units on this model. The first of the two chiastic units runs through verses 1–9, the second through verses 15–18a; the intervening passage contains small units and fragments of traditions. One of them is the revelation of God to Moses and Aaron, Nadav and Avihu and seventy of the elders of Israel (vv. 10–11), which is added to the passage vv. 1–9. Another tradition tells of an additional ascent of Moses to God to receive the tablets of the law accompanied by Joshua (vv. 12–13), and another added fragment relates the appointment of Aaron and Hur as judges for the people in Moses's absence (v. 14). Also added are closing words telling of Moses's sojourn on the mountain for forty days and forty nights (v. 18b) to harmonize the account here with another tradition (cf. Ex 34,28).[19]

Our subject from the start has been the narrative of the revelation of Sinai in a chiastic scheme ending with 24,3; but as two chiastic units connected with our narrative are found in chap. 24 we might comment on them. First, however the two chiastic structures in this chapter should be noted: vv. 1–9 and vv. 15–18a.

The first passage: 24,1–9

> And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord, thou, and Aaron, Nadav, and Avihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off.
> And Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord and all the judgments: and all the people answered in one voice and said, All the words which the Lord hath said will we do.
> And Moses wrote . . .
> And he took the book of the covenant and read it in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient.
> Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadav and Avihu and seventy of the elders of Israel.

---

[19] See A. Kahana, *Exodus* (Kiev, 1923), pp. 80–82 (Hebrew); M. Noth, *Exodus* (*OTL*, London 1962), pp. 194–99. These now regard them as a single unit and assume they existed as single independent units and became fused in the framework of chap. 24.

The second passage: 24,15–18a

And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount.
And the glory of the Lord abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud cov-
ered it six days:
and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud.
And the sight of the glory of Lord was like devouring fire on the top of
the mount.
And Moses went into the midst of the cloud
And got him up into the mount.

24,1–11

Our analysis for chap. 24 also differs from what is accepted in schol-
arship. Many scholars speak of the literary unit of vv. 3–8, but we
feel that the unit extends over the first nine verses of the chapter
(vv. 1–9) and that the two vv. 10–11 are an addition. Many have
rejected vv. 1–2, claiming that they are a connecting passage by the
editor. In Toeg's view, in these verses "are gathered literary con-
nections to all three sections 19,20–25; 20,18–21; 24,9–11. 24,1–22
is a central axis incorporating threads from different traditions at a
point that became problematic owing to the accumulation of different
texts that do not conform with each other".[20]

The author of these verses indeed knew some of the traditions of
the account of the revelation at Sinai, but it seems to us that he is
not an editor but a narrator and these verses do not stand inde-
pendently but are connected to a large literary unit, namely an entire
story, which extends over vv. 1–9 in chap. 24. These verses serve
as the opening, and undoubtedly the author's employment of them
as such is what caused him to make use of earlier material to link
his tale to the stories on the same subject. Therefore he drew in
particular from the last passage, the close of our suggested narra-
tive, leaving part of what he saw in place and imitating it, but omit-
ting part of the end of that story and introducing it into his own:

The close of our proposed *narrative*	*The opening of the narrative* *in chap. 24*
And the people stood afar	And worship ye from afar off And Moses alone shall come
And Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was	near the Lord But they shall not come nigh

---

[20] Toeg, *Lawgiving at Sinai*, p. 40.

And Moses came and told
the people all the words of the Lord
And all the people answered
with one voice and said
All the words which the
Lord hath said will we do

And Moses came and told the
people all the words of the Lord
And all the people answered
with one voice and said
All the words which the
Lord hath said will we do

As stated, the literary unit 24,1–9 is constructed on the chiastic principle, which explains the repetition found in the story not only
between v. 3 and v. 7, which has given rise in scholarship to proposals for modification, but also the repetition in v. 9 of v. 1, which
scholars explained by asserting that the verses belong to two different
units in the story, as noted above—to 24,1–2 and 24,3–8. As for
the repetition in v. 3 of v. 7, various proposals have been put forward. Many have observed that the two texts speak of two subjects
in this section; others claim that these are two different stages: a
stage prior to the ceremony and a stage in the setting of the ceremony;
and some have claimed that this duplication arises from an assumed
ritual model.[21]

According to our method this duplication stems from the chiastic
nature of the section. As for the repetition in v. 9 of v. 1 many
scholars regard the former as unconnected to the section preceding
it, stating that the narrative ends with v. 8. In this verse Moses and
others again go up to God, a development that is not essential for
the continuation of the narrative. But it seems to us that this ascent
is connected with the ascent preceding it at the beginning of the
chapter, according to which Moses and Aaron, Nadav and Avihu,
and seventy of the elders of Israel went up once more to inform God
that the covenant indeed had been made. Moses and those accompanying him merited the revelation of God; those accompanying him
were not harmed by the force of the revelation, and the whole section ends with a repast celebrating the covenant between God and
the representatives of the people, which confirmed the covenant that
had been made between the people and God.

24,15–18a

This literary unit, which closes the narrative of the revelation of
Sinai in its present form, is, as stated, also constructed in the chiastic scheme and its unique nature is recognized in scholarship as

---

[21] Ibid., p. 20.

an independent unit attributed to the priestly source (P).[22] Here we pause to consider the form of this small literary unit; and not only should the external chiastic structure be noted but also the special emphases to which this form gives expression. It is worth observing the emphases on "mount" and "cloud", which alternate throughout the entire construction: mount-cloud-mount-cloud-mount-cloud-mount. There is also an emphasis in the center of the construction, at the high point on the seventh day; the cloud covered the mountain for six days and only on the seventh day, at the climax, did the glory of the Lord become revealed on Mount Sinai. The majestic description of an event lasting six days and reaching the height of its grandeur on the seventh is known to us from Akkadian, Ugaritic, and biblical literature.[23]

To conclude, we have suggested here a new way of examining the composition of the narrative based on a formal criterion, the chiastic composition of a literary unit. Although this formal criterion is not valid for every narrative in the Bible there are tens of literary units that are so constructed: units of various literary types, of poetry and psalmody, of declamation and description, and obviously of narration. I have been able to isolate over thirty literary units constructed on the chiastic principle and it is worth applying this criterion to an examination of narratives in terms of their structure, composition, and redaction, and to compare the results of such an examination with those reached by scholars in other ways.

As for this story, we have seen that the chiastic construction has led to independent findings that none of the other methods has reached using different criteria. This may be an indication that the method is useful not only for confirming the results of other studies, but also to pave new paths for research into those narratives constructed on the chiastic principle.

---

[22] See Noth, *Exodus*, pp. 200–201; Childs, *Exodus*, p. 499. But in their opinion the literary unit begins from 15b and belongs to Priestly narrative, while we begin the same unit from the beginning of v. 15, and see in detail below.

[23] U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, 2 (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 26–29. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures*, pp. 199–209; D.N. Freedman, "Counting Formulae in the Akkadian Epos", *JANES* 3 (1970–1971), pp. 192–209.

FROM EXODUS TO EXILE:
2 KGS 17,7–20 IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS CO-TEXT

BOB BECKING

Utrecht

I. *Introduction*

Recently, Walter Dietrich has stressed the importance of Martin Noth's insights for ancient Israelite historiographic research. Had Noth not written his stimulating and influential monograph on the Deuteronomistic history writing[1] "One would read these biblical books primarily in two ways: *either biblicistically* as instructional and factual reports on the history of the people of God *or in an enlightened way* as devotional and inspirational stories of Jewish writers on the fictionally constructed 'history of Israel'".[2] Noth's concern with the *final shape* of the texts in Deuteronomy up to 2 Kings has opened a third way of "doing history", between "minimalists" and "maximalists"; between "sceptics" and "realists". In my view Noth is offering a narrative history by showing how the author of the final text re-enacted the strings of events from the Israelite and Judahite past known to him from written evidence and oral tradition so that his theological point of view becomes clear.[3] This paper does not aim at a full description of the Deuteronomistic history writing or at a reformulation of Noth's thesis. I want to confine myself to one textual unit that plays an important role in Noth's view: 2 Kgs 17,7–20. 2 Kgs 17,7ff. is

---

[1] M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Darmstadt, 1967³), pp. 3–110.

[2] W. Dietrich, "Martin Noth and the Future of the Deuteronomistic History", in *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth*, eds., S.L. McKenzie and M.P. Graham, (JSOTS 182; Sheffield, 1994), pp. 153–75; the quotation is on p. 153.

[3] On the idea of re-enactment see R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History: Revised Edition with Lectures 1926–1928* (Oxford, 1994) especially pp. 282–302; for the concept of a narrative history see A.C. Danto, *Analytical Philosophy of History* (Cambridge, 1968); F.R. Ankersmit, *Narrative Logic: A Semantical Analysis of the Historian's Language* (Den Haag, 1983); H.M. Barstad, "History and the Hebrew Bible", *Can a "History of Israel" be Written?* ed. L.L. Grabbe (ESHM 1 = JSOTS 245; Sheffield, 1997), pp. 54–60.

one of the orations that function as structuring devices throughout DtrH. According to Noth, 2 Kgs 17,21–23 form a later addition. This view is argued theologically by Noth in saying that the tearing away of the northern kingdom from the Davidic dynasty as πρωτον ψευδος of the northern kingdom is not attested elsewhere in DtrH. The hand of the Deuteronomist is clearly visible in 2 Kgs 17,7–20. This textual unit, written in the period of the exile, includes Judah when it describes the sins of the northern kingdom. In other words, Noth reads this text as an indication that the fates of Judah and Israel were seen as parallel.[4] Elsewhere, I have argued that 2 Kgs 17,21–23 is not a later addition to an already existing homily, but should be construed as a Josianic text prior to the final redaction of the book of Kings.[5] In this essay, dedicated to a well-known Israeli scholar, I would like to test Noth's insights concerning 2 Kgs 17,7–20.

II. *2 Kgs 17,7–20 translation and structure*

First I would like to offer a translation of the textual unit under consideration.

7a This happened
b   because[6] the Israelites sinned against YHWH, their God,
c   who brought them up from the land of Egypt,
d   from under the control of Pharaoh, king of Egypt
e   (because) they revered other gods,
8a   walked after the statutes of the nations,
b   whom YHWH had destroyed[7] for the Israelites
c   and after those, whom the kings of Israel had installed.
9a The Israelites had done hidden things,[8]
b   that were not good for YHWH, their God.

---

[4] Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, p. 85.

[5] B. Becking, "From Apostasy to Destruction: A Josianic View on the Fall of Samaria", *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C.H.W. Brekelmans*, ed. M. Vervenne and J. Lust (BEThL 133; Leuven, 1997), pp. 279–97.

[6] *kî* has a causal function here, cf. A. Schoors, "The Particle כי", *OTS* 21 (1981), pp. 264–67.

[7] With N. Lohfink, "Die Bedeutungen von Hebr. jrš qal und hif", *BiZs NF* 27 (1983), pp. 26–32, ירש Hif should be rendered "to destroy"; *pace* the traditional translation "To drive away; to dispossess" as in M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; New York, 1988), p. 203. It should be noted that in the book of Joshua the "Canaanites" are not driven away, but either destroyed or incorporated in Israelite society.

[8] D.J.A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* III (Sheffield, 1996), p. 286, ren-

c   They had built for themselves "high-places"[9] in all cities
d   —from the watchtower to the fortified city—.
10a They had set up for themselves pillars and sacred poles
b   —on every high hill and under every green tree—.
11a They had indeed[10] offered in all "high-places" as the nations,
b   whom YHWH had exiled for them.
c   They had done evil things to offend YHWH.
12a They had worshipped idols
b   while YHWH had said to them:
c   "You shall no do such a thing!"
13a YHWH had warned Israel and Judah by the service of every prophet
     and every seer:
b   "Turn back from your evil ways!
c   Keep my commands and my statutes according to the whole of
     the law,
d   that I had commanded your ancestors
e   and that I transmitted to you by the hand of my servants, the
       prophets".
14a But they did not listen.
b   They were as[11] obstinate as their ancestors,
c   who did not trust YHWH, their God.
15a They had spurned his statutes, his covenant,
b   which he had concluded with their ancestors,
(a) and the provisions of his law,
c   which he had laid upon them.
d   They had walked after the emptiness,[12]

---

ders חטא with "to do secretly". The verb is related with the common Semitic root
HB/P', "to hide; to do secretly", that is attested in a variety of Semitic languages.
Pace the interpretation by F.E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew: A
Study of the Phenomenon and its Treatment since Antiquity with special Reference to Verbal Forms*
(SBL DS 74; Chico, 1984), p. 116, whose translation "said" is mainly based on the
Targum and the Peshitta.
  [9] With W.B. Barrick, "What do we really know about 'high-places'", *SEÅ* 45
(1980), pp. 50–57—and many others—it should be accepted that "*bāmā* was much
more of a 'temple' than we have customarily thought".
  [10] שם has asseverative force; cf. C.F. Whitley, "Has the Particle שם an Asseverative
Function?" *Biblica* 55 (1974), pp. 394–98.
  [11] כ in בערף has equating force, so Vulgate; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de
l'Ancient Testament* 1 (OBO 50/1; Fribourg, Güttingen, 1982), p. 409; Cogan and
Tadmor, *II Kings*, pp. 203–05; and should not be construed as in indication of the
comparative, *pace* J. Gray, *I and II Kings* (OTL; London, 1977), p. 645. Later gen-
erations of Israelites were not more stiff-necked than their ancestors.
  [12] הבל should not be interpreted as the distorted name of a presumed Cana-
anite fertility god Hubal, who was still worshipped by pre-Islamic Arab tribes; see
B. Becking, "Does Jeremiah x 3 refer to a Canaanite Deity called Hubal?" *VT* 43
(1993), pp. 555–7; *pace* H.M. Barstad, "*HBL* als Bezeichnung der fremden Götter
im Alten Testament und der Gott Hubal", *StudTheol* 32 (1978), pp. 57–65; idem
Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos* (VTS 34; Leiden, 1984), pp. 70–72.

e   so they became emptiness themselves,
(d) and after the nations,
f   that surrounded them,
g   while YHWH had ordered them not to act like them.
16a They had abandoned all the commands of YHWH, their God.
b   They had made for themselves a molten image <<two calves>>.[13]
c   They had made a pole for Asherah.
d   They had bowed down to all the host of heaven.
e   They had worshiped Baal.
17a They made pass their sons and daughters through the fire.
b   They had practised divination and sorcery.[14]
c   They had let themselves seduce to do evil in the eyes of YHWH
d   to offend him.
18a YHWH became very angry with Israel.
b   He removed them from before his face.
c   Nothing remained than the tribe of Judah.
19a Judah, too, did not keep the commands of YHWH, their God.
b   They walked in the statutes,
c   that Israel had made.
20a YHWH spurned all the seed of Israel.
b   He chastened them
c   and gave them in the hand of plunderers,
d   until he threw them away from before his face.

This extensive textual unit shows a coherent and concentric structure:

A   7   Introduction; the sin of the people in contrast to the
             favour of God
B   8–12   Reproaches on the people
C   13   Warning through the prophets
B'   14–17   More reproaches
D   18–20   God's favour has changed into wrath and punishment.

---

[13] The words שְׁנֵי עֲגָלִים are traditionally construed as a gloss, e.g., by B. Stade, "Anmerkungen zu 2 Kö. 15–21", *ZAW* 6 (1886), p. 166; W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte* (FRLANT 108; Göttingen,1972), p. 44, note 89; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige: 1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25* (ATD 11,2; Göttingen, 1984), p. 392, note 11; Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 205. In my view the expression should, like the words חַטָּאת נִדְלָה in 2 Kgs 17,21, be interpreted as additions by the final redactor of the literary complex Gen 2–2 Kgs 25. The aim of these additions is most probably to point out greater connections within the history of Israel, in this case the story of the Golden Calf and the installation by Jeroboam I of the calf images.
[14] For a discussion of various kinds of divination in ancient Israel see F.H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment: A socio-historical Investigation* (JSOTS 142; Sheffield, 1994); A. Jeffers, *Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (SHCANE 8; Leiden, 1996); C. van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, 1997).

Eynikel has criticized this idea.[15] His main point of criticism is related to the fact that vv. 7 and 18 show no similarity. Against this it should be noted that the textual unit under consideration is not a poetic text, in which similarity between the first and the last element in a concentric symmetry is to be expected, but an argument in the form of a narrative. Narratives as such relate changes.[16] Therefore, evidently the correlation between the elements A and D is that of a shift: God changing from "favour" to "wrath". Despite the clear composition of 2 Kgs 7,7–20,[17] a literary-critical or redaction-historical division is frequently made between the core of the text and the final remarks in which Judah is mentioned.[18] In my view, 2 Kgs 17, 7–18 and 19–20 were written by the same hand. Three observations may support this supposition.

(1) There are connections on the level of vocabulary.
(2) There is no contradiction between 2 Kgs 17,7–18 and 19–20 as to the addressed person(s).
(3) The reproaches in B and B' are paralleled in the book of Kings by deeds of kings and people of both Judah and Israel. The first two features will be discussed shortly. The third one will be presented in the next section.

---

[15] E. Eynikel, *The Reform of King Josiah and the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (OTS 33; Leiden, 1996), pp. 89–94.

[16] See, e.g., S. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London, 1983); M. Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1985).

[17] See also L. Eslinger, *Into the Hands of the Living God* (JSOTS 84; Sheffield, 1989), pp. 205–16; S.L. McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (VTS 42; Leiden, 1991), pp. 140–2; J. Zsengellér, *Gerizim as Israel: Northern Traditions of the Old Testament and the Early History of the Samaritans* (Utrechtse Theologische Reeks 38; Utrecht, 1998), p. 102.

[18] See, e.g., J. Debus, *Die Sünde Jerobeams* (FRLANT 93; Göttingen, 1967), pp. 98–101; Dietrich, *Prophetie*, pp. 42–46; F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge MA, 1973), pp. 274–89; R.D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTS 18; Sheffield, 1981), pp. 55–63; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit* (FRLANT 129; Göttingen, 1982), p. 45, n. 28; Würthwein, *Könige*, pp. 391–92, pp. 395–97; Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kgs*, p. 207; I.W. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings: A Contribution to the Debate about the Composition of the Deuteronomistic History* (BZAW 172; Berlin-New York, 1988), pp. 71–73; M.A. O'Brien, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis: A Reassessment* (OBO 92; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), pp. 209–11; C. Westermann, *Die Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments: Gab es ein deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk?* (ThB 87; Gütersloh, 1994), p. 108; M.Z. Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London, New York, 1995), p. 114, pp. 117–28.

(1) Connections on the level of vocabulary between 2 Kgs 17,7–18 and 19–20.

– The phrase שמר מצות occurs in the prophetic summons in element C (17,13) and in the observation that Judah too "did not keep the commands of YHWH" (17,19). According to Weinfeld, the phrase is specifically Deuteronomistic.[19]

– The combination הלך בחקות, "to follow the statutes", only occurs in the Old Testament in 2 Kgs 17,8 and 19. In DtrH the verb הלך, "to walk; to follow", is attested in a variety of phrases, הלך אחרי ה' for example. The noun חקות, "statutes", is in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic language connected with the verb שמר "to keep".[20] הלך בחקות, "to follow the statutes", in 2 Kgs 17 is a unique combination of words. Moreover, these are the only places in DtrH, except חקות דוד, "the statutes of David", where חקות does not refer to provisions given by YHWH.[21] Here, the noun refers to the customs of the nations taken over by Israel (v. 8) and, later, by Judah.

– The verb מאס, "to spurn", occurs in 2 Kgs 17,15 as well as in 2 Kgs 17,20. Here the linguistic relations are also of a conceptual character: the spurning by Israel of God's commands provoked God's spurning of Israel. This hints at a concept of divine retribution in history.[22] The two clauses in 2 Kgs 17,7–20 presume each other and should best be regarded as stemming from the same hand.[23]

– The subordinate clause אשר עשה is attested in 2 Kgs 17,8 and 19. In both clauses the verb עשה has the specific meaning "to install".

These four examples[24] show a relation on the level of vocabulary between 2 Kgs 17,7–18 and 19–20. This is not definite proof that they were written by the same hand, since a later redactor could

---

[19] M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), p. 336.

[20] See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, p. 336.

[21] Comparable language is attested in the Holiness-code, as indicated by Nelson, *Double Redaction*, p. 57.

[22] See also J. van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven and London, 1983), p. 260; F.I. Andersen and D.N. Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 24; New York, 1989), p. 296; E. Bons, "Das Denotat von כוביהם 'ihre Lügen' im Judaspruch Am 2,4–5", *ZAW* 108 (1996), pp. 206–7.

[23] With Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, p. 45, note 28 (both DtrN); *pace* Dietrich, *Prophetie*, pp. 42–46 (15: DtrN; 20: DtrP).

[24] The apposition אלהיהם, "their God", occurring in 2 Kgs 17,9,14,16 and repeated in 2 Kgs 17,19 is too general an expression to be taken as a redactional device.

have imitated the language of a given tradition. However, if connec-
tions on other levels can be detected, the thesis of common authorship
will stand more firmly.

(2) The mention of "and Judah" in 2 Kgs 17,13. There seems to
be a contradiction between 2 Kgs 17,7–18 and 19–20. The last two
verses are directed against Judah; vv. 7–18 seem only to refer to the
northern kingdom. For several scholars this contradiction is an argu-
ment for a literary-critical deconstruction.[25] This contradiction is more
apparent than real, I think. The prophetic warning (17,13) is also
directed against Judah. Coherent with the view that vv. 18–19 form
a later intrusion, the morpheme וביהודה, "and Judah", has been con-
strued as a later gloss. The reading of MT, however, is supported
by all the ancient versions. Therefore, it seems plausible to construe
וביהודה, "and Judah", as part of the original text. To apply mean-
ing to the textual unit, one has to accept that the author of 2 Kgs
17,7–20 is referring to Israel and Judah alike, and that the ruina-
tion of both Samaria and Jerusalem is assessed in the textual unit
under consideration. This implies that in 7–20 the history of kings
and prophets, of guilt and the exile of "all the seed of Israel" (17,20)
is narrated.[26]

III. *Context and co-text*

Before reading a textual unit in its context, one should consider its
co-text. Reading is primarily, though not exclusively, a language-
related enterprise. This means that the interpretation of a text should
first consider the complete, and sometimes complex, literary context.
Exegetes should distinguish co-text, an idea indicating the literary
"context", from context, an idea indicating *all* relations, linguistic,
cultural, societal, religious, political, and so on, that can help in the

---

[25] See, e.g., Debus, *Jerobeam*, pp. 98–101; Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, pp. 274–98; R.E.
Friedman, "From Egypt to Egypt: Dtr¹ and Dtr²", *Traditions in Transformation* ed.
B. Halpern and J.D. Levenson; (Winona Lake, 1981), pp. 167–92; R.E. Friedman,
The Exile and Biblical Narrative: The Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly Works
(HSM 22; Chico, 1981), pp. 1–43; Würthwein, *Könige*, pp. 391–97; Cogan and
Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 207; Brettler, *Creation of History*, p. 120.
[26] Note that in Jer 31,37 the same expression, כל זרע ישראל, occurs and that
there too the expression aims at Israel and Judah alike.

process of understanding and interpreting a textual unit.[27] The co-
text of 2 Kgs 17,7–20 is primarily the book of Kings. In the textual
elements B and B' Israel is reproached for its guilty and sinful con-
duct. With the idea in mind that 2 Kgs 17,7–20 refers to both the
northern kingdom and to Judah, I would like to read these reproaches
in their co-text. My question is, are there any parallels between the
reproaches in 2 Kgs 17,7–20 and the narratives on and/or assess-
ments of the kings of Israel and Judah in the book of Kings?[28] Others
have pointed out that some reproaches in 2 Kgs 17,7–20 would
refer to situations that occurred after the ruination of Samaria.[29] I
have two remarks on this point. (1) The observations have not been
made systematically; and (2) they have been made by a more "his-
torical" approach to the text. Eslinger pursued a more "literary"
approach. However, he confined the comparison to the narrative up
to 2 Kgs 17 and did not look for parallels in the rest of the book
of Kings. Eslinger's approach is thus biased by the idea that 2 Kgs
17,7–20(23) evaluates the conduct of northern Israel.[30] Therefore, it
seems fruitful to approach the reproaches in a linguistic and sys-
tematic way.

IV. *Comparison*

– ירא אלהים אחרים, to fear other gods
This is one of the Deuteronomistic phrases for trespassing the com-
mand "You shall not have other gods before my face". In the book
of Kings the phrase is attested as follows:

2 Kings 17,7	–	–
2 Kings 17,35	Colonists	N(?)
2 Kings 17,37	Colonists	N(?)
2 Kings 17,38	Colonists	N(?)

---

[27] On this distinction see A. Goldberg, "Zitat und Citem", *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 6 (1978), pp. 23–26.

[28] The comparison is confined to the book of Kings, since this is the primary canonical context. A comparison with stories in the Deuteronomistic history writ-ing might be fruitful too, but such an enterprise implies a scholarly construct as the basis of analysis and not an actual text.

[29] E.g., by Stade, "Anmerkungen", p. 164; H.A. Brongers, *II Koningen* (POT; Nijkerk, 1970), p. 166; Debus, *Jerobeam*, p. 99; Dietrich, *Prophetie*, p. 45.

[30] Eslinger, *Into the Hands*, pp. 183–220.

– הלך בחקות הגוים, to walk after the statutes of the nations
An explicit prohibition to "walk in the statutes of the nations" is for-
mulated in the Holiness-Code.[31] In the book of Kings this formula-
tion of the command is not attested.

– חפא דברים, to do hidden things
The verb חפא is a *hapax legomenon* and has, by implication, no par-
allels.

– בנה במות, to build "high-places"
The building of this kind of sanctuaries is phrased with the verb בנה
several times in the book of Kings:

1 Kgs 11,7	Solomon	–
1 Kgs 14,23	Judahites	S
2 Kgs 17,9	–	–
2 Kgs 21,3	Manasseh	S
2 Kgs 23,13	Solomon (in flashback)	–

See also Jer 7,31; 19,5; 32,35. In the Old Testament the compara-
ble phrase עשה במות, "to make a 'high-place'", is attested at 2 Kgs
23,15;[32] 2 Chron 21,11; 28,11 and Ez 16,16.

– נצב מצבות, to set up pillars
This expression is not characteristically Deuteronomistic. In the book
of Kings the "erecting or making of pillars" is nowhere else phrased
with the verb נצב.

– נצב אשרים, to set up sacred poles
The verb נצב has אשרים as his object nowhere in the book of Kings.

– קטר ב' במות, offer in/at "high places"
The verb קטר is used in Classical Hebrew to describe the burning
or melting of offerings. The verb in itself is ideologically neutral.
From the context it must be concluded whether the offering is "good"
or "bad", namely a properly conducted offering for YHWH.[33] The
book of Kings reproaches Judahite kings for bringing offerings in
"high-place"-sanctuaries:

1 Kgs 3,3	Solomon	–
1 Kgs 22,44	Joshaphat	S
2 Kgs 12,4	Joash	S
2 Kgs 14,4	Amaziah	S
2 Kgs 15,4	Azarjah	S

---

[31] Lev. 18,3; 20,23.
[32] Jeroboam I in a flashback.
[33] See Nelson, *Double Redaction*, pp. 57–58; *HALAT*, pp. 1022–23.

2 Kgs 15,25	Jotham	S
2 Kgs 17,11	–	–
2 Kgs 23,5.8	Kings of Judah	S

2 Kgs 16,4 relates that Ahaz offered in a במה-sanctuary, although there the verb זבח is used for "to offer". Manasseh rebuilt the במה-sanctuary torn down by Hezekiah. Offerings by Manasseh are, however, not narrated.

– עשה דברים רעים, to do evil things
This expression is not attested elsewhere in the book of Kings.

– הכעס את יהוה, to offend YHWH
The offending of YHWH by Israelites/Judahites is phrased in Dt, DtrH and in the book of Jeremiah with the verb כעס in Hiphil.[34] As a rule the thing that offends YHWH is mentioned:

1 Kgs 14,1	Jeroboam I	molten images	N
1 Kgs 14,15	Jeroboam I	sacred poles	N
1 Kgs 15,30	Nadab	sins of Jeroboam	N
1 Kgs 16,2	Baasha	sins of Jeroboam	N
1 Kgs 16,7	Baasha	(general)	N
1 Kgs 16,13	Ela	vanities	N
1 Kgs 16,26	Omri	sins of Jeroboam	N
1 Kgs 16,33	Ahab	cult of Baal	N
1 Kgs 21,22	Ahab	cult of Baal/(general)	N
1 Kgs 22,54	Ahaziah	cult of Baal	N
2 Kgs 17,11	–	evil things	–
2 Kgs 17,17	–	Molokh/soothsaying	–
2 Kgs 21,6	Manasseh	Molokh/soothsaying	S
2 Kgs 21,15	Judah	(general)	S
2 Kgs 22,17	Judahites	all their practices	S
2 Kgs 23,19	Israelites (in flashback)	shrines	N
2 Kgs 23,27	Manasseh	(general)	S

– עבר הגללים, to worship idols
The גללים, idols,[35] are mentioned several times in the book of Kings: 1 Kgs 15,12; 21,26; 2 Kgs 21,11; 23,24. The phrase under consideration is attested only twice:

| 2 Kgs 17,12 | – | – |
| 2 Kgs 21,21 | Amon | S |

---

[34] See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 340–41.
[35] On this generic term see M.I. Gruber, "Gillulim", *A Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst, 1995), pp. 655–58.

– לא שמע, not listen; disobey
Weinfeld, in his monograph on Deuteronomistic language, does not discuss this phrase.[36] According to Nelson, the phrase with its general formulation is a characteristic of the exilic redaction.[37] The expression occurs in the following texts. The outline indicates also the object of the disobedience:

1 Kgs	12,13.16	Jeroboam I	To the people	N
1 Kgs	20,36	Ahab	God's voice	N
2 Kgs	14,11	Amaziah	Joash of Israel	N
2 Kgs	17,14	–	God's command	–
2 Kgs	17,40	Colonists	God's command	N(?)
2 Kgs	18,12	Israelites	God's voice	N
2 Kgs	18,12	Israelites	God's command	N
2 Kgs	21,9	Judahites	God's command	S
2 Kgs	22,13	the ancestors	Contents of Law-code	– (N + S ?)

– קשה את-ערף, to be obstinate
This expression, characterized by Weinfeld as Deuteronomistic,[38] attested in the book of Jeremiah[39] and in post-exilic literature,[40] is further unknown in the book of Kings.

– לא האמן ביהוה, do not believe in YHWH
This generally phrased expression is attested in the book of Kings only at 2 Kgs 17,14.

– מאס את-חקיו, to spurn his statutes, etc.
This reproach has no parallel in the book of Kings.

– הלך אחרי ההבל, to walk after the emptiness
The expression occurs in the same wording at Jer 2,5. Generally the view is accepted that the author of the book of Kings has taken over the expression from Jeremiah or Jeremaic traditions.[41] The main

---

[36] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*.
[37] Nelson, *Double Redaction*, pp. 51, 53–55.
[38] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, p. 241.
[39] Jer 7,26; 17,23; 19,15.
[40] E.g. Neh 9,16,17,29 and Prov 29,1.
[41] See, e.g., Stade, "Anmerkungen", pp. 164–65; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, p. 323; H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches* (BZAW 132; Berlin-New York, 1973), p. 218; A. van Selms, *Jeremia I* (POT; Nijkerk, 1972), p. 229; Würthwein, *Könige*, p. 392; W.L. Holladay, *Jeremiah I* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, 1986), p. 86. For other views see, W. Thiel, *Die Deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25* (WMANT 41; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), pp. 80–1; S. Herrmann, *Jeremia* (BKAT 12/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990), p. 119.

argument for this view is that in all probability Jeremiah should be
seen as the author of the conceited equation "other gods" = הבלים
"emptinesses".[42] In the book of Kings the expression under consid-
eration is further absent, although 1 Kgs 16,13.26 narrate that Ela,
Baasha and Omri had offended YHWH with the הבלים.

הלך אחרי הגוים אשר סביבתם –, to go after the surrounding nations
This expression hinting at the taking over of religious and cultic cus-
toms of other nations occurs in the book of Kings only at 2 Kgs
17,15.

עזב את-כל-מצות יהוה –, to abandon all the commands of YHWH
This expression is construed by Veijola as a characteristic of the
nomistic redaction of DtrH.[43] In the book of Kings the expression
occurs at the following instances:

1 Kgs 9,9	Announcement of possible doom should Solomon or his sons abandon YHWH	–
1 Kgs 11,33	Disruption of the kingdom because Solomon abandoned God	–
1 Kgs 18,18	Doom on Israel since Ahab abandoned God's command	N
1 Kgs 19,10.14	Israelites abandoned the covenant with God	N
2 Kgs 17,6	–	–
2 Kgs 21,22	Amon abandoned YHWH	S
2 Kgs 22,17	Judahites abandoned YHWH	S

עשה מסכה –, to make a molten image
This expression occurs only twice in the book of Kings:

1 Kgs 14:9	Prophecy of Ahiah against Jeroboam	N
2 Kgs 17,16	–	–

עשה אשרה –, to make an Asherah/a pole
Above the construction נצב אשרה has been discussed. The expres-
sion עשה אשרה can be found at:

1 Kgs 14,5	Israelites	N
1 Kgs 16,33	Ahab	N
2 Kgs 17,16	–	–
2 Kgs 21,3	Manasseh	S

---

[42] See Jer 10,3,8,15; 14,22; 51,18.
[43] T. Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (AASF B 198; Helsinki, 1977), pp. 56–57.

Note that 1 Kgs 14:23 narrates that in Judah an "Asherah" has been built (בנה אשרה).

– השתחוה לכל-צבא השמים, to bow down to all the host of heaven
This Deuteronomistic phrase is attested only twice in the book of Kings:

2 Kgs 17,16	–	–
2 Kgs 21,3	Manasseh	S

A parallel expression is found in 2 Kgs 21:5 where it is related that Manasseh built altars for the entire heavenly host. Josiah abandoned the idolatrous priests who had been installed to bring offerings to the "sun, the moon, the constellations and all of the heavenly host" (2 Kgs 23:5).

– עבד את-בעל, to worship Baal
The veneration of the Baal,[44] with Baal in the singular, is mentioned a few times in the book of Kings:

1 Kgs 16,31	Ahab	N
1 Kgs 22,54	Ahaziah	N
2 Kgs 10,18	Ahab (flashback)	N
2 Kgs 17,16	–	–

– העביר את-בנים באש, to make children pass through the fire
This purification rite[45] is, phrased this way, mentioned four times in the book of Kings:

2 Kgs 16,3	Ahaz	S
2 Kgs 17,17	–	–
2 Kgs 21,6	Manasseh	S
2 Kgs 23,10	Judahites	S

– קסם, to practice divination
2 Kgs 17,17 is the only instance in the book of Kings where divination by means of oracles is mentioned. In 2 Kgs 21:6, a verse that shares features with 2 Kgs 17,17,[46] the verb קסם does not occur.

---

[44] I will not enter in the discussion whether the noun בעל refers to a Canaanite deity, known also from the Ugaritic texts, or is a belittling term for a non-Deuteronomistic veneration of YHWH.
[45] See on this e.g. G.C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessement* (JSOTS 43; Sheffield, 1985), esp. p. 254; J. Day, *Molech: A God of human Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (UCOP 41; Cambridge, 1989), pp. 65–71.
[46] On the relation with 2 Kgs 21,5 see Dietrich, *Prophetie*, p. 45; E. Ben Zvi,

– נחש, to practice sorcery
The verb נחש occurs three times in the book of Kings. 1 Kgs 20,
33, however, cannot be considered a parallel for the reproach in
2 Kgs 17,17. since in this probably pre-Dtr report on a battle near
Aphek the verb נחש (piel) means "to consider as a good omen".

2 Kgs 17,17	–	–
2 Kgs 21,6	Manasseh	S

– התמכר לעשות הרע, to let seduce to do evil
This expression is attested three times in the book of Kings:

1 Kgs 21,20.25	Ahab	N
2 Kgs 17,17	–	–

Summarizing the evidence, a preliminary conclusion can be drown.
It appears that the parallels in the book of Kings for the reproaches
in 2 Kgs 17,7–12.14–17 are equally distributed among representa-
tives of the northern and the southern kingdoms.

N	24 times
S	22 times
Solomon	4 times
Colonists	4 times

These observations underscore the surmise made above that the lit-
erary unit 2 Kgs 17,7–20 is addressed to both Israel and Judah.
Had only parallels with kings and representatives of the northern
kingdom been found, this view would have been less tenable. The
observations, moreover, underscore Noth's view of the character of
2 Kgs 17,7–20 as an exilic text assessing both Israelite and Judahite
conduct.[47]

"The Account of the Reign of Manasseh in II Reg 21,1–18 and the Redactional
History of the book of Kings", *ZAW* 103 (1991), p. 363; B. Halpern and D.S.
Vanderhooft, "The Editions of Kings in the 7th–6th Centuries BCE", *HUCA* 62
(1991), pp. 240–41; K.A.D. Smelik, *Converting the Past: Studies in Ancient Israelite and
Moabite Historiography* (OTS 28; Leiden, 1992), p. 148; Brettler, *Creation of History*,
p. 123; W.M. Schniedewind, "History and Interpretation: The Religion of Ahab and
Manasseh in the book of Kings", *CBQ* 55 (1993), pp. 649–61; P.S.F. van Keulen,
*Manasseh through the Eyes of the Deuteronomists: The Manasseh Account (2 Kgs 21,1–18) and
the Final Chapters of the Deuteronomistic History* (OTS 38; Leiden, 1996), pp. 98–103.
    [47] Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, p. 85. Brettler, *Creation of History*, pp.
121–2, supposes that 2 Kgs 17,7–12 are a "misplaced fragment of a speech which
justified the exile of Judah".

V. *Historiographic implications*

The book of Kings narrates the story of Israel from David to Gedalaiah, or from before the building of the Temple until after the destruction of the Temple. Its authors should be seen as historians. This does not mean that they reconstructed what actually happened, although presumably they believed that they did. Note, however, that the history writing of the authors of the book of Kings is in the form of a narrative, namely an organization of the past, not a mere description. They evidently collected and selected events known to them, orally or written, and moulded their material into the form now known to us. They were guided by a certain belief system, of whose truth they sought to persuade their readers.[48] 2 Kgs 17,7–20 is one unit in the book of Kings where this belief system becomes apparent. The comparison of the reproaches has made clear that the passage can be seen as an authorative interpretation of the narrative in the book of Kings. Therefore, the elements of the belief system as reflected in our verses will now be summarized.

The textual unit presents a contrast between the goodness of God and the sins of the people, as observed by Pauline Viviano.[49] This contrast is already observable in vv. 7–8. As against God's acting in history on behalf of his people—at the Exodus out of Egypt (v. 7) and at the entrance into the land (v. 8)—stands the guilt of the people. The two themes are elaborated in vv. 7–20. The guilt of the people is made explicit in the reproaches in vv. 8–12, 14–17, and 19, while the goodness of God, as a result of or a reaction to the guilt of the people changes into a warning, and ultimately into punishment. The textual unit reflects the belief that the love of God was transformed into anger and punishment as his *final* response to the sins of the people. Although the word is not used, the text can be seen as an expression of the confession that YHWH is אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, "long suffering", since YHWH did not immediately punish his people, but first warned them through his prophets.

The above comparison of the reproaches in 2 Kgs 17,7–20 has not only made clear that this textual unit assesses the conduct of

---

[48] On the idea "belief system" see, e.g., M.B. Black, "Belief Systems", *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ed. J.J. Honigmann, (Chicago, 1973), pp. 509–77.

[49] P.A. Viviano, "2 Kgs 17, A rhetorical and form-critical Analysis", *CBQ* 49 (1987), p. 550.

Israelites and Judahites alike, but also that it may be seen as central text in the search for the historiography of the book of Kings. This implies that the belief system briefly outlined above forms the backbone of the historiography throughout the book of Kings. The idea of God changing from "goodness" to "warning" and "punishment" in reaction to the conduct of the people must be seen as the principle guiding the selection of data, events, and traditions by the authors of the book of Kings. This implies that the book as it now stands reflects an ideology and does not simply narrate facts. On the other hand, this view does not imply that all the events in the book of Kings are pure fiction. Since certain events are also reflected in cuneiform texts and others are hinted at in West-Semitic inscriptions, it is highly plausible that events like the conquest of Samaria by Shalmaneser V and Sargon II,[50] the campaign of Sennacherib, and others really happened.[51] Many other events, and strings of events, narrated in the book of Kings are to date not reflected in the extra-biblical material. Some events are said to have references in West-Semitic inscriptions, but these are fiercely debated.[52]

---

[50] See on this string of events B. Becking, *The Fall of Samaria: An Historical and Archaeological Study* (SHANE 2; Leiden, 1992).

[51] The list is well known; on it, see, e.g., Ph.R. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"* (JSOTS 148; Sheffield, 1995²), pp. 57–71; L.L. Grabbe, "Are Historians of Ancient Palestine fellow Creatures-or Different Animals?", *Can a "History of Israel" be Written?* ed. L.L. Grabbe, (ESHM 1 = JSOTS 245; Sheffield, 1997), pp. 24–26.

[52] I would like to give two recent examples. (1) A. Biran and J. Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment", *IEJ* 45 (1995), pp. 1–18, have argued that extensive historical conclusions can be drawn from their joining the Danite inscriptions. The text would contain the names of the Israelite king [Jeho]ram and his Judahite counterpart [Ahaz]jah. In the view of the editors the 'I'-character in the inscription should be interpreted as referring to the Damascene king Hazael who had killed the kings Jehoram and Ahazjah. This, however, is contrary to the tradition attested at 2 Kgs 9,16–19 where Jehu is seen as the one who terminated the house of Omri, as proclaimed by Elijah (1 Kgs 19,17) and Elisha (2 Kgs 9,6–10). Biran and Naveh suggest, on the level of historical reconstruction, that Hazael would have used Jehu as an agent. If their interpretation is correct, unexpected light falls on a hitherto relatively obscure period in the history of Israel. The possibility of the proposed join, however, is heavily debated; see B. Becking, "The Second Danite Inscription: Some Remarks", *BN* 81 (1996), pp. 21–30. (2) Ph.R. Davies and J.W. Rogerson, "Was the Siloam Tunnel Built by Hezekiah?" *BiAr* 59 (1996), pp. 138–49, have proposed, against the scholarly consensus, that the Siloam inscription should be dated in the Hasmonean period and that by implication the report on Hezekiah's hydrological building activities (2 Kgs 20,20) should be regarded as fiction. S. Norin, "The Age of the Siloam Inscription and Hezekiah's Tunnel", *VT* 48 (1998), pp. 37–48, however, has correctly and convincingly questioned their argument.

In sum, we should read the book of Kings neither naively bib-licistically, nor purely in an enlightened way,[33] but as a biased nar-rative whose author(s) selected and modified events from the past in order to convince a readership of the reasons why God's people were transposed from "Exodus" to "Exile".

---

[33] Cf. the assessment of Dietrich, "Martin Noth and the Future of the Deutero-nomistic History", p. 153.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE
ᴸᵁURBI IN ASSYRIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

Moshe Elat
Jerusalem

The ˡᵘUrbi are mentioned in three Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, in each case in connection with military campaigns. The inscription of Sennacherib's first campaign in 703 BCE lists them along with the ˡᵘAramu, the ˡᵘKaldu, and the citizens of Babylonian cities, from Uruk in the south to Sippar in north Babylonia which opposed the Assyrian domination.[1] Two years later, in 701 BCE, Sannecherib, by a heavy siege on Jerusalem, forced the rebellious king of Judah, Hezekiah, to surrender and to send him a costly tribute to Nineveh. The tribute included, among other things, his elite troops (ˡᵘṣabe ᵐᵉˢ-šú damqúte) and the ˡᵘUrbi.[2] The latter element, the ˡᵘUrbi, are also cited by Assurbanipal together with the ˡᵘtēbê,[3] which he carried off as booty from the conquered Aramean Gambulu tribe, located in south-eastern Babylonia, which resisted Assyrian domination.[4]

F. Delitzsch[5] was the first to identify the Urbi as Arabs—the *'arbîm* of the Hebrew Bible, and the ˡᵘA/Á-ra/ri/ru-bi or ˡᵘA/Ár-bi/pi of cuneiform records.[6] This identification, accepted by many scholars,[7]

---

[1] D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (*OIP* II; Chicago, 1924), p. 25:1 39–42; p. 54:52; p. 57:12.

[2] Idem, ibid., p. 33:III, 39–41; p. 70:31, with improved readings by R. Borger, *Babylonische-Assyrische* Lesestücke², I (*Analecta Orientalia* 54; Rome, 1979), p. 75, and his translation of this text in *Texte aus der Umwelt des alten* Testament, ed. O. Keisser, I/4, (Gütersloh, 1984), p. 39.

[3] R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipal's* (Wiesbaden, 1996), p. 228, Prismen A, III 65. For the historical background of this campaign see J. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire: Society and Politics 747–626 BC* (*Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund* 7; Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 89–92.

[4] On the location of the Gambulu and their consequent resistance to Assyrian domination see Brinkman, ibid., pp. 13, 21; A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargon's II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen, 1994), pp. 433f.

[5] F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 305–306.

[6] For the different ways of spelling the name Arab in the Assyrian records, see S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970), pp. 34–35.

[7] Luckenbill in his translation of Sennacherib's inscriptions as quoted above, notes 1–2; E. Ebeling in *RlA* I, p. 120; K. Deller, *Lautlehre des Assyrischen* (Ph.D. Vienna, 1959), p. 64, § 19r; Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, p. 35; D. Neiman, "URBI =

was rejected by others. For instance, H. Winckler rejected it because unlike ᴸᵘKaldu and ᴸᵘAramu, which are in the nominative singular case and therefore are to be understood as a gentilicum, ᴸᵘUrbi is in the plural which means that the term refers to an occupational class only. He suggested that Urbi derives from *munnarbu* = "run-away", so he translated ᴸᵘ*Urbi* as "Banditen", "Gesindel".[8]

Th. Bauer, who accepted Winckler's grammatical analysis, believed that the Urbi were soldiers of a kind. He linked the word with *arbu* "Aussreisser", "Heimatsloser", concluding that since the scribe of the Rassam Cylinder cites the ᴸᵘUrbi alongside the ᴸᵘ*te-bé-e* which he trans-lates as "eine Art irregularer Truppen", the Urbi too must have been a unit of irregulars.[9] If, as Bauer claims, both ᴸᵘ*te-bé-e*, and ᴸᵘ*Urbi* had an identical meaning, listing them side by side would be tantamount to writing "the irregulars and the irregulars". Naturally, such a defi-nition of ᴸᵘ*Urbi* is unacceptable.

M. Streck rejected Delitzsch's identification of the ᴸᵘUrbi as Arabs and suggested that they may have been ("wahrscheinlich") an Aramean nomadic tribe.[10]

I. Eph'al suggested that the ᴸᵘUrbi were a regular military unit whose features were not stated.[11] This suggestion was taken up by H. Tadmor who identified the Urbi with the Hebrew *'oreb* = ambush.[12] This term had been deciphered several years earlier in Aramaic by J.M. Lindenberger and published in his new edition of the Ahiqar proverbs.[13]

But the etymological resemblance of *Urbi* and the *'oreb* in Hebrew or in Aramaic as Tadmor has argued is unacceptable, since in several stories in the Old Testament the *'oreb* are presented as an opportunely

'Irregulars' or 'Arabs'", *JQR* 60 (1970), pp. 237–258; H.-P. Müller, *Theologische Realenzoklypedie* III (Berlin, 1978), pp. 572ff.

[8] H. Winckler, review, *OLZ* 9 (1906), p. 334.

[9] Th. Bauer, *IWA* II (Leipzig, 1933), p. 1 (III, 334); cf. *CAD* A/II, p. 239: art. *arbu; AHw*, p. 66.

[10] *VAT* VII/2, p. 28, n. 13.

[11] I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs* (Jerusalem-Leiden, 1982), p. 113, n. 375.

[12] H. Tadmor, "The Urbi of Hezekias", *Beer-Sheva* 3 (1988), pp. 171–177 (Hebrew).

[13] J.M. Lindberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, 1983), p. 77, Saying 16, l. 99: כי עזו ארב פס מן ארב מלהם = "For the treachery of the mouth is more dangerous than an ambush in battle" (cf. p. 237, n. 186; based on the author's Ph.D. of 1974, first published by Microfilm, pp. 99, 148). 'Oreb is in a borrowed sense for treachery also in the Hebrew Bible's Pro 12,6; 24,15 and in *Ben-Sirah's Proverbs* 8,11; 11,30, as well as in rabbinic scriptures, cf. J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, I (Berlin-Wien, 1924), p. 157.

shaped contingent, recruited from existing army units.[14] Its task was to lie in ambush in order to surprise the enemy by an unexpected attack from the rear; in such instances, after the battle was over, the contingent was dissolved and its members returned to the units from which they had initially been recruited.

In Akkadian the equivalent of the *'oreb* is the *šubtu* which employed the same organizational practices and tactics. From the OB on the Akkadian word for ambush is *šubtu*. It was never written in the nomivative plural or designated by the ideogram *LÚ* as a professional or ethnic unit ᴸᵘUrbi.[15] No evidence exists to support Tadmor's assumption that the N.W.S. word *'oreb* had, at any time, replaced the Akkadian term *šubtu*.

In contrast to the *'oreb*, which was a contingent occasionally drawn up for tactical reasons, the ᴸᵘUrbi were a regular unit for unidentified duties, like the ᴸᵘ*damqūte* and the ᴸᵘ*tēbê*, mentioned in the same inscriptions as the ᴸᵘUrbi.

Their identification as an Arabian unit may also be supported on etymological, grammatical, sociological and historical grounds. In Akkadian, *ar* and *ur* may be used interchangeably. For example, the toponym *Arzuhina* was also written *Urzuhina*,[16] whereas the Mannean town is referred to as *Armaet* in Sargon's inscriptions[17] but as *Urmête* in Assurbanipal's Prism B.[18] The grammatical objections against Delitzsch's identification are no longer justified. The plural ending *i* in records of this period need not rule out the Urbi as a *gentilicum*. As a result of the influence of Aramaic on the Assyrian and Babylonian of that period, case endings were not pronounced, and could be dropped in writing or replaced by other vocals.[19] For example,

---

[14] Josh 8; Judg 9,25,34; 20,29–38; Jer 51,12; 2 Chron 13,12–13; 20,22 etc.

[15] A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC*, I (1114–859 BC) (RIMA 2; Toronto, 1991), A.O.101.1:II, 70–71; A. Livingstone (ed.), *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (SAA 3; Helsinki, 1989), No. 32:19–21; No. 33:12–13; cf. A.K. Grayson, "Ambush at Animal Pit in Akkadian", *FS. A.L. Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 90–94; *CAD Š/III, p. 184*, art. *šubtu A § 5b and p. 386*, art. *šuvubtu, § 2*, cf. vol. N/I p. 95, art. *nadû sec. šubtu*.

[16] Deller, *Lautlehre*, § 19; Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, pp. 38ff.; A. Fadhil, *Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königsreichs Araphe (Baghdader Forschungen* 6; Mainz am Rhein, 1983), p. 67.

[17] Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargon's II*, Ann 87; Prunk 41.

[18] A.C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscription of Ashurbanipal (Assyriological Studies* 5; Chicago 1933), p. 52:III, 47; VAT VII/2, p. 100; cf. Deller, Lautlehre.

[19] W. Von Soden, *Grundrisse der akkadischen Grammatic (Analecta Orientalia* 33; Rome, 1952), § 2ff. 13e; 63e; 64a; 191b; 192a; 196b; S.C. Ylvisaker, *Zur Babylonischen und*

A-ru-bu could be written *A-ri-bi*.[20] In one of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, the Arabian queen Šamši is titled *šarrat* ᵏᵘʳ*A-ri-bu* and in another *šarrat* ᵏᵘʳ*A-ri-bi*.[21]

The Assyrian scribes of the first millennium who listed ethnic groups were inconsistent in writing the case endings of ethnic names. For example, the scribe of Sennacherib's inscription, named by Luckenbill "The Palace without Rival", lists the ethnic groups which did not, after Sannecherib's first campaign, submit to his king's yoke, with the following case endings: ˡᵘKal-*di*, ˡᵘA-ra-mu, ˡᵘMan-na-*ai*, ˡᵘQu-*e* u ˡᵘHi-la-*ku*.[22]

The interchange of *Ar* and *Ur* in the name Arab is also known from classical Arabic. In the poetry of the 7th century CE the terms of ʿArb and ʿUrb were interchangeable, and both were used in contrast to the term ʿ*Ajam*, which refers to Persians or aliens in general.[23]

To summarize the etymological problem of the name *Urbi*, we may conclude that, just as ʿ*Arb* and ʿ*Urb* in early classical Arabic are vocalic variants, so too *Urbi* may have been no more than a vocalic variation of *Arbu/Aribi* in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. Linking these two terms from such distant periods is acceptable, since similarly, the name Arab, in both the Bible and the cuneiform records of the 9th to 4th centuries BCE, did not make an appearance in proto-Arabian inscriptions until the 4th century BCE. Sabean writings of that time refer to both the Bedouin and the mercenaries as ʿ*rbn*, as if they were one and the same people who were hired by the kingdom of Saba.[24] The Assyrian inscriptions employed the term

---

Assyrischen Grammatik (Leipzig, 1912), § 19; J.Ph. Hyatt, *The Treatment of Final Vowels in Early Neo-Babylonian* (*YOS Researches*, 23; New Haven, 1941); D. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia* (New Haven-London, 1967), pp. 106–111.

[20] Borger, *Assurbanipal*, A IX, 71; cf. Deller, Lautlehre, § 22i.

[21] H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglatt-pileser III, King of Assyria* (Jerusalem, 1994), p. 294.

[22] Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* 2, p. 95:71.

[23] Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 305; J. Wellhausen, *Lieder der Hudailiten, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Arabisch und Deutsch* (Berlin, 1884), p. 102: 10; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I (Leiden, 1913), pp. 373ff.; Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqqadimah, an Introduction to History* (translation from Arabic by F. Rosenthal; Princeton, 1958), I, p. 250, n. 6.

[24] A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller and J. Rykman, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain la Neuve-Beyrouth, 1982), p. 19; S.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic Dialect* (*Harvard Semitic Studies* 25, Cambridge, Mass. 1982), p. 383; Ch. Robin ed., *L'Arabie antique de Karib'îl à Mahomet, Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*, *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 61 (1991–3), esp. pp. 72–74: "Les mentions explicites des Arabes dans les inscriptions sudarabiques".

"Urbi" in the same manner. In north Arabia the *ʿrb* are first mentioned in the tomb inscription of Imrʿulqais from el-Nemēra, dated 328 CE, in which Imrʿulqais called himself "king of all *ʿrb*".[25] Since neither the south Arabian nor the north Arabian scripts are vocalized, it is not known how the *ayin* of *ʿrb* was pronounced.

The identification of the *Urbi* with *Arbi/Aribu*, and so on, which is possible etymologically and grammatically, is given further support by sociological factors at work in early Arabean history, and by political events of the 8th–7th centuries BCE, a time when the ˡᵘUrbi first appeared in Assyrian historical records.

There may have been a sociological basis for the use, by the Assyrian scribes, of the term Urbi for certain Arabs, and the term Arbi/Aribi, and the like for others. The Bedouin of the Arabian Desert had a different way of life from that of the inhabitants of the Fertile Crescent, which was then under the rule of the Assyrian kingdom. The Assyrians referred to the Bedouins as ˡᵘ*Aribi*, and so on, and treated them as a sovereign political ethnos within the Assyrian sphere of influence. By contrast, the ˡᵘUrbi, as far as we know about their qualities and activities, lived within the borders of the Assyrian Empire, serving as a military unit in Babylonian cities, in the territory of the Aramean Gambulu tribe, and in the vassal state of Judah— all opponents of Assyrian domination. From later Sabean inscriptions we know that, as mercenaries for the south Arabian states, the *ʿrbn* infiltrated many countries by taking advantage of the latter's internecine conflicts and weakness in the 1st century CE.[26]

According to the Assyrian records, in every event in which the Urbi were involved, they were in the service of the political elements in the south of the Assyrian empire that opposed Assyrian rule. In the southeast, they worked for the Babylonian cities that supported the Chaldean Merodach-Baladan, as well as for the Aramean Gambulians who collaborated with King Teuman of Elam against Assurbanipal, King of Assyria. In the southwest, they served in the army

---

[25] M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, II (Giessen, 1908), p. 34; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I (Berlin, 1908), p. 22.

[26] M. Höfner, "Die Beduinen in den vorislamischen Inschriften", *Studi Semitici* 2 (1959), pp. 59–68; A.F.L. Beeston, *Qahtan, Studies in Old South Arabian Epigraphy*, Fasc. 3: *Warfare in Ancient South Arabia, 2nd and 3rd centuries AD* (London, 1976), pp. 10–12; F.M. Donner, *The Islamic Conquest* (New Jersey, 1981), pp. 39–42, demonstrated that the Bedouins hired themselves out as mercenaries in South Arabia as a means of infiltrating these countries and their societies.

of the Judean king Hezekiah, who rebelled against Assyria and was "a friend and ally" of Merodach-Baladan (Josephus, *Ant.* 10,30–31).[27] In all three cases the Urbi were part of the booty or tribute ceded by the defeated enemy. Their fate as captives in Assyria is not recorded, but the Assyrian practice of incorporating captured army units of subjugated peoples into their own army[28] lends support to the view that this was also the fate of the exiled Urbi troops.

In contrast to the Assyrian- and Chaldean-Arabian relations, which are well documented in the Assyrian records of that period,[29] contemporary written testimony for Jewish-Arabian relations is merely hinted at (Isa 21,11–17). But the narrative of Merodach-Baladan's deputation to Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20,12–13//Isa 39,1–2) may not only reflect the far-reaching anti-Assyrian plot devised by these two monarchs, but may also include information suggesting intensive Judean-Arabian relations at that time.[30] In order to impress the Babylonian envoys with his power and wealth, Hezekiah gave them a tour of his treasuries. They contained "silver and gold, spices and fragrant oil, his armory and everything to be found among treasuries" (2 Kgs 20,12–13//Isa 39,1–2). From an independent source in the book of Chronicles (2 Chron 32,27–29), his treasuries contained gold, spices, and precious stones, commodities which had been marketed mainly by the Arabs since the domestication of the camel.[31]

---

[27] The date of Merodach-Baladan II's mission to Hezekiah is in dispute: see J.A. Brinkman, "Merodach-Baladan II", *Fs. A.L. Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 31–33.

[28] Cf. Grayson, *RIMA* 2. A.O. 101, 1:III, 75; A. Fuchs, Die Inschriften *Sargon's II*, Ann. 15, 74–75; Borger, *Assurbanipal.* A, VII:1–5, 125–127, etc.; cf. W. Manitius, "Das stehende Heer der Assyrerkönige und seine Organisation", *ZA* 24 (1910), pp. 116ff. Hezekiah's tribute also included his ᴸᵘ*sabe*ᵐᵉˢ *damqute*ᵐᵉˢ who, by their designation, must have been well-trained soldiers. The Assyrian army apparently also had a unit by that name since in the very fragmentary letter *ABL* 1009, soldiers of military units were listed by their ethnic or professional name. Among them were (11) "13 ᴸᵘ*dam-ma-qu-te* . . ." (8) "50 *a-rit Am-qa-a-a-šu* . . ." (10) "3 ᴸᵘ*qašti ku-ši-ta-a-a* . . ." (13) "7 ᴸᵘ*Hi-in-dir-a-a*" (rev. 2) "24 *Hi-laq-a-a* . . ." (3) "Sa-mir-na-a-a" and others. Cf. *AHw*, p. 157b; *CAD* D, p. 71, sec. 4.

[29] Cf. R. Borger, "Assyrologische und altarabische Miszellen", *Orientalia* 26 (1957), pp. 9–11; S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, (eds.), *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2; Helsinki, 1988), no. 10; M. Weippert, "Die Kämpfe des assyrischen König Assurbanipal gegen die Araber", *WdO* 7 (1973), pp. 39–85; M. Elat, *Economic Relations between the Lands of the Bible* (ca. 1000–539 BC; Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 111–23 (Hebrew); Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs*, pp. 112–69; E.A. Knauf, *Ismael* (Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 5–16, 96–103.

[30] The Judean-Arabian and Babylonian cooperation at the time of Hezekiah and Merodach-Baladan is discussed in Elat, ibid., pp. 221–222.

[31] Cf. 1 Kgs 10,2//2 Chron 9,8; Ezek 27,22; see also the Assyrian tribute and

An Arabian queen was in fact Merodach-Baladan's ally, a relation-
ship which was strengthened by the intermarriage of the two royal
houses. This queen, too, sent her army to support Merodach-Baladan
at the battle of Kish in 703 BCE.[32] It would have been quite natural
for Merodoch-Baladan's Arabian armies to cooperate with Hezekiah,
his Judean ally as well, especially since they in any case maintained
intensive economic relations with him, as reflected by the content of
his treasuries.

Our portrayal of Judean-Arabian relations in those days is now
verified by the discovery of ostraca incised with south Arabian let-
ters in the City of David in Jerusalem. Similar ostraca were found
at other sites outside Jerusalem, yet almost exclusively in the territory
of the kingdom of Judah.[33] Paleographically, the majority of these
inscriptions were written in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE,[34] corre-
sponding to the reign of Hezekiah (726–698 BCE). As we know from
earlier and later sources,[35] the penetration of Arabs into the south-
ern part of the land of Israel and their absorption into Judean soci-
ety took place at that time. They entered society as merchants and
mercenaries. It is very likely that these Arabs were called Urbi by
the Assyrians.

---

booty lists in Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, pp. 138:45–51; Borger, *Assurbanipal*, pp.
53:17–22; 110: 72, rev. 5–6; A. Heidel, *Sumer* 12 (1956), p. 20:III, 1–8; VAB 7,
pp. 134:VIII, 28–30; 202:V, 12–14. For the Arabian Peninsula's wealth in gold
resources, see *Diodor.* III, 45: 5–7; *Strabo* XVI, 4.8; Agatharcides von Kindos, *Über
das Rote Meer*, ubersetzt und Kommentar von D. Woelck (Bamberg, 1966), pp. 77ff.,
95–97, 227–232; D.M. Dunlop, "Sources of Gold and Silver, According to al-
Hamadani", *Studia Islamica* 8 (1957), pp. 29–49; on plantations of myrrh and frank-
incense in southern Arabia see W.W. Müller, *Pauly Wissowa Supplement* 15 (Stuttgart,
1978), pp. 702–788; N. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh* (London and New York,
1981), pp. 55–95; cf. Elat, *Economic*, pp. 98–131.

[32] Luckenbill, ibid., p. 51:28: "Adinu the son of Merodach-Baladan's sister (NIN)
together with Basqânu the brother of Yati'a, queen of the Arabs, along with their
armies I captured living".

[33] Y. Shiloh, "South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David, Jerusalem",
PEQ 119 (1987), pp. 9–18. According to Shiloh, similarly incised ostraca were found
in the following sites; Arad, Beer Sheva, Hebron, Khirbet el-Qom, Tel Beit Mirsim,
Lachish, Giveon, Tel en-Nasbeh, Tel 'Erani Tel Jemme', Tel Kheleifeh. Only Tel
Keisan in the Plain of Acco was in the north.

[34] M. Hofner, quoted by Y. Shiloh, ibid., p. 10.

[35] See Elat, *Economic*, pp. 187–188; idem, "Trade in Ancient Israel", in *State and
Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II*, ed. E. Lipinski (*OLA, 6*; Leuven, 1979),
pp. 526–528; idem, "Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen der Assyrer mit den Araber",
Landern des assyrischen Imperiums", *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag
am 24. Mai 1994: tikip santakki mala bašmu ...*, ed. S.M. Maul (Groningen, 1998),
pp. 39–57.

THE RESTORATION OF A DOZEN ELEPHANTINE ARAMAIC FRAGMENTS FROM THE BEGINNING OF CONTRACTS

BEZALEL PORTEN
in collaboration with Ada Yardeni
Jerusalem

Since 1986 my colleague Ada Yardeni and I have been publishing a *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Academon, Jerusalem, 1986–1999). So far, four volumes have appeared. The first is sub-titled *Letters* (= *TAD* A [1986]); the second, *Contracts* (= *TAD* B [1989]); the third, *Literature—Accounts—Lists* (= *TAD* C [1993]); In preparation of the fourth, *Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions* (= *TAD* D [1999]), the question arose how to arrange and classify some 300 papyrus fragments. They were scattered in ten museums and in numerous publications. The largest collection of 77 fragments, unearthed by Otto Rubensohn and then Friedrich Zucker in 1906–1908, had been published by Ed. Sachau (1911),[1] arranged on five plates, with 12–18 items on each plate (Plate 60; Fig. 1). This same arrangement was repeated by Cowley in his publication of 1923 (Nos. 64–68).[2] The entries seem to have been put together at random. While some elicited from Cowley such observations as "from a contract" or "from a letter", others brought forth the statement "unimportant". Additional unpublished fragments brought the total up to 225, to which had to be added another 88 fragments in Cairo (two museums), and individual pieces in Jerusalem, Padua, Brooklyn, Oxford, Barcelona, Leiden, Amsterdam, and Paris. Working directly with the fragments in the Berlin and Cairo museums, we were able to make numerous joins and reduce the number of entries to just over 200. Papyrological and textual considerations enabled us to identify 34 items as coming from *letters*, 35 as *contracts*, and 47 as *accounts*. The remaining 100 items were arranged according to fiber direction, 34 texts *perpendicular* to

---

[1] *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911).
[2] *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923) = C.

the fibers and 66 *parallel*. The entries have thus been arranged chrono-
logically and geographically according to one of these five categories.
In addition, letters and contracts were arranged within their respec-
tive groups as coming from the beginning, middle, or end of their
respective documents. Each document is accompanied by handcopy
and wherever possible the assumed missing text is restored.

How did we do it? It is the purpose of this paper to show how
a dozen items were identified as belonging to the beginning of a
contract, and then restored and dated (*TAD* D2.1–12). Five of these
items consisted of more than one fragment—two (*TAD* D2.7, 9), three
(*TAD* D2.2, 11), and eleven (*TAD* D2.10). Since all contracts opened
with a single Egyptian or double Babylonian-Egyptian date formula
and presentation of the parties with their occupational or military
affiliation, we identify a fragment belonging to the opening lines if
it has any part of a date and/or a personal name. It also might
have blank space at the top (*TAD* D2.1–2, 4, 11, 12). In the sec-
ond half of the 5th century the papyrus width averaged 30 cm and
was somewhat narrower in the early part of the century.[3] Once writ-
ten, contracts were rolled bottom up, rarely top down, and then
folded in threes (Fig. 2).[4] One of the first tasks is to determine in
which third the fragment belongs. We have drawn up a table with
ten columns, indicating the method by which we arrive at our final
conclusion (Fig. 3). Column 1 is the document number. Column 2
indicates the papyrological considerations for placement of the piece
in one of the three thirds of the papyrus width. Column 3 is the
resulting estimated width. Columns 4, 5 and 6 list the known or
reconstructed Babylonian and Egyptian months and year date or
monarch. Columns 7, 8, and 9 indicate the substantive criteria for
dating—calendar, prosopography, and palaeography. Column 10 is
the final Julian date. The documents have been arranged in chrono-
logical order and span 71 years from 484 to 403 BCE. All were copied
and restored at source. I am indebted to the skilled hand of my col-
league Ada Yardeni for the palaeography and much of the papyrology.

Let's begin with two fragments on Sachau's Plate 60, Nos. 1 and
4 (Figs. 1 and 4). Both he and Cowley (C 67,1,4) readily recognized
them as stemming from the beginning of contracts. No. 1 (*TAD*

---

[3] See the chart in *TAD* B, Fig. 11.
[4] See B. Porten, *Biblical Archeologist* 42 (1979), p. 79.

D2.6) has two lines that read]ש לחתעוב[in line 1 and]ל אדננבו[in line 2. Prosopography reveals that Iddinnabu was a detachment commander from 446 BCE and perhaps as late as 413 (*TAD* B2.9:2; 3.6:2, 8:2; 6.1:2, *7.1:2*), that is, during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–424) or Darius II (423–405). The document thus must have been drawn up after 473 when double dates were first introduced. It would open, therefore, with a date in either of the two Babylonian months corresponding to Egyptian Tybi, namely Nisan or Iyyar, and give the day of the month of Tybi. The fragment would be placed at the right edge of the center fold. The left edge of the fragment would read [ת]ש[נ], "year x" in the reign of either Artaxerxes or Darius the king. If the document had been drawn up after 427 (cf. *TAD* B3.6:1) it would proceed with the word אדין, "then", followed by the sentence "said PN son of PN, a Jew/Aramean of Elephantine/ Syene the fortress of the detachment of Iddinnabu to (ל) PN son of PN etc." In the years of Iddinnabu's activity (446–413) the beginning of the month of Tybi floated from April 12–3 and the end from May 11–2. Palaeography points to a date in the third quarter of the 5th century and the restored width of ca. 31 cm accords with that of documents from the second half of the century.[5]

Sachau Plate 60, No. 4 (Figs. 1 and 5) has the remains of two-and-one-half lines (*TAD* D2.3), reading in line 1 לאדר הו, in line 2 קון ארמי זי, and in line 3, undecipherable for Sachau and Cowley, traces of לדגל אר[. Since the Babylonian month invariably precedes the Egyptian month in the double date formula, this fragment must come at the left edge of the right third of the papyrus and be preceded by the day date. The name Kon would be a hypocoristicon of Konaiah ("The Lord Creates"). A person by that latter name, son of Zadak, is known in the years 471–459 (*TAD* B2.1:2, 2:8, 3:6). On the basis of papponymy we may posit that our Kon is the grand-father of that Konaiah son of Zadak, also known as an Aramean. The detachment commander whose name begins with Ar- may be restored as ארחבנו, known in a document of 464 (*TAD* B2.2:3). The script (note particularly the *aleph* and the *waw*), belongs to the early 5th century, that is, not beyond the reign of Xerxes who died in 465 BCE. The year 473 would be our earliest date since it is then that double dates are first attested. During 473–465 the month of

---

[5] *TAD* B, Figure. 11.

Adar fluctuated between February 17 and April 21. The Egyptian months corresponding to Adar would be Athyr (החור) or Choiak (כיהך). The document would thus read, "[On the x (day)] of Adar, that is [day y of Athyr/Choiak, year z of Xerxes the king, said Zadak son of] Kon, an Aramean of [Syene of the detachment of PN, to PN son of PN, a Jew/Aramean of Elephantine/Syene] of the [de]tachment of Ar[tabanu" and be dated ca. February 17–April 21, 473–465 BCE. The restored width of ca 28 cm accords with that of a half-dozen contracts from 495–464 (*TAD* B4.2 [25.5 cm], 4.3–4 [ca. 27 cm], 2.1 [27.5 cm], 5.1 [28 cm], and 2.2 [28.5 cm]).

Only two documents have a year date, the earliest and the latest (Figs. 6 and 7). The earliest piece has the end of the first line preserved (*TAD* D2.1). It reads אמר מלכא לאחשירש\\. Xerxes' reign began in 485 and so year 2 would be 484. Though the script is clearly early (note the *aleph* and *ḥeth*) and resembles that in the preceding document (Fig. 5; cf. *aleph* and *resh*), this one was written at least a dozen years earlier, that is, before 473 when a Babylonian date was added to the Egyptian one. Therefore the piece would constitute about half the width of a 24 cm document, a bit narrower than the Bauer-Meissner papyrus of 515 BCE from Korobis (25.8 cm [*TAD* B1.1]) and the Elephantine piece of 487/86 (25.5 cm [*TAD* B4.2]). The day date must have contained several digits to fill out the required space. The restored document would thus read, "On the x (day) of y (Egyptian month), year] 2 of Xerxes the king said [PN son of PN]".

The latest piece is more than a mere fragment (*TAD* D2.12). In almost four lines it contains intact the date, names, and almost complete affiliation of the parties (Fig. 7). But it was not published till 1988,[6] two years after the appearance of *TAD* B, which contained contracts. It differs in several respects from the earlier contracts and bears certain features representative of end-of-century documents. For one, it is not written perpendicular to the fibers and rolled bottom-up but parallel to the fibers and rolled sideways from left to right (cf. *TAD* B4.6; *7.1*, 7.2 [*413*–400]). Secondly, it bears only an Egyptian date, as do seven other contracts after 420/*413* (*TAD* B3.12–13; 4.5–6; 5.5; *7.1*, 7.2; cf. already B8.4 [a court report from Saqqarah of 431 BCE]). Thirdly, the required restoration in lines 2 and 3 shows

---

[6] J. Hoftijzer, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 68 (1988), pp. 45–48.

that there was no day date, a feature not uncommon when only the Egyptian month was given, whether at the beginning (487 [*TAD* B4.2]) or at the end of the century (407/6–402 [*TAD* B4.5; 3.13]). The name of the detachment commander, Marya (מרי), allows us to recognize that name in a contemporary parallel-to-the-fibers document (*TAD* B7.2:4), while the name of the son of the woman Mibtahiah, Jedaniah son of Nathan, known from documents of the years 416–410 (*TAD* B2.10:3, 2.11:2), allows us to restore with relative certainty that patronym in line 4 of our document. Written in the Egyptian month of Payni, year 2 of Artaxerxes II, our document is to be dated August 29–September 27, 403 BCE.

There is one other fragment written parallel to the fibers and coming from the end of the century (*TAD* D2.11; Fig. 8). Following Sachau, Cowley (C 66,4) wrote, "From the beginning of a contract relating to barley", but neither made any suggestion as to the restoration of fragmentary line 1. Since the end of lines 2–4 follows roughly a straight line, it would appear that the piece comes at the left margin of the papyrus. Reading]מ זי לח[, line 1 should be restored [מ]לח זי מ[אי], followed on the next line by the word [קש׳א], "[a bo]atman of the [rough] waters", a designation borne in 464–459 by the Egyptian Espemet son of Peftuauneit (*TAD* B2.2:10–11, 2.3:7–8), who followed the occupation of his father (*TAD* B2.1:13 [471 BCE]). In the earlier document the boatman is but a neighbor to the contracting parties; here he himself is one of the contracting parties. Since the document is end-of-century we assume an Egyptian date only and provide a minimalist restoration, "[On the *x* (day) of *y* (Egyptian month), year *z* of Darius II/Artaxerxes II the king, said PN son of PN a bo]atman of [the rough] waters [in Syene/Elephantine the fortress, to PN son of PN, an Aramean/Jew of Syene/Elephantine the fortress] of the detachment [of PN, saying: [I . . . barley . . .]". I say "minimalist" because line 1 may also have contained the words אדרן and/or "in Elephantine/Syene the fortress" (cf. *TAD* B4.5:1, 4.6:1; 5.5:1; 7.1:1, 7.2:1–2—all from the end of the century). As it stands, the restored piece measures ca. 27 cm wide, longer than the 18 cm of one parallel-fiber contract (*TAD* B7.2) but less than the restored 32.5 cm of another such contract (*TAD* B7.1). An unpublished fragment (96/94), whose complexion and script (compare the *resh*) resemble the first fragment, has been placed here to supply the first person, independent personal pronoun that often begins the body of a contract (*TAD* B2.1,3, etc.).

Returning now to the early documents, we find a set of fragments
(96/4, 7; *TAD* D2.2; Fig. 9) whose script resembles that of a pair
of contracts dated to the Egyptian month of Phaophi, year 3 of
Xerxes, and including among its witnesses[7] one with the Aramean
name Nushkuidri (*TAD* B4.3–4; cf. 4.3:23, 4:19 [Fig. 10]). Moreover,
the upper margin is virtually identical, 4.6 cm in the fragment and
4.9 cm in one of the contracts (*TAD* B4.4). The fragment contains
parts of two words, easily restored to read [ח]שנ[ת] [ח]תחור. Since the
month Athyr follows the month Phaophi and since the first two con-
tracts record the promise to deliver a quantity of barley and lentils
to the garrison in Syene, we may conjecture that this delivery took
place monthly and that our fragment documented the following
month's delivery. Somewhat uniquely among our contracts, the scribe
Hosea was also the first party to the agreement (*TAD* B4.3:1, 21,
4.1:18), so his name may be restored in our fragment as well. The
first line(s) would thus read "[On the *x* (day) of the month of A]thyr,
yea[r *3* of Xerxes the king, said Hosea son of Hodaviah". The doc-
ument would thus have been written ca. February 20–March 21,
483 BCE, and may be restored to a width of 27 cm, the same as its
companion documents. The reappearance of the witness Nushkuidri
in a document written by the same scribe a month after an earlier
one he wrote is not unusual. For example, Nathan son of Mauziah
and Nahum the houseborn appear together as witnesses to contracts
written by Haggai son of Shemaiah at an even greater interval—on
March 9, 402 (*TAD* B3.11:17, 19) and June 21, 400 (*TAD* B7.6:18–20).
Likewise, Meshullam son of Mauziah and Nathan son of Jehour ap-
peared together in two or three successive contracts written by Haggai
for Anani son of Azariah between November 25, 404 and December
13, 402 (*TAD* B3.10:24–25, 11:18, 12:33–34).[8]

The next fragment (*TAD* D2.4; Fig. 11) was easily recognized by
both Sachau and Cowley (C65,5) as coming from the beginning of
a contract; it clearly belongs in the center third of the papyrus. The
first line was written just below the papyrus join, a not uncommon
feature (cf. *TAD* B2.1; 3.4–5, 7–9, 11–13; 6.1; cf. B2.6; 3.1), and
contained nine digits followed by the month, partially restored, לירח
התת[חור]. The scribal hand is that of Nathan son of Anani, active for

---

[7] Recognized as such by Sachau (tentatively) and Cowley (C 65,15).
[8] See B. Porten, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48 (1989), p. 167.

the decade 456–446 during the reign of Artaxerxes. He regularly used the additive ירח with the Egyptian month in the double date formula in each of the four contracts he wrote (*TAD* B2.6–7; 3.1, 3), unlike his predecessors, contemporaries, and most successors, who never used it (cf. *TAD* B2.1:1, 2:1, 3:1, 4:1, 8:1, 10:1, 11:1; 3.7:1, 3.9:1).[9] The contract was drawn up by an "Aramean" woman, daughter of one with the rare name Ashian, which otherwise occurs only in the *marzeaḥ* ostracon, dated palaeographically to ca. 475 BCE (*TAD* D7.29:2). The contract that Ashian's daughter wrote in the middle of the century on 9, 19, or 29 Athyr, on an unknown date in the corresponding Babylonian months of Shebat or Adar, would fall between February 21 and March 13. It would read, "[On the *x* (day) of Shebat/Adar, that is day] 9/[1]9/[2]9 of the month of Ath[yr year *z* of Artaxerxes the king said PN] daughter of Ashian, an Aramean [of Syene]".[10]

Another fragment, unpublished, belongs to a contract made out for a Jewish woman, daughter of *Gemariah* (*TAD* D2.5; Fig. 12). It is easily placed in the left third of the papyrus because the verso contains the first two words of the endorsement, ספר מרחק "document of withdrawal". The document had been rolled up, turned 180° from left to right, and the endorsement written on the second band. Palaeographically and papyrologically we have a 30 cm wide document written in the middle of the 5th century which reads "[On the *x* (day) of *y* (Babylonian month), that is day *z* of (Egyptian) (month) *a*, year *b* of Artaxerxes the king, said PN son of PN, a Jew/an Aramean of Elephantine/Syene of the detachment of PN to PN] daughter of *Gemariah*, a Je[wess of Elephantine of the detachment of PN . . .]".

A third document, put together from two fragments (C 68,2 + 96/94), is also addressed to a woman, Jaḥmol daughter of Zaccur, unknown elsewhere. It also contains an endorsement on the verso, thus falling in the left third of the papyrus (*TAD* D2.9; Fig. 13). The presence in line 1 after the royal name of the resumptive אדין, "then",

---

[9] It was used twice by Haggai son of Shemaiah (*TAD* B3.4:1, 5:1; but not 3.6:1, 10:1, 11:1).

[10] Cowley missed out on two points—he followed Ungnad in suggesting that the month be restored חיר = Choiak, even though he already knew of כיחך for that month (C 72,18 = *TAD* C3.12,29); and he read the last word on the second line as ארמין rather than ארמיה (C 65,5).

unknown before 427 BCE (*TAD* B3.6:1), places the document in the last quarter of the 5th century. I had wanted to restore the name of the detachment commander at the beginning of line 2 to read נבוכד[רי] but Nabukudurri appears in five late documents that have only an Egyptian date (*TAD* B3.12:1–2, 13:2–3; 4.5:1, 6:2; 7.2:3), and spacing in our document clearly requires a double date. Even so, the document is only 28 cm wide (cf. *TAD* B3.5 of 434 BCE [28.5 cm] and 2.9 of 420 [29.5 cm]). It should read, "[On the *x* (day) of *y* (Babylonian month), that is day *z* of (the Egyptian month of) *a*, year *b* of [Dariu]s/Artaxerxe]s the king, then in S[yene the fortress, said PN son of PN, a Jew/an Aramean of Elephantine/Syene of the detachment of P]N, to Jaḥmol daughter of Zaccur".

Two unpublished fragments (96/51, 53 and 96/48) give us minimal information. The first begins the contract. It belongs clearly in the right hand half of the papyrus and suggests a 30 cm wide text (*TAD* D2.8; Fig. 14). It reads "[On] the 20th of Nisan, that is day 2[+? of (the month of) Tybi/Meḥir, year *b* of Artaxerxes/Darius the king]". Tybi and Meḥir are the Egyptian months corresponding to Nisan. Palaeographically, the document may be placed in the second half of the 5th century when 20 Nisan shifted between April 14 and May 12. The second item has merely "On the 20th", with no indication of month (*TAD* D2.7; Fig. 15).

The most ambitious project of restoration encompassed eleven fragments (*TAD* D2.10; Fig 16), five published (C 65,17, 66,7, 13–15) and six not (96/10, 14, 33, 37, 46, 81). They have been assembled on the basis of contents, script, and papyrus complexion, and restored on the model of Anani's bequest of an apartment to his wife Tamet in 434 BCE (*TAD* B3.5). In our document, the donor is a woman and this would be the only case where a woman is not the alienee but the alienor. The second person plural disjunctive pronoun אנתום indicates more than one recipient, but the (plural) adjective שליטן, "have right to, control" is indeterminate as to whether the property was a bequest (cf. *TAD* B2.3:9; 3.11:8) or a sale (*TAD* B3.4:11–12, 3.12:22–23). Four clauses are preserved from the body of the contract: Measurements: [משח]תה ארך מו[ע]א למערב א[מ]ן, "its [measure]ments: (its) length from ea[s]t to west, [*x*] cubits". Boundaries: the names of the two preserved neighbors are Persian, [אה]רלי and Atrofarnah. The latter occurs as detachment commander in 464 BCE (*TAD* B2.2:9), while the former, of uncertain transcription, appears thrice as patronymic of a witness, twice designated Caspian (*TAD* B2.1:16 [471 BCE],

2.7:18 [446]; 3.4:23 [437]). Caspians appear elsewhere as neighbors of a Jewish homeowner (*TAD* B3.4:2, 7–8). Transfer II: Following on the boundary clause, this clause would read, "The la]nd of that house ([ך]זֹ ביתא דֹרק[א]) whose meas[urements and whose boundaries are written in this document you] have right [to it]". Waiver of Suit: The little fragment which contains the words אף והזה may be rounded out to read, "Moreover, son or daughter of mine], brother or sister, pa[rtner-in-chattel or partner-in-land or guarantor of mine shall not be able to sue . . .]". The letter *he* must be the beginning of the word, הגנית, the first of a Persian trilogy of loanwords that does not appear before 427 BCE (*TAD* B3.6:5). So palaeography and vocabulary combine to date this restored document to the last quarter of the 5th century BCE.

These twelve fragmentary documents are but a third of the fragments we were able to assign to contracts. Because of distinctive papyrological features, four were seen to be ends of contracts (*TAD* D2.22–25) and three, endorsements (*TAD* D2.26–28). Nine others, lacking distinctive papyrological features, were designated the middle of contracts (*TAD* D2.13–21). Twelve fragments from Saqqarah published by Aimé-Giron (Nos. 34–35; 37–38; 66–67; 58, 70; 31–32, 52; 64)[11] were combined to constitute six items classified as court records (*TAD* D2.29–34). The Saqqarah material aside, the 28 Elephantine entries, combined from 51 fragments, constitute more documents than the two family archives of Mibtahiah (*TAD* B2.1–11) and Anani (*TAD* B3.1–13). And who knows how many of the 33 fragments perpendicular to the fibers (*TAD* D4.1–33) may also belong to contracts. Only through proper classification of all the fragments do we get a true picture of the archives from Elephantine, not only what we have but how much has been lost.

---

[11] *Textes araméens d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1931).

This page intentionally left blank
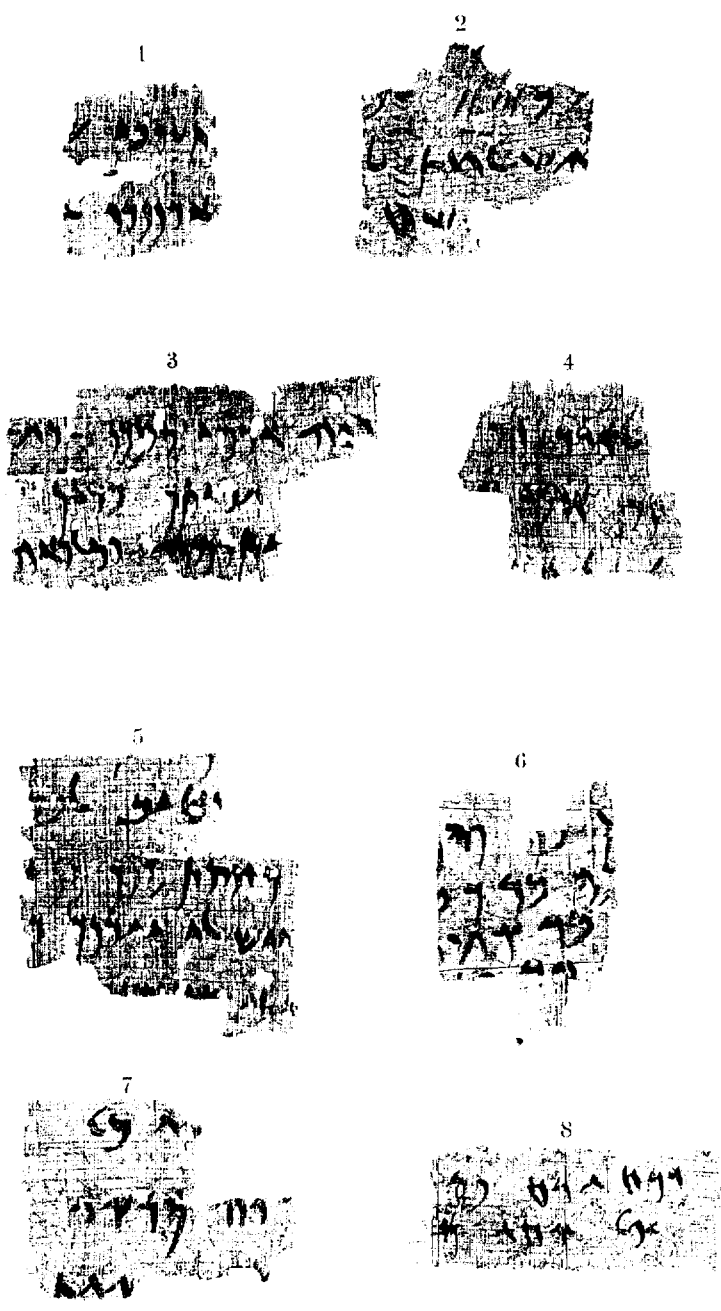
Figure l. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus,* Plate 60.
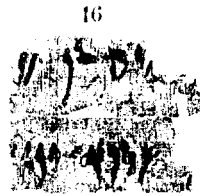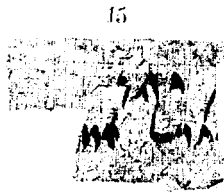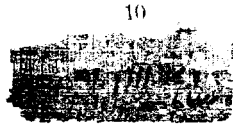
Figure 1. Continued.

Steps in the Rolling of Papyrus

Roll Turned Down
From Top Displaying
Endorsement

Roll Turned Over
From Side Endorsement
Upside Down
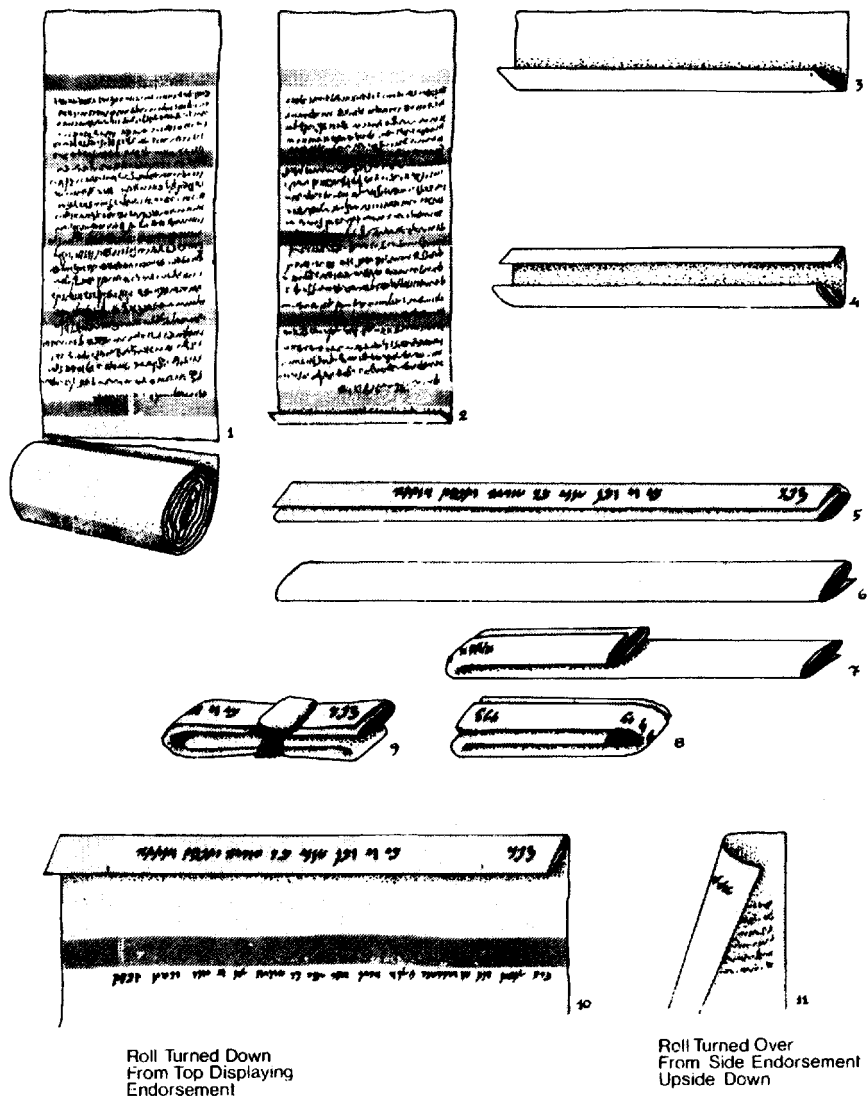
Figure 2. Steps in the Rolling of Papyrus.

Papyrus No.	Papyrology	Estimated Width in cm.	Babylonian Month	Egyptian Month	Year Date
D2.1	Left half	ca. 24	Missing/None	Missing	2 Xerxes
D2.2	Overlap between right and center thirds	ca. 27	Missing/None	[A]thyr = February 20–March 21	[3 Xerxes]
D2.3	Left half of right third	ca. 28	Adar = February 17–April 21	[Athyr/Choiak]	[Xerxes]
D2.4	Center third	ca. 26	[Shebat/Adar]	9/19/29 Ath[yr] = ca. February 21–March 13	[Artaxerxes]
D2.5	Left third; endorsement	ca. 30	Missing	Missing	[Artaxerxes]
D2.6	Right fragment from center third	ca. 31	[Nisan/Iyyar]	Tybi = April 12–3–May 11–2	[Artaxerxes I/Darius II]
D2.7	Fragments from beginning	ca. 31	20[+?]	Missing	[Artaxerxes I/Darius II]
D2.8	Right half	ca. 30	20 Nisan = April 14–May 12	2+ [Tybi/Meḥir]	[Artaxerxes I/Darius II]
D2.9	Left third; endorsement	ca. 28	Missing	Missing	[Dariu]s II/[Artaxerxes]s II
D2.10		ca. 32	Missing	17 Me[ḥir]/Me[sore]	[Darius II/Artaxerxes II]
D2.11	Contract-parallel-to-fibers only end century (B4.6; 7.1–2; D2.12 [413–400])	ca. 27	[None]	Missing	[Darius II/Artaxerses II]
D2.12	Contract-parallel-to-fibers only end century (B4.6; 7.1–2)	14.2	None	Payni	2 Artaxerxes II

Figure 3. Dates in Beginning of Contracts

Calendar	Prosopography	Palaeography	Final Julian Date
Egyptian-date-only pre 13 Xerxes (473).		Script early 5th cen.	484
Egyptian-date-only pre 13 Xerxes (473). Athyr follows Phaophi (B4.3:1, 4:1 [483]).	Nushkuidr[i s. Nabenathan] as in B4.3:23, 4:19 (483)	Script like that in B4.3–4 (483)	Ca. February 20– March 21, 483
Double dates attested post 473.	Ar[tabanu] (B2.2:3 [464]; [Zadak s.] Kon presumably father of. Konaiah s. Zadak (B2.1:2, 2:8, 3:6 [471–459])	Script early 5th cen.	Ca. February 17– April 21, 473–465
The term ירד with Egyptian month in double date always used by scribe Nathan s. Anani (B2.6–7; 3.1, 3 [456–446]).	Rare name Ashian perhaps = Ashian in D7.29:2 (ca. 475 BCE)	Scribal hand of Nathan s. Anani (B3.1 [456])	Ca. Feb. 21– March 13, mid 5th cen.
Double dates attested post 473.		Mid 5th cen.	Mid 5th cen.
Double dates attested post 473. Restore אדין in line 1 if after 427 (B3.6:1).	Iddinnabu (B2.9:2; 3.6:2, 8:2, 6.1:2; 7.1:2 [446–413])	Third quarter of 5th cen.	Ca. April 3–12 May 2–11, 446–413
Double dates attested post 473.		Second half of 5th cen.	Second half of 5th cen.
Double dates attested post 473.		Second half of 5th cen.	Ca. April 14– May 12, second half of 5th cen.
The term אדין (line 1) occurs only after 427 (B3.6:1)		Last quarter of 5th cen.	Last quarter of 5th cen.
The term הגניה (line 11) occurs only after 427 (B3.6:5)		Last quarter of 5th cen.	Last quarter of 5th cen.
Egyptian-date-only after 420/413 (B5.5:1; 7.1:1)		End of 5th cen.	End of 5th cen.
Egyptian-date-only after 420/413 (B5.5:1; 7.1:1)	Marya (B7.2:4 [401]); Jedaniah s. Nathan (B2.10:3, 11:2 [416–410])	End of 5th cen.	Aug. 29–Sept. 27, 403
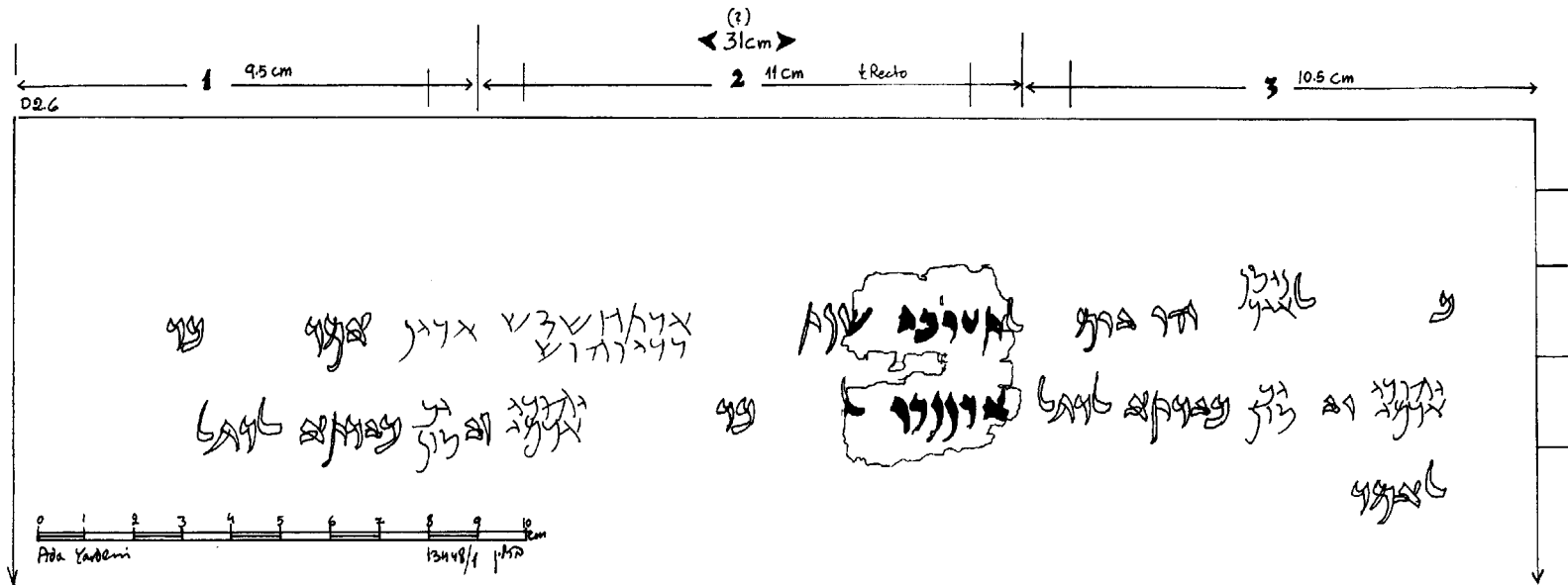
Figure 4. Fragment of a Contract Written in Tybi *(TAD* D2.6).

Figure 5. Fragment of a Contract Written in Adar (*TAD* D2.3).
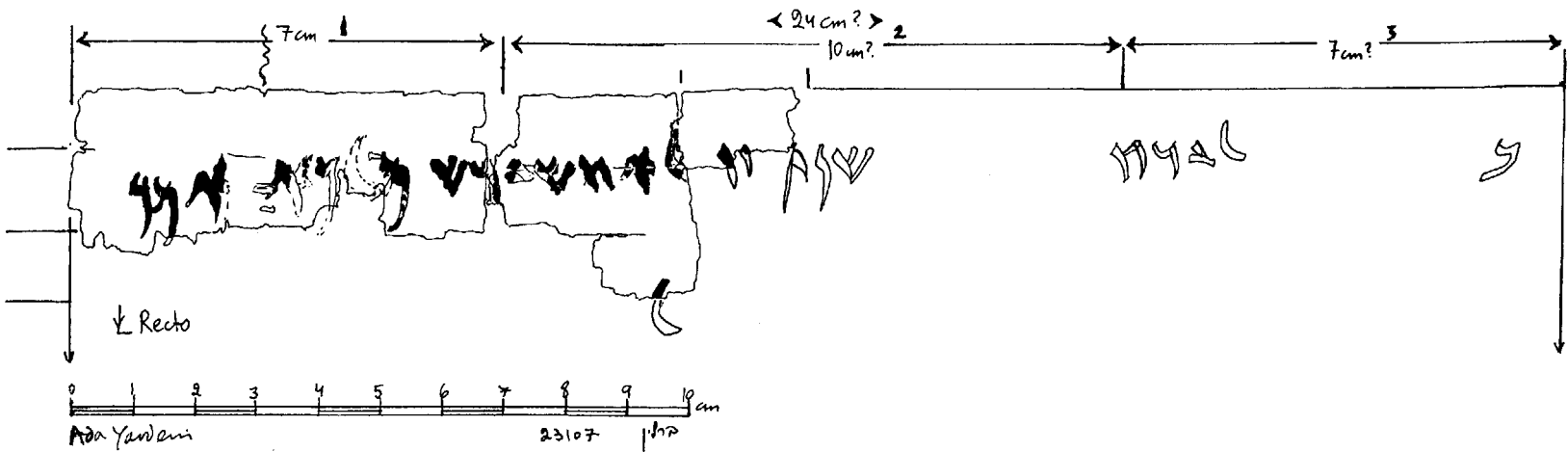
Figure 6. Fragment of a Contract Written in 2 Xerxes = 484 BCE *(TAD* D2.1).
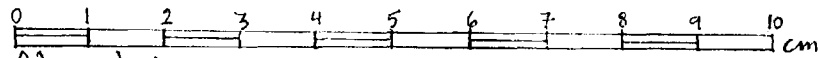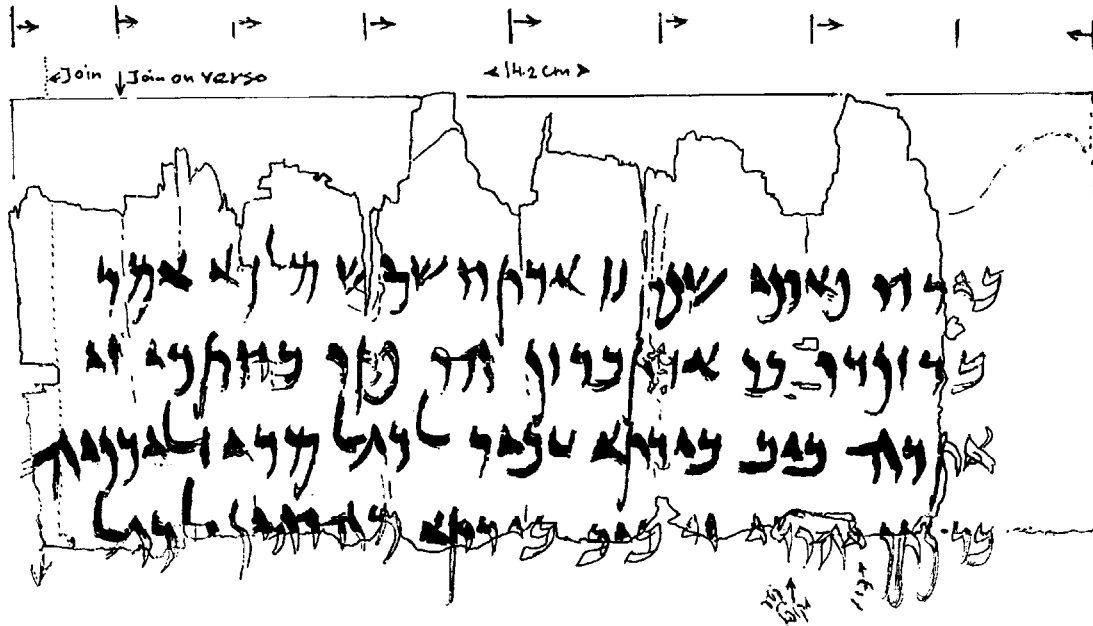
Figure 7. Fragment of a Contract Written in 2 Artaxerxes II = 403 BCE (*TAD* D2.12).
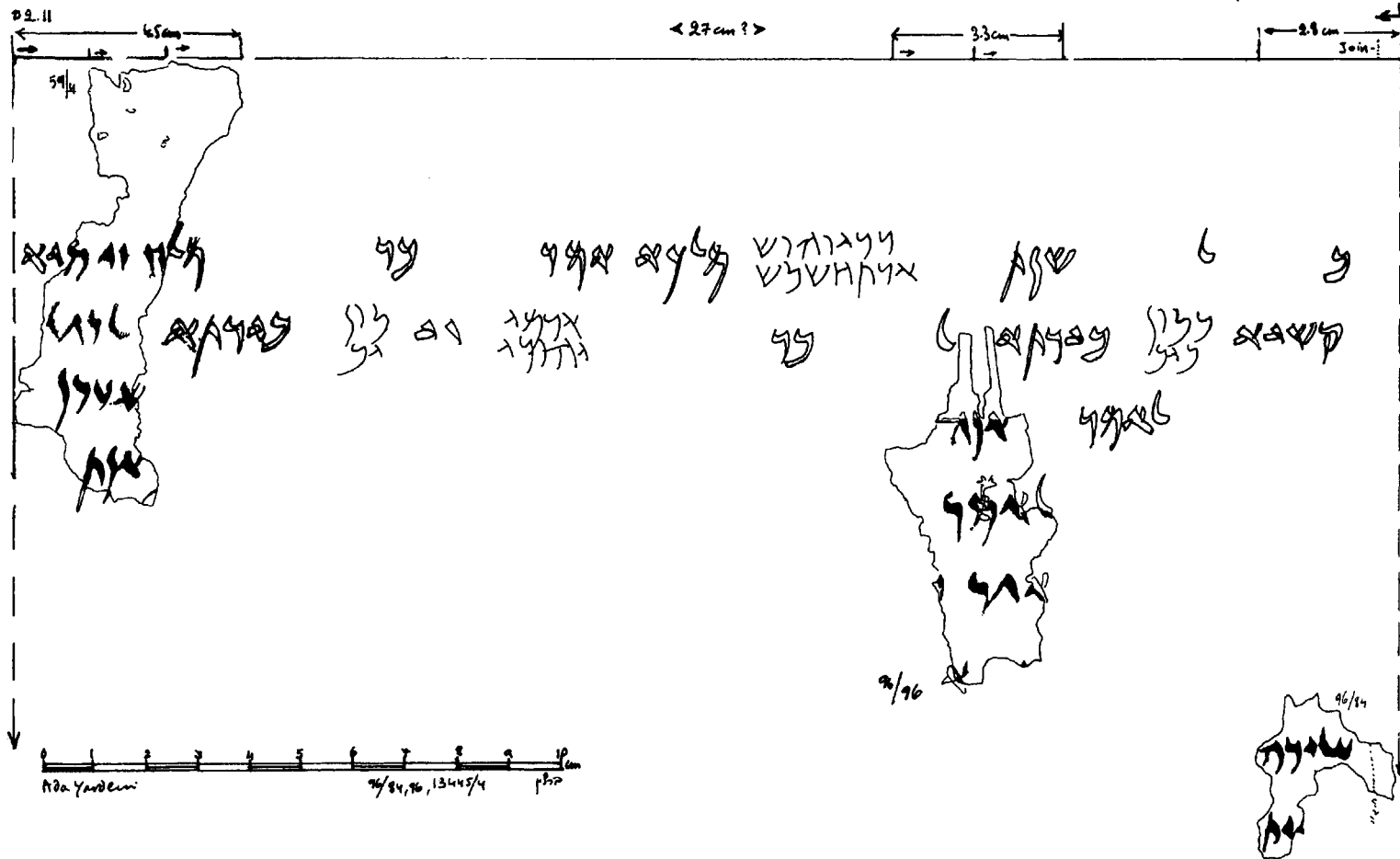
Figure 8. Fragment of a Contract by a Cataract Boatman *(TAD* D2.11).
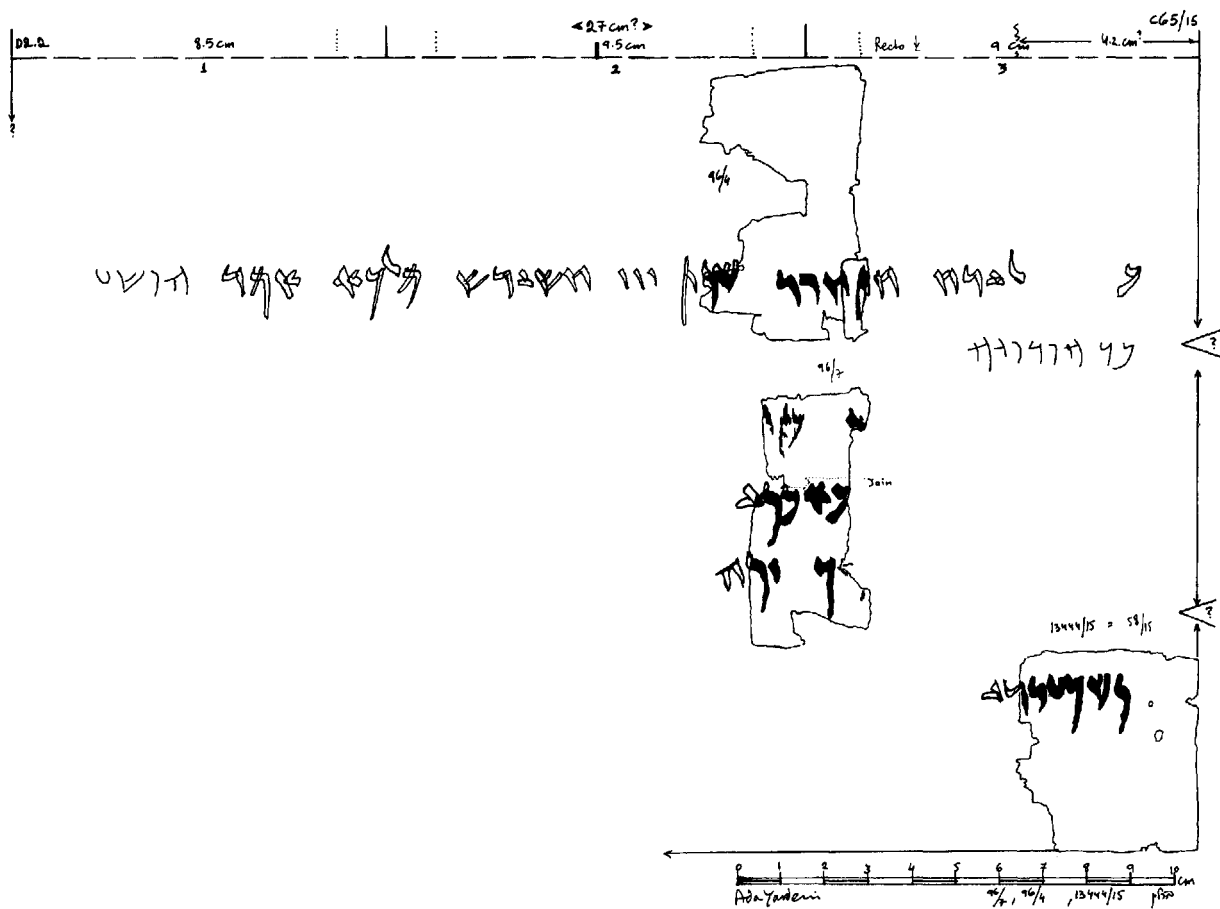
Figure 9. Fragment of a Contract Written in Athyr, [3 Xerxes] = 483 BCE *(TAD* D2.2).
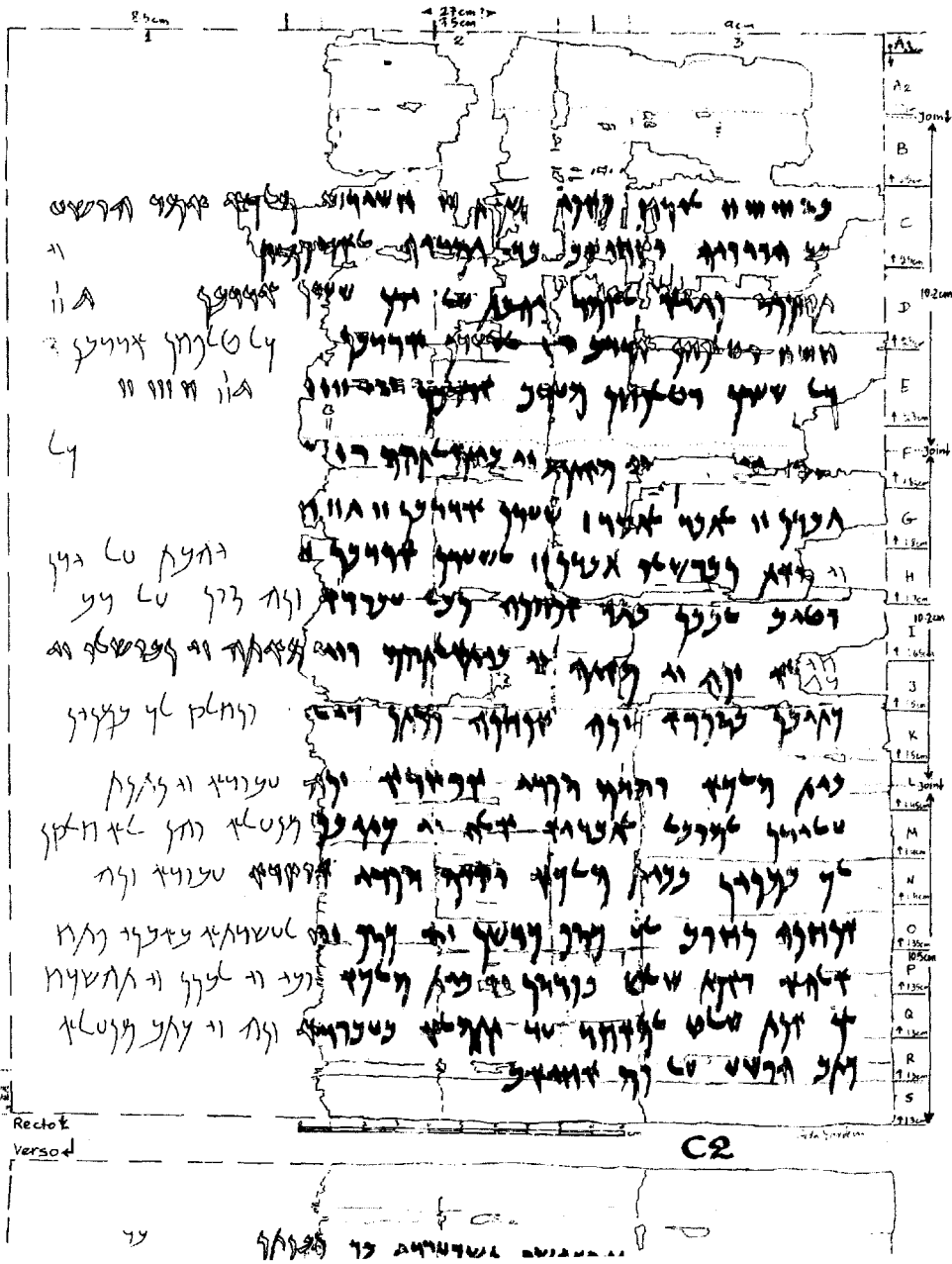
Figure 10. Contract Parallel to One in Figure 9; Written in Phaophi, 3 Xerxes = 483 BCE
(*TAD* B4.3).

Figure 10. Continued.

Figure 11. Fragment of a Contract by a Woman, Scribe Probably Nathan son of Anani *(TAD* D2.4).

Figure 12. Fragment of a Document of Withdrawal Drawn up for a Woman *(TAD* D2.5).

Figura 13. Fragment of a Contract Drawn up for Jaḥmol daughter of Zaccur *(TAD* D2.9).
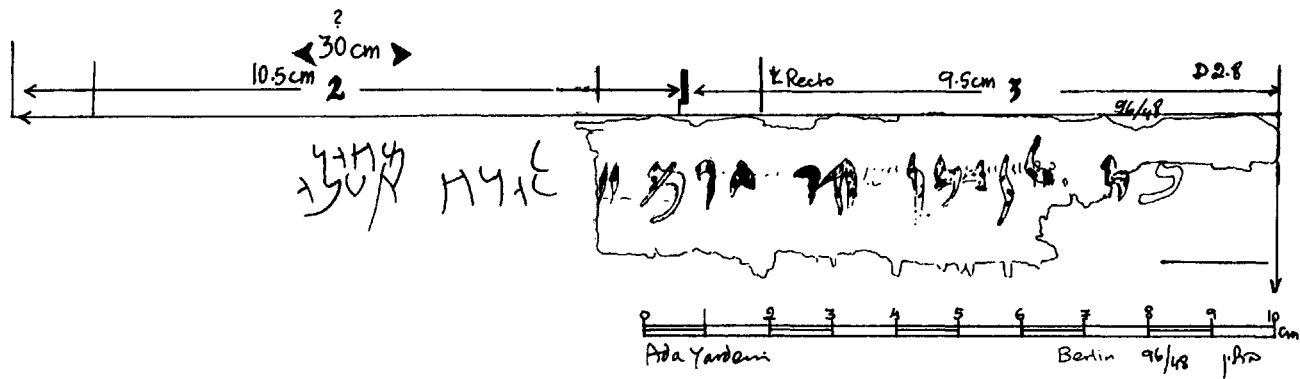
Figure 14. Fragment of a Contract Drawn up on 20 Nisan *(TAD* D2.8).

Figure 15. Fragment of a Contract Drawn up on the 20th of an Unknown Month (*TAD* D2.7).
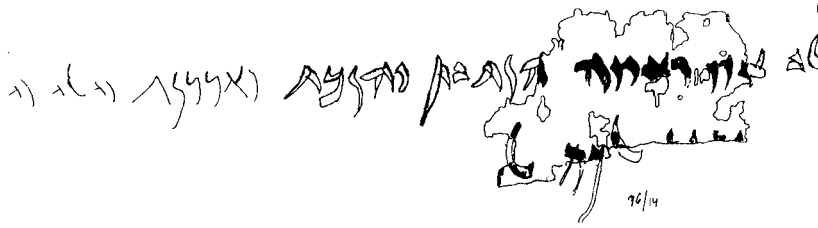
Figure 16. Eleven Fragments from a House

96/37

s 59/15 = 13445/15

13445/7

96/10   56/17 = 13449/17

Conveyance (*TAD* D2.10).

PELEKH IN NEHEMIAH 3

Moshe Weinfeld
Jerusalem

The term פֶּלֶךְ is attested in the Hebrew Bible only in Nehemiah 3
(vv. 9, 12, 14–18). It is commonly translated as "district".[1] This trans-
lation has been challenged by A. Demsky,[2] who argues that פֶּלֶךְ
equals Akkadian *pilku* which denotes "tax" or "conscripted labor",
like סֵבֶל and מַס עוֹבֵד.[3] However, the very alternative posed by him—
"district" or "service"—has no justification. This may be learned
from Latin, that has a common root for both: *tribus* is "district" and
tributum is "tax".[4] Thus Livy, in his *History of Rome* (I, 43), testifies
that after Servius Tullius divided the city into four quarters, he
named them "tribes" which was—in his opinion—taken from *tribu-
tum*. However, as D. Asheri observed,[5] the opposite is true: *tributum*
derived from *tribus*.

In fact, in Akkadian both the service (tax) and district are expressed
by *pilku*.[6] Furthermore, *pilku* (= spindle whorl) may explain the devel-
opment of the term for taxation in the Semitic languages. As shown
by M. Sigrist,[7] Sumerian "bala" (= spindle) denotes the collection of
taxes provided for the palace and the temple on a monthly rotation
(compare 1 Kgs 4,7). Especially important was the delivery of sheep
that produced wool which had to be woven into garments for the
palace and the king's army. The labor forces engaged in the textile
manufacture were women and their children. A lot of documents

---

[1] On the post-Biblical פֶּלֶךְ see Alexander Kohut (ed.), *Arukh Hashalem*, vol. 6, pp. 346–347.

[2] "Pelekh in Nehemiah 3", *IEJ* 33 (1983), pp. 242–244.

[3] Cf. M. Held, "The Root ZBL/SBL in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew", *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 90–96; M. Weinfeld, *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem and Minneapolis, 1995), pp. 83–86.

[4] See also Z. Kallai, *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography. Collected Studies* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 75–76 (note 25). According to Kallai no distinction should be made between gang labor and the district in which the labor is performed.

[5] Livy, *History of Rome* (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 71 (Hebrew).

[6] See W.W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 85.

[7] "The Social Landscape of the Capital City Ur", *Capital Cities, Urban Planning and Spiritual Dimensions* (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 157–68.

concerning the textile manufacture from the shearing to the pro-
duction of the final garments were discovered in Drehem (Puzriš-
Dagan).[8]

As has been shown by M. Sigrist,[9] Drehem served as an admin-
istrative center for the taxation system of the third dynasty of Ur
(Ur III). Payment of taxes by means of herds of sheep was com-
mon in the Ancient Near East as may be learned from 2 Kgs 3,4:
"Meisha King of Moab was a sheep breeder and he used to pay
tribute[10] to the King of Israel one hundred thousand lambs (כרים)
and the wool of one hundred thousand rams"; compare Isa 16,1 in
connection with Moab: "Send lambs to the ruler of the land from
Sela in the wilderness to the Mount of Zion".

Sheep as a medium for payment of feudal tax, delivered to the
sovereign by the vassal, is clearly expressed in Latin, where *pecus*
(= sheep) is the root of *pecunia* (= money), and medieval "fee" (fief)
derived from Old German "*Vieh*" (= sheep/cattle).

An identical process is found in the Bible concerning the term
קשיטה (Gen 33,19 and Job 42,11). This term is usually translated as
"money" (Aramaic Targums and Babylonian Talmud, Rosh Hashanah
26a) on the one hand, and as "sheep" (Qumran Targum Job [אמרה]
and the Septuagint) on the other.

Similarly Hebrew מקנה "sheep and cattle" renders קנין "posses-
sion" (Gen 13,2,34,23,36,6; Ez 38,12–13) and equals money (silver
and gold). We hear Joseph saying after the silver of his subjects was
all gone: "If your silver is spent, give me your herds and I will give
you bread in return" (Gen 47,16–18). The same applies to Akkadian
sugullatu—Hebrew סגלה (Eccl 2,8; 1 Chron 28,3), which denotes both
herds and possession.[11]

---

[8] M. Sigrist, *Drehem* (Bethesda, MD 1992).
[9] Ibid.
[10] The verb השיב is used to mark circular annual prevision of goods for the king
or the priest (cf. Targum Jonathan שׁנא בשׁנא "year by year"), see Ez 27,15; Num
18,9; 2 Kgs 17,3; Ps 72,10; 2 Chron 27,5.
[11] See M. Greenberg, "Hebrew *Segulla*: Akkadian *Sikiltu*", *JAOS* 71 (1951), pp.
172–74; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), p. 226.

REFLECTION OF THE TRANSITION TO AGRICULTURE IN ISRAELITE RELIGION AND CULT*

Ze'ev Weisman
Haifa

I start from the assumption that the transition to agriculture, namely the production of most sources of sustenance of the country's inhabitants by working the land, occurred at a relatively early stage of the formation of Israel as a nation. I am aware of recent modern theories in sociological research of the Bible that by means of societal models based on prehistoric and ethnographic evidence argue that the so-called "Pastoral Nomadism" was a result of agriculture and domestication of animals; and that from the start Israel was formed out of social elements of settled peasants, not out of nomadic tribes.[1] Even though some correct principles are present in these theories they still are inadequate to undermine the Bible's fundamental assumption concerning the creation of Israel, namely that the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan was preceded by various stages of nomadism, and that our earliest forefathers engaged primarily in pasturing flocks. This still does not go so far as to state that the entire biblical account, both the Patriarchs' wanderings in Canaan and the Exodus from Egypt, is historical. But there can be no doubt that the early traditions concerning the beginnings of Israel grew up in the setting of a lifestyle and living patterns of nomadic families that got their sustenance mainly from grazing sheep and that lived on the margins of an agricultural milieu close to its settlement centres: if in Canaan, it appears in the stories of the Patriarchs; if in Goshen, in the stories of the migration into Egypt and the Exodus from Egypt. Memories

---

[1] N.K. Gottwald, "Domain Assumptions and Societal Models in the Study of Pre-Monarchic Israel", *SBT* 18 (1974), pp. 89–100; idem, "Were the Early Israelites Pastoral Nomads?" Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 165–189. See also the revision he made since then, in his article "Method and Hypothesis in Reconstructing the Social History of Early Israel", *Eretz Israel 24* (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 77–82.

of an age of wandering in the wilderness and the romance of sheep
herders are not merely the fruit of a creative imagination of prophets
and poets in the Bible but are imprinted in the very heart of the
faith and the rituals of Israel. They are elicited in the accounts of
divine revelations to the Patriarchs, in the particular circumstances of
these revelations, and in the places where altars were erected to God;
and in ritual traditions that reflect a semi-nomadic sheep-herding
background. Suffice it to mention that the revelations to the Patriarchs,
which were accompanied by the erection of an altar to God, occurred
at major crossroads of their nomadic wanderings with their flocks in
the areas of Canaan, and not in the urban centres themselves: this
is evident in the narratives of Abraham, who pitched his tent "with
Bethel on the west and Ai on the east" (Gen 12,8); or in the story
of Jacob, who camped "before the city" of Shechem and set up an
altar there to "the Lord, the God of Israel" (Gen 33,18–20). The
revelation to Moses at the Burning Bush took place when he led the
flock in the wilderness, and came to Horeb, the mountain of God
(Ex 3,1). The first festival mentioned in the relation of the history
of Israel in the Bible, called "the feast to the Lord" (Ex 10,9), is
associated with the request of the people of Israel to Pharoah to go
on a three-day journey in the wilderness to sacrifice to the Lord
their God (Ex 3,18; also 5,1; 10,9), and as we shall see below, it
reflects a background of a festival of nomadic shepherds.[2]

On the basis of this initial assumption I shall try to illustrate,
through analysis and comparison of religious commandments and
rites that appear in various literary strata of the Bible, how the tran-
sition to agriculture influenced Israelite religion and ritual in such
matters as festivals, place of ritual, sacrifices and offerings, and the
like. The main concern is the distinction between the settled-farming
stratum based on "field and vineyard" (Ex 22,4) and the use of farm
animals, "ox and ass" (Deut 22,10), and the nomadic pasturing stra-
tum based on sheep-breeding—although not yet on farms raising
cattle for market. The separation of the two strata is difficult, as by
the stage of biblical historiography these elements had become com-
bined in Israelite religion and cult; moreover, already at an early

---

[2] M. Haran, *Periods and Institutions in the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1973), pp. 88–91 (Hebrew),
doubts the historicity of the tradition of this festival, and argues that "the story is
caught out here by anachronistic assumptions based on living conditions in the
land" (p. 89).

stage of settlement these two important components of the Israelite economy were somewhat intermixed.

I. *The agricultural festivals (the three pilgrimages)*

No one disputes the obvious agricultural nature of the three pilgrimage festivals (Ex 23,14–17; 34,18–24; Deut 16,1–17), in which the people make a pilgrimage to feast before God. These festivals are linked to working the land and the farming seasons: the feast of מצות (unleavened bread) is in the חדש האביב when the barley ripens (Ex 9,31; Lev 2,14); the feast of קציר (the harvest festival), the festival of cropping wheat and the first fruits of the field (Ex 34,22), falls seven weeks after the first festival (Deut 16,9); and the feast of אסיף (the gathering festival), when the produce of the earth is gathered—"your labour from the field" (Ex 23,16), "from your threshing floor and from your wine-press" (Deut 16,13)—falls at the end of the year. The commandment that the people feast before God appears in the earliest collection of Torah laws, that known as the "Book of the Covenant", and these laws represent the ancient "festival calendar" of Israel after the settlement in Canaan.[3] Our concern here is not to dwell on the evident differences in the manner of celebrating these three festivals in the various collections of laws of the Torah (JE, D, P), or on the diverse conclusions drawn from them in scholarship regarding the developmental stages of the festivals of Israel, and regarding the dating of the different collections of laws in the Torah. Of chief importance for us is the question of whether all these festivals came into being only after the settlement in Canaan, in consequence of the transition by the people of Israel to agriculture (whether inherited from the Canaanite inhabitants of the country or not); or whether they were preceded by an Israelite festival from the pre-settlement period, which in some form or other had survived and inhered among them. If these three festivals constitute the pristine, infrastructural layer of the festivals of Israel, one may well ask if there is any point in speaking of the influence of the transition to agriculture on the Israelite festivals. And indeed,

---

[3] H. Kosmala, "The So-Called Ritual Decalogue", *ASTI*, 1 (1962), pp. 31–51; and see Z. Weisman, "Reflections on Lawgiving at Sinai and its Interpretation", *Shnaton, an Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, 5–6 (1981–82), pp. 59–68 (Hebrew).

the one festival prior to Israelite settlement in Canaan for which
there is biblical evidence is the פסח (Passover). This festival appar-
ently reflects earlier elements from the period of nomadism and pas-
turage.[4] In the presentation of the rules of the פסח within the narrative
of the Exodus from Egypt (Ex 12) the commandment of eating מצות
is juxtaposed to the פסח sacrifice (Ex 12,8); and both are explained
by the special circumstances of the night of the Exodus. However,
many of the critical scholars cast doubt as to whether there was any
original connection between the פסח sacrifice, which was a ritual
ceremony (of magical-apotrophaic nature), originating, so they believe,
in the nomadic sheep-grazing life, and apparently intended to pro-
tect the flock before setting out for the summer pasturage; and the
festival of מצות, whose origins lie in the farming life and which is
connected with the start of the harvest of the new produce (the עומר).
They rely mainly on the fact that in the commandments of the three
pilgrimage festivals in the Book of the Covenant (considered the ear-
liest of the collections of laws in the Torah) the פסח is not men-
tioned at all, but only the feast of מצות, which is listed as the first
of the festivals of harvesting and gathering. Only in the later col-
lections of laws in the Torah, D and P, were the פסח and מצות feasts
combined and integrated into one festival.[5]

Without entering into the intricacies of dispute as to by whom
and when these two festivals were first combined into one national-
religious celebration, we should first benefit from verifying the assump-
tion that there was a primal connection between the פסח ceremony
and the customs of the wandering shepherds. And sure enough, the
early nomadic and sheep-grazing origin of the פסח is attested by
particulars of the ceremony: the sacrifice is a sheep from the flock
(Ex 12,21 and cf. vv. 3–5); it may not be eaten raw or boiled in
water, but "roasted, its head with its legs and its inner parts" (v. 9);
none of it may remain until the morning (v. 10), and it was to be
eaten hastily, "your loins girded, your sandals on your feet and your
staff in your hand" (v. 11), namely the celebrants were to be dressed
as shepherds ready to depart with their flocks on their wanderings.

---

[4] M. Sister, *Some Problems of Biblical Literature* (Tel Aviv, 1957), pp. 213–215
(Hebrew); R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel, II* (London, 1961), pp. 488–493.

[5] J. Licht, "פסח", *Biblical Encyclopaedia*, 6 (Jerusalem, 1971), cols. 514–526 (Hebrew),
with a survey of the different views on this matter, and the author's conclusions in
col. 524. See also H.L. Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* (New York, 1982),
pp. 42–54.

It is not impossible that on account of its nature as a ceremony of wandering and sheep-herding it should be seen as the evolution of the "feast to the Lord" that the Israelites wished to hold after a three-day journey in the wilderness (Ex 3,18; 5,1; 8,23–24; 10,9). Opinions are indeed divided over this, but in our view one should not dismiss out of hand the possibility that such a festival did exist— in which families of Hebrew shepherds sacrificed to their God in the wilderness—on the grounds that this feast was merely a pretext, invented for the narrative of the Exodus from Egypt.[6] The assumption that such a "feast to the Lord" existed, and had to be celebrated "lest he fall upon us with pestilence or the sword" (Ex 5,3),[7] accords with the background to the account of the arrival of Jacob and his sons in Egypt; their presenting themselves before Pharoah as sheep herders who had come to live in the land of Egypt owing to the severe famine in the land of Canaan; their settlement by Pharoah in the land of Goshen on the grounds that "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians" (Gen 46,32–34; 47,6). The assumption also appears valid from Pharoah's replies and evasions (Ex 10,8–11; 24–26). This feast, whose essence is the pilgrimage of Hebrew families of shepherds to sacrifice to their God in the wilderness, thus constitutes an early, perhaps the earliest, festival of the people of Israel.[8]

After the settlement, to this early feast was attached the festival of מצות—in the month of spring; two other pilgrimage festivals were added that grew out of the agrarian life of peasants who wished to celebrate before their God and to share with Him their joy at the yield and produce of the field. The agricultural festival of מצות, the start of the עומר harvesting, became attached to the nomadic and sheep-herding festival of פסח only after the settlement, and under the influence of the transition to agriculture, but the connection itself

---

[6] In contrast to M. Haran's position (see note 2 above); and see S.E. Loewenstamm, *The Tradition of the Exodus from Egypt in its Development* (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 48–49 (Hebrew).

[7] Such a threat matches the concept of a wilderness God, different from that of an agricultural God, in that among his three main menaces is famine (drought), as reflected in the narratives in 2 Sam 21 and 24, and repeated in the reproofs of the prophets; see, e.g., the prophecy of Jeremiah regarding drought: "but I will consume them by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence" (Jer 14,12).

[8] I have alluded to such a possibility, without drawing conclusions as to the nature of the festival; see my article "The Mountain of God", *Tarbiz* 47 (1978), pp. 107–119 (Hebrew).

between sacrificing a sheep from the flock and eating unleavened bread is ancient and primal, and should not be thought to have originated with the transition to agriculture. This primary connection may be understood from the text "They shall eat the flesh that night, roasted; with unleavened bread and bitter herbs they shall eat it" (Ex 12,8). Unleavened is the kind of bread baked hurriedly, as is usual among nomads who do not have time to make their bread in a more perfected way; it differs from ordinary bread, which is leavened and baked from dough prepared in advance.[9] It is believed that unleavened bread was made from inferior varieties of cereal, mainly grain of hard wheat that in antiquity was grown in all countries of the Near East. Examples of such grain have survived in ancient Egyptian tombs, and it is known in the Bible as כסמת (spelt, buckwheat). Botanists identify it with dicotyledonous wheat.[10] In our opinion, this is attested by the account of the plague of hail in Egypt. After a description of the heavy damage caused by the hail in Egypt, and Pharoah's plea to Moses to appeal to God to stop the hail, a gloss appears that has aroused the curiosity of commentators: "the flax and barley were ruined, for the barley was in the ear and the flax was in bud" (namely they grew late) (Ex 9,31).[11] In our view this gloss is meant to explain in advance how it happened that the Israelites had flour from which to bake unleavened bread when they left Egypt; for according to the narrative, soon afterwards God smote the firstborn sons of Egypt, and the night of the Exodus began. If this is the case, it serves as additional proof of a connection between the custom of eating unleavened bread and the sacrifice by the nomadic shepherds. Both are linked to the wandering sheep-herding tradition.[12]

---

[9] J. Licht, "מצה", *Biblical Encyclopaedia*, 5 (Jerusalem, 1968), cols. 225–228 (Hebrew). By contrast, see the detailed description of baking bread in an oven in Hos 7,4–6.

[10] M. Zohari, "כסמת", *Biblical Encyclopaedia*, 4 (Jerusalem, 1962), cols. 224–225 (Hebrew). Some identify כסמת with dicotyledonous wheat *Triticum (Emmer) dicoccum*.

[11] See M.D. Cassuto for this verse, *A Commentary to the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem, 1975), p. 82 (Hebrew). The problem is that he does not explain the point of this gloss in the context of the account of the Exodus from Egypt and of the unleavened bread and the Passover sacrifice.

[12] The primal connection between פסח and מצות was observed by J. Halbe, "Erwägungen zu Ursprung un Wesen des *Massot* festes", *ZAW* 87 (1975), pp. 324–46. The explanation offered by Eichrodt is that the two festivals—*Pesah*, which was celebrated in Judah which was principally settled by sheep-herders, and *Massot*, which was celebrated in the northern kingdom which was settled mainly by peasants—

When the two festivals were combined—the nomadic sheep-herding festival of the פסח sacrifice whose essence was to eat the sacrifice at night, "roasted; with unleavened bread and bitter herbs" (Ex 12,8; Num 9,11), and the farming-agricultural festival of מצות, which obligated holding "a festival of unleavened bread for seven days" (Ex 12,15–20)—the unified single festival was interpreted in the circumstances of the hasty departure from Egypt. By that time unleavened bread was seen from the viewpoint of the agricultural life in the land, where leavened bread baked from soft wheat grains was the staple diet of settled inhabitants who grew cereals. The prohibition against baking leavened bread from new produce with yeast made from old produce possibly stemmed from magic causes connected with the promise of the new produce.[13] The unleavened bread which in the nomadic sheep-herding tradition characterized the bread of the Israelites survived even after the establishment of agriculture in the land as a ritual symbol, as "sacred bread" in sacrifices, and as a national symbol in remembrance of their wanderings and poverty: "seven days shall you eat it with unleavened bread, the bread of affliction—for you came out of the land of Egypt in hurried flight" (Deut 16,3). Only at a relatively late stage was fine flour (סולת), milled from soft wheat grains, devoted to ritual use for the מנחה offering, which was offered in the Temple, but it too had to be baked unleavened only, because it was forbidden to offer leaven on the altar (Lev 2,11).[14] The מנחה of grain did not in fact replace the sacrifice from the flock, but was added to it; however, in time it acquired a separate status among the offerings. This may be ascertained from its use as a defined technical term for offerings made precisely from agricultural produce in the Priestly Code (Lev 2,4; 3,16–17) and in the laws in Ez 40–48 (see e.g. 46,14).

---

existed side by side for a prolonged period until they were joined into one compound festival connected with the redemption of Israel from Egypt. This explanation seems far-fetched to me. See W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT* (London, 1961), I, p. 122.

[13] J. Licht, "מצה", *Biblical Encyclopaedia* 5 (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 227 (Hebrew).

[14] M. Haran, "מנחה", *Biblical Encyclopaedia* 5 (Jerusalem, 1968), p. 25 (Hebrew). A. Marx, *Les offrandes végétables dans l'Ancien Testament* (*SVT* 57; Leiden, 1994).

II. Altars and ritual sites

Cultic changes influenced by the transition to agriculture may per-
haps account for the building of the altar to God on the *threshing
floor* of Araunah the Jebusite by David, who bought it for this pur-
pose (2 Sam 24,16–25). On this site Solomon erected the Temple
in Jerusalem (2 Chron 3,1).[15] Only sparse information survives in the
Bible on the ritualistic importance of the threshing floor in Israelite
rites, such as the story of the prophesying by the 400 prophets before
the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah "at the threshing
floor at the entrance of the gate of Samaria" (1 Kgs 22,10); and
indirectly in Hosea's reproof of the people for having forsaken God
and for having "loved a harlot's hire upon the threshing floors" (Hos
9,1). An earlier narrative is the revelation of the angel of God to
Gideon, "who was beating out wheat in the wine press, to hide it
from the Midianites". Gideon later presents the angel with "meat
and unleavened cakes", and at the end of the account he builds an
altar to God (Judg 6,11–24). It is possible that this story already
reflects an early stage in the change of the altar's place from nomadic
sheep-herding surroundings (associated with revelation beside a water
source or a tree) to agricultural and farming surroundings, a place
for threshing grain; or a rock in the field, as in the tale of Manoah's
altar to the angel of God (Judg 13). The shift of centre of gravity
from pasturing to agriculture in the economic structure of the Israelites
in their land also finds expression in the prophetic parables about
the relationship between God and Israel. Together with the frequent
parable and simile of the shepherd and his flock (Isa 40,11; Ez 34;
Ps 80,2), agricultural parables appear, such as the song of the vine-
yard (Isa 5); and especially the parable of the farmer, which details
all the stages of the bread-making process performed by the skilled
farmer (Isa 28,23–29).

---

[15] In the parallel description of the building of the altar on the threshing floor
in 1 Chron 1,18–22,6, details are added that highlight the agricultural background
of the erection of the altar, such as "Now Ornan was threshing wheat" (21,20),
which connects to the ceremony of sacrificing later: "See, I give the oxen for the
burnt offering and the threshing sledges for the wood and the wheat for a cereal
offering . . ." (21,23; and cf. 2 Sam 24,22). The ceremony itself is reminiscent of
what Elisha did after Elijah thrust his mantle upon him (1 Kgs 19,19–21), and it
is possible that in the story about Elisha the ceremony symbolized Elisha's ceasing
to work the land and his joining the sons of the semi-nomadic prophets, who were
in the van of the struggle against the Baal cult in Israel.

III. *Offerings*

The changes in the divine image with the establishment of agricul-
ture in Israel are also reflected in the tastes of the God who served
in the cult, namely in the nature of the offerings delivered up to
him. In the narrative of Cain and Abel, God had regard for Abel's
offering from the firstlings of his flock, and did not have regard for
Cain's offering from the fruit of the earth; according to the Priestly
Code and the book of Ezekiel (40–48), God apparently preferred
the offering made from choice agricultural produce: an offering of
fine flour mixed with oil (Lev 2,4; Num 8,8; Ez 46,14). Joel (whose
presumed time of prophecy is the Second Temple) describes in vivid
colours the invasion of locusts that destroyed the entire crop, and
laments:

> The fields are laid waste, the ground mourns;
> because the *grain* is destroyed,
> the *wine* fails, the *oil* languishes.
> Be confounded, O tillers of the soil,
> Wail, O vinedressers,
> for the wheat and barley;
> because the harvest of the field has perished
>
> (Joel 1,10–11)

He calls first of all on the priests, who are the chief sufferers from
the destroyed agriculture, to moan and wail:[16]

> Gird on sackcloth and lament, O priests,
> wail, O ministers of the altar.
> Go in, pass the night in sackcloth,
> O ministers of my God!
> Because *cereal offering and drink offering*
> are withheld from the house of your God.
>
> (v. 13)

The lament and the call for a fast and a solemn assembly are
explained primarily as being due to the cutting off of the cereal
offering and the drink offering from the house of the Lord, namely
the offerings from fine grain and the fruit of the vine and the olive.
Sacrifices of sheep and cattle are not mentioned.[17]

---

[16] M.D. Cassuto, "יואל", *Biblical Encyclopaedia*, 3 (Jerusalem, 1958), cols. 575–577,
and bibliography there (Hebrew).

[17] There is no mention of the oxen and the מריאים ("fed animals"), so favoured

IV. *The divine image and the struggle against "Baalism"*

It is reasonable to suppose that the metamorphosis in the divine image from the nomadic God, who is "met with" (Ex 3,18) into a settled God, to whose temple people go up "to see His face" (Ex 34,24; Deut 31,11; Isa 1,12), did not come about at once with the settlement in Canaan, and that the shift of centre of gravity in the divine image from the God of wanderers and shepherds to a God of farmers permanently settled on their land occurred in a prolonged process.[18] For centuries after the settlement of the tribes of Israel in Canaan a struggle raged over recognition of God as the only god, according to whose word alone the dew and the rain fell onto the earth (1 Kgs 17,1; 18,1). The bearer of this fierce struggle against "Baalism" and syncretism in Israel[19] was Elijah, the man of God, described as a "hairy man" (2 Kgs 1,8), namely wearing a hair mantle (cf. 1 Kgs 19,13–19) typical of shepherds (Zech 13,4–5). He appears as a wanderer, who conceals himself on the outskirts of the settlement, and bursts in from time to time for the purpose of his prophetic mission; and in his despair he returns to the wilderness and even reaches Horeb, the mountain of God (1 Kgs 19).[20] The war to eradicate the Baal cult waged by Jehu (2 Kgs 10,15–16), inspired by the prophets (2 Kgs 9,1–10; and cf. 1 Kgs 19,16–18), is joined in by elements representing the tradition of nomadic families, who at the command of their father Jehonadab son of Rechab negate any fixed settlement, as signified by a house, a grain field, and a vineyard (2 Kgs 10,15–17; and cf. Jer 35). But echoes of the struggle still reverberate in Hosea's prophecy decades later, when he censures Israel for their playing the

---

by the cult adherents, following the passage from sheep pasturing to farms for fattening cattle and sheep for meat. This stage of cattle breeding is reflected in the reproofs of the reform prophets, e.g., "I have had enough of burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; I do not delight in the blood of bulls or of lambs or of he-goats" (Isa 1,11; cf. Ps 66,15).

[18] The distinction between an "agrarian God" and a "pastoral God" is discussed by de Geus, who casts doubt as to whether the concept of the agrarian God represents a later stage; in this he bases himself on the Semitic religions. See C.H.J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel* (Assen and Amsterdam, 1976), p. 130.

[19] On "Baalism" and its affinity to agriculture and private land ownership see W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, 1927), pp. 18f., 244ff.

[20] I analysed these features in the characterization of Elijah in my article "Elijah's Mantle and the Consecration of Elisha", *Shnaton, an Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 2 (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 97 (Hebrew).

harlot for Baal, whom she deems the giver of her bread and her water, and for her not knowing "that it was I [i.e. God] who gave her grain and wine and oil" (Hos 2,10). In the appeasement prophecy over the covenant to be pledged with her after her repentence, God promises her: "And in that day I will answer the heavens and they shall answer the earth; and the earth shall answer the *grain* and the *wine* and the *oil*, and they shall answer Jezreel" (2,24). Grain, wine and oil were the main agricultural products in Israel, and we have evidence that surplus was produced for export.[21] But these products do not appear in the oath of God to the Patriarchs as properties of the promised land, which is, in fact, "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Ex 3,8–17; 13,5; 33,3). Milk and honey are not agricultural products got from the steady labour of workers of the soil but are actually connected with the life of sheep-breeders and wild plants. Isaiah, in his prophecy on the desolation of the land, foresees that "in that day a man will keep alive a young cow and two sheep; and because of the abundance of milk which they give, he will eat curds; for every one that is left in the land will eat curds and honey" (Isa 7,21–22; and cf. vv. 14–16). With the development of agriculture, "honey" also became one of the products connected with working the land (2 Kgs 18,32; Jer 41,8; etc.). Typical agricultural products of the country, known as the seven kinds—"a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey"—first appear in the account of the promised land only in Deuteronomy (8,8–10; and cf. 7,13), and they presumably reflect the development and flourishing of agriculture in Israel by that time.

---

[21] 1 Kgs 5,25; Ez 7,17; and see M. Zagorodsky, *The Work of Our Ancestors* (Tel Aviv, 1949), pp. 176–178 (Hebrew).

This page intentionally left blank

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF PROF. ZECHARIA KALLAI

Books

1. *The Northern Boundaries of Judah* (Jerusalem, 1960; Hebrew).
2. *The Tribes of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1967; Hebrew).
3. *Historical Geography of the Bible* (Jerusalem-Leiden, 1986).
4. *Biblical Historiography and Historical Geography, Collection of Studies* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998) = *BHHG*, consisting of unpublished articles (#): reprinted, revised articles (*); and translated, revised articles (+).

Articles

1. "Notes on Eltekeh, Ekron and Timnah", *BIES* 17 (1952), pp. 62–64 (Hebrew).
2. "Topographical problems in the Land of Benjamin", *Eretz Israel* 2 (1953), pp. 108–112 (Hebrew).
3. "An Attempt to Determine the Location of Beeroth", *Eretz Israel* 3 (1954), pp. 111–115 (Hebrew).
4. "The Shephelah of Judaea", *BIES* 19 (1955), pp. 226–229 (Hebrew).
5. "Notes on the Topography of Benjamin", *IEJ* 6 (1956), pp. 180–187 (English version of No. 2).
6. "Remains of the Roman Road near the Mevo-Betar Highway", *BIES* 21 (1957), pp. 226–228 (Hebrew).
7. "Jerusalem—in Judah or Benjamin?", *Judah and Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1957), pp. 34–36 (Hebrew).
8. "En-Dor", *Eretz Israel* 5 (1958), pp. 120–123 (Hebrew).
9. "The Town-Lists of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan", *VT* 8 (1958), pp. 134–160.
10. "Remarks on A Fountain that is in Jezreel", *BIES* 25 (1961), pp. 253–256 (Hebrew).
11. "Note on the Town-Lists of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan", *VT* 11 (1961), pp. 223–227.
12. "The Allotments of the Tribes of Israel and their Boundaries", *Beth-Miqra* 5 (1964), pp. 154–163 (Hebrew).
13. "The Wars of Saul", *A Military History of Palestine*, ed. J. Liver (Tel-Aviv, 1964), pp. 132–145 (Hebrew).
14. "Kateph", *IEJ* 15 (1965), pp. 177–179.
15. "Remains of the Roman Road along the Mevo-Betar Highway", *IEJ* 15 (1965), pp. 195–203 (Expanded study of No. 6).
16. "The Biblical Geography of Flavius Josephus", *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1967), pp. 203–207.
17. "Bit-Ninurta = Beth-Horon—On the History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Amarna Period" (with H. Tadmor), *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969), pp. 138–147 (Hebrew).
18. "The Boundaries of the Allotments of the Tribes of Israel", *The University* 16 (1970), pp. 27–35 (Hebrew).
19. "The Kingdom of Rehoboam", *Eretz Israel* 10 (1971), pp. 245–254 (Hebrew).
20. "Baal-Shalisha and Ephraim", Bible and Jewish History (Liver Memorial vol.; Tel-Aviv, 1971), pp. 191–206 (Hebrew).
21. "The Conquest of Northern Palestine in Joshua and Judges", *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 1 (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 129–134 (Hebrew).

22. "The Land of Benjamin and Mount Ephraim (Survey)", *Judaea, Samaria and Golan*, ed. M. Kochavi (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 153–193 + map (Hebrew).

23. "M. Noth, *Aufsätze zur Biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*" (Review article), *IEJ* 23 (1973), pp. 187–188.

24+. "The Boundaries of Canaan and the Land of Israel in the Bible", *Eretz Israel* 12 (1975), pp. 27–34 (Hebrew = *BHHG*, pp. 111–129).

25. "P. Diepold, *Israels Land*" (Review article), *IEJ* 25 (1975), pp. 189–190.

26. "Tribes, Territories of", *The Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, Supplement (Nashville, 1976), pp. 920–923.

27*. "Organizational and Administrative Frameworks in the Kingdom of David and Solomon", *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 213–220 (= *BHHG*, pp. 130–136).

28*. "The United Monarchy of Israel—A Focal Point in Israelite Historiography", *IEJ* 27 (1977), pp. 103–109 (= *BHHG*, pp. 137–144).

29*. "Judah and Israel—A Study in Israelite Historiography", *IEJ* 28 (1978), pp. 251–261 (= *BHHG*, pp. 145–156).

30. "Bethakhon and Abel-Beth-Maachah", *IEJ* 29 (1979), pp. 60–61.

31+. "The System of Levitic Cities—A Historical-Geographical Study in Biblical Historiography", *Zion* 45 (1980), pp. 13–34 (Hebrew = *BHHG*, sections I–V, pp. 23–51 & No. 56).

32. Th. L. Thompson, "The Settlement of Palestine in the Bronze Age" (Review article), *IEJ* 31 (1981), pp. 261–263.

33*. "Territorial Patterns, Biblical Historiography and Scribal Tradition—A Programmatic Survey", *ZAW* 93 (1981), pp. 427–432 (= *BHHG*, pp. 157–164).

34*. "The Wandering Traditions from Kadesh-Barnea to Canaan—A Study in Biblical Historiography", *JJS* 33 (1982), pp. 175–184 (= *BHHG*, pp. 165–174).

35. "En-Dor", *Eretz Israel* 15 (1982), pp. 168–170 (Hebrew; Supplement to No. 8).

36*. "Conquest and Settlement of Transjordan—A Historiographical Study", *ZDPV* 99 (1983), pp. 110–118 (= *BHHG*, pp. 175–185).

37*. "The Reality of the Land and the Bible", *Das Land Israel in Biblischer Zeit*, ed. G. Strecker, (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 76–90 (= *BHHG*, pp. 186–201).

38. "Jehud and the Territory of Jewish Settlement under Persian Rule", *The World History of the Jewish People, The Restoration—The Persian Period*, ed. H. Tadmor (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 72–80, 169–170 (Hebrew).

39. "The Order of the Tribes of Israel in Numbers", *Numbers, The World of the Bible, Numbers* (Jerusalem—Ramat-Gan, 1985), pp. 23–26 (Hebrew).

40*. "The Settlement Traditions of Ephraim", *ZDPV* 102 (1986), pp. 68–74 (= BHHG, pp. 202–210).

41+. "Solomon's Districts Reconsidered", *Studies in Bible* (Cassuto Memorial Volume; Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 196–209 (Hebrew = *BHHG*, pp. 92–110).

42*. "The Southern Border of the land of Israel—Pattern and Application", *VT* 37 (1987), pp. 438–445 (= *BHHG*, pp. 211–217).

43+. "The Campaign of Chedorlaomer and Biblical Historiography", in: *Shnaton, An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 10 (1986–1989), pp. 153–168 (Hebrew = *BHHG*, pp. 218–242).

44. "Na'aman's Borders and Districts" (Review article), *JQR* 80 (1989), pp. 163–168.

45. "The Land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim (Joshua 17, 14–18)", *BETHL* 94 (1990), pp. 197–205.

46. "BETH-EL—LUZ and BETH-AVEN", *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel* (S. Herrmann FS; Stuttgart, 1991), pp. 171–188.

47. "The King of Israel and the House of David", *IEJ* 43 (1993), p. 248.

48. "A Note on 'Is Mefa'at to be Found at Tell Jawa (South)?' by R.W. Younker and P.M. Daviau", *IEJ* 43 (1993), pp. 249–251.

49. "Where Did Moses Speak (Deuteronomy 1, 1–5)", *VT* 45 (1995), pp. 188–197.

50. "The Explicit and Implicit in Biblical Narrative", *Congress volume* (Paris, 1992), *SVT* 61, ed. J.A. Emerton (Leiden, 1995), pp. 107–117.

51. "Samuel in Qumrān—Expansion of a Historiographical Pattern (4QSamᵃ)", *RB* 103 (1996), pp. 581–591.

52. "The Twelve-tribe Systems of Israel", *VT* 47 (1997), pp. 53–90.

53. "The Patriarchal boundaries of Canaan and the Land of Israel", *IEJ* 47 (1997), pp. 69–82.

54. "'Dan Why Abides He by Ships'—and the Rules of Historiographical Writing", *JNSL* 23/2 (1997), pp. 35–45.

55#. "Historical Geography and Biblical Research" (*BHHG*, pp. 13–22).

56#. "The System of Levitic Cities and Cities of Refuge: A Historical- Geographical Study in Biblical Historiography" *BHHG*, pp. 51–62).

57#. "Judah and the Boundaries of Jewish Settlement under Persian Rule" (= *BHHG*, pp. 63–91).

58#. "Joshua and Judges 1 in Biblical Historiography" (*BHHG*, pp. 243–260).

59#. "Aspects of Literary Composition in Biblical Historiography" (*BHHG*, pp. 261–283).

60. "The Exodus—a Historiographical Approach", in: *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology*, ed. I. Shirun-Grumach *Ägypten und Altes Testament*, 40 (1998), pp. 203–205.

61. "A note on the twelve-tribe systems of Israel", *VT* 49 (1999), pp. 125–127.

62. "Rachel's Tomb: A historiographical Review", Vielseitigkeit des Alten Testaments (G. Sauer FS; Frankfurt am Main, 1999), pp. 215–223.

63. "Biblical historiography and literary history: a programmatic survey", *VT* 49 (1999), pp. 338–350.

This page intentionally left blank

INDEX OF AUTHORS

INDEX OF OLD TESTAMENT REFERENCES

This page intentionally left blank

SUPPLEMENTS TO VETUS TESTAMENTUM

2. Pope, M.H. *El in the Ugaritic texts.* 1955. ISBN 90 04 04000 5
3. *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East.* Presented to Harold Henry Rowley by the Editorial Board of Vetus Testamentum in celebration of his 65th birthday, 24 March 1955. Edited by M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas. 2nd reprint of the first (1955) ed. 1969. ISBN 90 04 02326 7
4. *Volume du Congrès* [International pour l'étude de l'Ancien Testament]. Strasbourg 1956. 1957. ISBN 90 04 02327 5
8. Bernhardt, K.-H. *Das Problem der alt-orientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament.* Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschichte der Psalmenexegese dargestellt und kritisch gewürdigt. 1961. ISBN 90 04 02331 3
9. *Congress Volume,* Bonn 1962. 1963. ISBN 90 04 02332 1
11. Donner, H. *Israel unter den Völkern.* Die Stellung der klassischen Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zur Aussenpolitik der Könige von Israel und Juda. 1964. ISBN 90 04 02334 8
12. Reider, J. *An Index to Aquila.* Completed and revised by N. Turner. 1966. ISBN 90 04 02335 6
13. Roth, W.M.W. *Numerical sayings in the Old Testament.* A form-critical study. 1965. ISBN 90 04 02336 4
14. Orlinsky, H.M. *Studies on the second part of the Book of Isaiah.* — The so-called 'Servant of the Lord' and 'Suffering Servant' in Second Isaiah. — Snaith, N.H. Isaiah 40-66. A study of the teaching of the Second Isaiah and its consequences. Repr. with additions and corrections. 1977. ISBN 90 04 05437 5
15. *Volume du Congrès* [International pour l'étude de l'Ancien Testament]. Genève 1965. 1966. ISBN 90 04 02337 2
17. *Congress Volume,* Rome 1968. 1969. ISBN 90 04 02339 9
19. Thompson, R.J. *Moses and the Law in a century of criticism since Graf.* 1970. ISBN 90 04 02341 0
20. Redford, D.B. *A study of the biblical story of Joseph.* 1970. ISBN 90 04 02342 9
21. Ahlström, G.W. *Joel and the temple cult of Jerusalem.* 1971. ISBN 90 04 02620 7
22. *Congress Volume,* Uppsala 1971. 1972. ISBN 90 04 03521 4
23. *Studies in the religion of ancient Israel.* 1972. ISBN 90 04 03525 7
24. Schoors, A. *I am God your Saviour.* A form-critical study of the main genres in Is. xl-lv. 1973. ISBN 90 04 03792 2
25. Allen, L.C. *The Greek Chronicles.* The relation of the Septuagint I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic text. Part 1. The translator's craft. 1974. ISBN 90 04 03913 9
26. *Studies on prophecy.* A collection of twelve papers. 1974. ISBN 90 04 03877 9
27. Allen, L.C. *The Greek Chronicles.* Part 2. Textual criticism. 1974. ISBN 90 04 03933 3
28. *Congress Volume,* Edinburgh 1974. 1975. ISBN 90 04 04321 7
29. *Congress Volume,* Göttingen 1977. 1978. ISBN 90 04 05835 4
30. Emerton, J.A. (ed.). *Studies in the historical books of the Old Testament.* 1979. ISBN 90 04 06017 0
31. Meredino, R.P. *Der Erste und der Letzte.* Eine Untersuchung von Jes 40-48. 1981. ISBN 90 04 06199 1
32. Emerton, J.A. (ed.). *Congress Vienna* 1980. 1981. ISBN 90 04 06514 8
33. Koenig, J. *L'herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06762 0

34. BARSTAD, H.M. *The religious polemics of Amos.* Studies in the preachings of Amos ii 7B-8, iv 1-13, v 1-27, vi 4-7, viii 14. 1984. ISBN 90 04 07017 6

35. KRAŠOVEC, J. *Antithetic structure in Biblical Hebrew poetry.* 1984. ISBN 90 04 07244 6

36. EMERTON, J.A. (ed.). *Congress Volume,* Salamanca 1983. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07281 0

37. LEMCHE, N.P. *Early Israel.* Anthropological and historical studies on the Israelite society before the monarchy. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07853 3

38. NIELSEN, K. *Incense in Ancient Israel.* 1986. ISBN 90 04 07702 2

39. PARDEE, D. *Ugaritic and Hebrew poetic parallelism.* A trial cut. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08368 5

40. EMERTON, J.A. (ed.). *Congress Volume,* Jerusalem 1986. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08499 1

41. EMERTON, J.A. (ed.). *Studies in the Pentateuch.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09195 5

42. McKENZIE, S.L. *The trouble with Kings.* The composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09402 4

43. EMERTON, J.A. (ed.). *Congress Volume,* Leuven 1989. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09398 2

44. HAAK, R.D. *Habakkuk.* 1992. ISBN 90 04 09506 3

45. BEYERLIN, W. *Im Licht der Traditionen.* Psalm LXVII und CXV. Ein Entwicklungs-zusammenhang. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09635 3

46. MEIER, S.A. *Speaking of Speaking.* Marking direct discourse in the Hebrew Bible. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09602 7

47. KESSLER, R. *Staat und Gesellschaft im vorexilischen Juda.* Vom 8. Jahrhundert bis zum Exil. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09646 9

48. AUFFRET, P. *Voyez de vos yeux.* Étude structurelle de vingt psaumes, dont le psaume 119. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09707 4

49. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F., A. HILHORST and C.J. LABUSCHAGNE (eds.). *The Scriptures and the Scrolls.* Studies in honour of A.S. van der Woude on the occasion of his 65th birthday. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09746 5

50. LEMAIRE, A. and B. OTZEN (eds.). *History and Traditions of Early Israel.* Studies presented to Eduard Nielsen, May 8th, 1993. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09851 8

51. GORDON, R.P. *Studies in the Targum to the Twelve Prophets.* From Nahum to Malachi. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09987 5

52. HUGENBERGER, G.P. *Marriage as a Covenant.* A Study of Biblical Law and Ethics Governing Marriage Developed from the Perspective of Malachi. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09977 8

53. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F., A. HILHORST, J.T.A.G.M. VAN RUITEN, A.S. VAN DER WOUDE. *Studies in Deuteronomy.* In Honour of C.J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10052 0

54. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, N. *Septuagint and Old Latin in the Book of Kings.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 10043 1

55. SMITH, M.S. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume 1.* Introduction with text, translation and commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09995 6

56. DUGUID, I.M. *Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 10074 1

57. MARX, A. *Les offrandes végétales dans l'Ancien Testament.* Du tribut d'hommage au repas eschatologique. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10136 5

58. SCHÄFER-LICHTENBERGER, C. *Josua und Salomo.* Eine Studie zu Autorität und Legitimität des Nachfolgers im Alten Testament. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10064 4

59. LASSERRE, G. *Synopse des lois du Pentateuque.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 10202 7

60. DOGNIEZ, C. *Bibliography of the Septuagint – Bibliographie de la Septante (1970-1993).* Avec une préface de PIERRE-MAURICE BOGAERT. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10192 6

61. EMERTON, J.A. (ed.). *Congress Volume,* Paris 1992. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10259 0

62. SMITH, P.A. *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah.* The Structure, Growth and Authorship of Isaiah 56-66. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10306 6
63. O'CONNELL, R.H. *The Rhetoric of the Book of Judges.* 1996. ISBN 90 04 10104 7
64. HARLAND, P.J. *The Value of Human Life.* A Study of the Story of the Flood (Genesis 6-9). 1996. ISBN 90 04 10534 4
65. ROLAND PAGE JR., H. *The Myth of Cosmic Rebellion.* A Study of its Reflexes in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10563 8
66. EMERTON, J.A. (ed.). *Congress Volume.* Cambridge 1995. 1997.
ISBN 90 04 106871
67. JOOSTEN, J. *People and Land in the Holiness Code.* An Exegetical Study of the Ideational Framework of the Law in Leviticus 17–26. 1996.
ISBN 90 04 10557 3
68. BEENTJES, P.C. *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew.* A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10767 3
69. COOK, J. *The Septuagint of Proverbs – Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs?* Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10879 3
70,1 BROYLES, G. and C. EVANS (eds.). *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah.* Studies of an Interpretive Tradition, I. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10936 6 *(Vol. I)*;
ISBN 90 04 11027 5 *(Set)*
70,2 BROYLES, G. and C. EVANS (eds.). *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah.* Studies of an Interpretive Tradition, II. 1997. ISBN 90 04 11026 7 *(Vol. II)*;
ISBN 90 04 11027 5 *(Set)*
71. KOOIJ, A. VAN DER. *The Oracle of Tyre.* The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and Vision. 1998. ISBN 90 04 11152 2
72. TOV, E. *The Greek and Hebrew Bible.* Collected Essays on the Septuagint. 1999.
ISBN 90 04 11309 6
73. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. and NOORT, E. (eds.). *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism.* A Symposium in honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the occasion of his 70th birthday. 1998. ISBN 90 04 11322 3
74. KASSIS, R.A. *The Book of Proverbs and Arabic Proverbial Works.* 1999.
ISBN 90 04 11305 3
75. RÖSEL, H.N. *Von Josua bis Jojachin.* Untersuchungen zu den deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbüchern des Alten Testaments. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11355 5
76. RENZ, Th. *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel.* 1999.
ISBN 90 04 11362 2
77. HARLAND, P.J. and HAYWARD, C.T.R. (eds.). *New Heaven and New Earth Prophecy and the Millenium.* Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston. 1999.
ISBN 90 04 10841 6
78. KRAŠOVEC, J. *Reward, Punishment, and Forgiveness.* The Thinking and Beliefs of Ancient Israel in the Light of Greek and Modern Views. 1999.
ISBN 90 04 11443 2.
79. KOSSMANN, R. *Die Esthernovelle – Vom Erzählten zur Erzählung.* Studien zur Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte des Estherbuches. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11556 0.
80. LEMAIRE, A. and M. SÆBØ (eds.). *Congress Volume.* Oslo 1998. 2000.
ISBN 90 04 11598 6.
81. GALIL, G. and M. WEINFELD (eds.). *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography.* Presented to Zecharia Kallai. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11608 7