

Women in the Biblical World

A Study Guide

Women in the World of Hebrew Scripture

by

Mayer I. Gruber

ATLA Bibliography Series, No. 38



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In Memory of Judith

זכרתי לך חסד נעורייך אהבת כלולותיך
לכתך אחרי במדבר בארץ לא זרועה

I recall your youthful devotion, your love as a bride,
your following me in the desert, in an unsown land
(Jeremiah 2:2).

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Since 1974 the American Theological Library Association has been publishing this bibliography series with the Scarecrow Press. Guidelines for projects and selections for publication are made by the ATLA Publications Section in consultation with the editor. Our goal is to stimulate and encourage the preparation and publication of reliable bibliographies and guides to the literature of religious studies in all of its scope and variety. Compilers are free to define their fields, to make their own selections, and to work out internal organization as the unique demands of the subject indicate.

We are pleased to publish Mayer Gruber's *Women in the Biblical World: A Study Guide*, Volume I: *Women in the World of Hebrew Scripture* in the ATLA Bibliography Series.

Mayer I. Gruber completed an undergraduate program in history at Duke University, studied theology at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and took the M.A., M. Phil., and Ph.D. degrees in Middle East Languages and Cultures at Columbia University. His 1977 doctoral dissertation was titled "Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East." Dr. Gruber began his teaching career at Spertus College of Judaica in Chicago. Since 1980 he has taught in the Department of Bible and Ancient Near East at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheva, Israel, where since 1984 he has held the rank of Senior Lecturer. He has also taught at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Levinsky College of Education, Tel Aviv, and Eilat College. He has twice been honored with Visiting Scholar appointments in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago. He is the author of four books and a large number of scholarly papers.

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PREFACE

This *Guide* is meant to provide scholars, clergy, seminarians, college students, and all other interested people access to books and articles—both technical and semi-popular—which shed light on women in antiquity in Israel and Judah and the surrounding countries, which play a role in the entire corpus of sacred literature commonly called "The Bible." The first volume is meant to provide access to books and articles, which shed light on women in the world of Hebrew Scripture, which is commonly called "The Old Testament." The second volume is meant to provide access to books and articles, which shed light on women in the world of the Apocrypha and the New Testament.

From the end of the eighteenth century the world regained direct knowledge of the history, language, literature, religion, and day-to-day life of ancient Egypt,¹ which borders Israel on the southwest and which is mentioned explicitly in Hebrew Scripture 680 times. Egypt was the birthplace of the first of the Hebrew prophetesses, Miriam, and the place where according to Ex. 12:1–2 Israel received the first of its divine commandments. It was also the place where, according to Gen. 12:10–20, Sarai, the first of the matriarchs, risked committing adultery with Pharaoh in order to save her husband Abram from possible murder. It was in Egypt also that in 586 B.C.E. the prophet Jeremiah castigated the exiled Jewish women for worshipping the Sumerian goddess of love, Inanna (Jer. 44).

From the middle of the nineteenth century the world regained direct knowledge of the history, language, literature, religion, and day-to-day life of ancient Iraq (Sumer, Assyria, and Babylonia),² which was the probable location of the Garden of Eden referred to in the second and third chapters of the first book of Hebrew Scripture. It is generally accepted that the birthplace of Abram and his wife and half-sister Sarai was none other than the Sumerian city of Ur.³ Moreover, Mesopotamia was the place to which both Israelites and Jews were carried away captive by Sargon II in 722 B.C.E. and by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 and 586 B.C.E. Moreover, Assyria⁴ and Babylonia,⁵ often personified as women, feature prominently in the biblical books of Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Nahum.

Almost all knowledge of the history, language, literature, religion, and day-to-day life of the aboriginal peoples of ancient Syria-Palestine, whom Hebrew Scripture generally refers to most frequently as Amorites and Canaanites derives from the abundant archaeological finds including manifold written records from 1) the eighteenth

century B.C.E. Amorite kingdom of Mari on the Tigris;⁶ 2) the Syrian site of Ras Shamra or Ugarit;⁷ 3) the Syrian sites of Alalakh⁸ and Emar;⁹ and 4) Phoenician inscriptions.¹⁰

Knowledge concerning the Hittites¹¹ and Hurrians¹² has been provided by documents from all over the ancient Near East but especially by texts recovered from Boghazköy (ancient Hattusas) in Anatolia and Yoghlan Tepe (ancient Nuz) in southern Kurdistan, respectively.

To persons with some knowledge of both the origins of Western civilization in the ancient Near East and the drama of their rediscovery it should come as no surprise either that all kinds of interesting and useful facts, ideas, outlooks, and artifacts can disappear for millennia at a time or that some of these facts, opinions, and things can be recovered.

The new discipline called "Women's history" grew, inter alia, out of 1) the realization that by and large women had been written out of the history of western civilization; 2) the intuition that women like other outsiders such as the Jews¹³ can be restored to their rightful place in the documentation of the history of humankind; and 3) the realization that groups who can claim a past have a greater claim to recognition in the present.¹⁴

I believe, therefore, that it was my training in the history, languages, and cultures of the ancient Semites, which were dramatically recovered from archaeological sites during the last century and a half, that made me believe that the history and culture of women in the biblical world could also be recovered. It is probably no accident that a majority of the outstanding feminist biblical scholars received their initial graduate academic training in the study of the languages and cultures of the ancient Near East.

Nevertheless, it cannot be an accident that most of the scholarly books and articles on women in ancient Israel were published after the mid-1970s nor that the other period during which a significant number of studies on the subject appeared was 1890-1930.

My generation of biblical philologists began our graduate studies believing that our task was to investigate the original meaning of every obscure word in Hebrew Scripture and to establish its meaning on the basis of comparative Semitic linguistics. We believed that proper utilization of parallels from the literatures of the ancient Near East would enable us to establish beyond a shadow of doubt the objective meaning of all of Hebrew Scripture for the benefit of all persons regardless of denominational origin or affiliation.

I even believed that my interest in the study of women and womanhood in Hebrew Scripture grew out of my attempt to engage in an objective philological analysis of the Hebrew prophets. Preparing this *Guide* has demonstrated to me, however, that it is no coinci-

dence that since the 1970s numerous scholarly articles have been devoted to such previously neglected subjects as Huldah the prophetess, feminine similes applied to God in Isaiah 40-66, and women in ancient Israelite worship. The sudden interest in such topics must be understood against the background of the movement for women's liberation, which placed the subject of women on the public agenda. The study of women has become recognized in the academy.¹⁵

I suggest, therefore, that objective biblical exegesis, which cannot possibly deal with much less solve every enigma presented in and by Scripture, is and should be influenced by the larger world to notice issues, which may not have been raised in the larger world in which some previous generations of exegetes did their work. This is to say that just as the reconstruction of the history of women in the biblical world depends on the work of archaeologists and linguists so can the work of these specialists be enriched by feminist movements and ideologies.¹⁶

It should not be forgotten that almost all that survives of the literary and cultural legacy of ancient Israel is Hebrew Scripture, whose history and narrative seldom deal deliberately with the everyday life of ordinary people. It is nevertheless quite amazing how much feminist biblical scholars have been able to reveal in the last decades simply by asking questions that had not generally been asked in the immediately preceding generations. It should be recognized, however, that archaeologists have recovered from ancient Israel's neighbors abundant information about the day-to-day lives of all classes of people—including letters and contracts written by, on behalf of or about women. Hence, it should not be surprising that the publication and analysis of ancient Near Eastern texts and artifacts pertaining to women has proceeded steadily ever since the modern study of the ancient Near East¹⁷ began while in biblical studies the study of women was all but suspended between the 1930s and the 1970s.¹⁸ Nevertheless, it should not be surprising that the study of the civilizations of the ancient Near East has lately been influenced by the women's movement and women's history to ask new and important questions.¹⁹

A significant factor in the increased attention on the part of scholars to the subject of women in the Bible is the increased tendency to treat biblical narrative as literature rather than simply as the raw materials for the reconstruction of the history of ancient Israel. When biblical narrative is treated seriously as literature the treatment and behavior of characters—both male and female—cannot be ignored. During the previous generation, exemplified by the commentary on Genesis by E. A. Speiser, the narrative of Dinah (Gen. 34) is declared to be "history novelistically interpreted."²⁰ Not surprisingly, Dinah herself is mentioned only once in the more than two full pages

Speiser devotes to the narrative in question. In the more recent treatments of biblical narrative as literature no such escape from confronting Dinah's humanity is afforded.²¹ Unfortunately, the realization that Speiser's philology has so little to contribute to the understanding of matriarchal narratives has led some scholars to a total disparagement of Semitic philology. This latter tendency will surely prove harmful to the establishment of the study of biblical women and their literature on an objective, scientific foundation.²²

The nucleus of this bibliography is the sets of references, which I collected in the course of researching and preparing for publication my various studies on women and womanhood in the biblical world.²³ Noticing (1) the stubborn refusal of many otherwise competent biblical scholars to recognize feminist scholarship as a legitimate branch of biblical research and women in the biblical world as a subject worthy of inquiry; (2) the unfortunate tendency of many scholars to know and to quote only the work of their own teachers, classmates, and students; (3) the growing tendency in the literary study of biblical narrative to ignore the well of genuine information from ancient Israel's neighbors, I decided to compile this *Guide*. I believe that this *Guide* demonstrates not only that the subject of women in the biblical world is worthy of inquiry but also that it is a field which has already engaged the minds of outstanding scholars in the fields of archaeology, literature, philology, history, and theology. For students and teachers who come to the Bible from the fields of literature and/or theology this *Guide* is meant to place under a single umbrella materials relevant to women in the biblical world from such diverse disciplines as Assyriology,²⁴ Ugaritology,²⁵ and the history of medicine.²⁶

Professor Carol Meyers of Duke University kindly supplied me with a copy of the mimeographed 29-page "Women in the Bible: A Bibliography," prepared by Harriet V. Leonard, Reference Librarian at the Library of the Duke Divinity School in 1977. The latter bibliography, which covers both the Old and the New Testaments, is limited to books and articles available seventeen years ago in the libraries of Duke University. It contains a little more than two pages of articles in languages other than English and French. Professor Martha T. Roth of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago kindly supplied me with her 5 1/2 page "Women in Mesopotamia: A Bibliography of Secondary Sources," dated October 10, 1991, and Professor Phyllis Tribble of Union Theological Seminary in New York City provided me with Angela Bauer, "Feminist Interpretation of Hebrew Scriptures: A Bibliography" (New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1990). The latter bibliography, comprising twenty-four pages is to be commended to students of the subject at hand because it lists for each book of Hebrew Scripture from 1 (Malachi) to

twenty-six (Gen. 12–50) bibliographical entries as well as thirty-eight entries for [feminist] hermeneutics and method (pp. 5–7) and twenty-nine monographs (pp. 3–4). Prof. Zafrira Ben-Barak of the Dept. of Bible at the University of Haifa; Dr. Athalya Brenner, Professor of Feminism and Christianity at the Catholic University of Nijmegen; and Dr. Nicholas Wyatt of the University of Edinburgh kindly supplied me with lists of their own publications concerning the subject at hand. Ms. Naomi Graetz, Senior Teacher in the Department of English as a Foreign Language at Ben-Gurion University shared with me the bibliography she collected for her research on feminist perspectives in Judaism. Especially useful were *Religious Books 1876–1982*, vol. 3: Subjects (New York and London: R. R. Bowker, 1983), the annual book lists published by the British Society for Old Testament Study, and the bibliographies found at the end of Barbara S. Lesko, ed., *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia*.²⁷ However, most of the materials, which I was able to assemble here, were culled from the painstaking work of going through festschriften, memorial volumes, publishers' catalogues, the standard periodicals in biblical and Near Eastern studies, and the standard indices such as *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*,²⁸ the Keilschriftbibliographie published annually in the periodical *Orientalia*, *Old Testament Abstracts*,²⁹ *Elenchus Bibliographicus*,³⁰ and *Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete*.³¹ It should be noted that the latter two indices include categories such as women or feminism beginning only in the most recent volumes while the former indices do not list such categories even in the most recent volumes.

This *Guide* differs from the various bibliographies concerning women in the Bible and the ancient Near East referred to above in that it refers to a significant body of research on women in the biblical world in the two important living languages of the Bible lands—Modern Hebrew and Modern Arabic. Readers will also note that I have recorded not only articles in so-called scientific refereed journals but also articles in popular and semi-popular magazines. With respect to the subject at hand neither type of journal has a monopoly on either wisdom or foolishness.

I am most grateful to the American Theological Library Association for the generous grant, which enabled me to begin work on this project and to Prof. Kenneth E. Rowe, Editor of the ATLA Bibliography Series for his encouragement and support throughout the preparation of this *Guide*. I wish to record my thanks to Prof. Rivkah Harris of the School of the Art Institute of Chicago and to my teacher, Prof. David Marcus of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, for their having recommended me for the ATLA Bibliography Grant. The Committee on Research and Publications of

the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Ben-Gurion University awarded me a very generous grant toward the cost of the preparation of the camera-ready copy produced by WordByte. Sincere thanks are due Margo and Amiel Schotz of WordByte for their painstaking efforts in the preparation of this volume. Special thanks are due Ben-Gurion University of the Negev for granting me sabbatical leave during the summer of 1990 and again in the fall of 1991 for work on this project. I am especially grateful to Mr. R. P. Carr, University Librarian and Keeper of the Brotherton Library at Leeds University in England for arranging for me a Visiting Scholar appointment at the Brotherton Library during the summer of 1990, Prof. Wadad Kadi, Chairman of the Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago, for arranging for me an appointment as Visiting Scholar in that Department during the fall of 1991 and Prof. Byron L. Sherwin, Vice-President for Academic Affairs, for arranging for me an appointment as Ezra Sensibar Visiting Professor of Biblical Studies at Spertus College of Judaica for the fall semester of 1991.

I am also most grateful to have been able to make use of the libraries of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv University, the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, the University Library at Cambridge University, and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheva.

I intended to surprise my dear wife Judith with the dedication to her of this volume. In the midst of its preparation, however, Judith was summoned to the Academy on High. In recognition of her encouragement, loving devotion, help, and sage counsel I dedicate this first volume of *Women in the Biblical World: A Study Guide* to her memory.

I pray that God Almighty, who has enabled me to complete this volume, will enable me also to complete other projects, and that this volume will serve to create renewed respect for Sacred Scripture and for womankind.

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November 1994

NOTES

1. See Sir Frederic Kenyon, *The Bible and Archaeology* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1940), 58–80; Peter A. Clayton, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982).
2. See S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 3–32; Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (London: Martin Hopkinson & Co., 1925).
3. Sir Leonard Woolley, *Excavations at Ur* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954), 78; contrast C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *JNES* 17 (1958), 28–31.
4. I.e., Northern Iraq, which is mentioned by name in Hebrew Scripture 150 times.
5. I.e., Southern Iraq, which is mentioned by name in Hebrew Scripture 286 times.
6. Concerning the Amorites in general see M. Liverani, "The Amorites," in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman for the Society for Old Testament Study (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 100–133. Concerning Mari see Abraham Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1984 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1989).
7. Concerning the Canaanites see A. R. Millard, "The Canaanites," in *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (see previous note), pp. 29–52. Concerning Ugarit see Margaret S. Drower, "Ugarit," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 3d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 130–160.
8. See Sir Leonard Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1953).
9. For extensive bibliography concerning Emar see *Meskéné-Emar: Dix ans de travaux 1972–1982* (Paris: Editions Recherches sur les civilisations, 1982).
10. For a brief survey of these inscriptions see Donald Harden, *The Phoenicians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962). For an up-to-date edition of the inscriptions with translation, commentary, and bibliography see John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 3: *Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
11. See O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (London: Penguin Books, 1952); J. G. Macqueen, *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*, rev. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).
12. See Gernot Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, trans. Jennifer Barnes (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989).
13. On the emergence of Jewish studies as a recognized academic discipline see Arnold J. Band, "Jewish Studies in American Liberal-Arts Colleges and Universities," *American Jewish Year Book* 67 (1966), 3–30; Jacob Neusner, "Two Settings for Jewish Studies," *Conservative Judaism* 27 (1972–73), 27–40.

14. See Berenice A. Carroll, ed., *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), xi and passim in that anthology.
15. See Ellen Messer-Davidow, *(En)Gendering Knowledge: Feminists in Academia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Sneja Gunew, ed., *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).
16. See Barbara S. Lesko, ed., *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia*, Brown Judaic Studies, 166 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), xiii.
17. Cf. *ibid.*, p. xv.
18. See below, pp. xxiii.
19. Cf. Rivkah Harris, "Independent Women in Ancient Mesopotamia?" in Lesko, *Women's Earliest Records*, p. 145.
20. E.A. Speiser, *Genesis*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1965), 266.
21. See, e.g., Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 445–475, which has inspired additional studies by Ararat and by Fewell and Gunn; q.v.
22. See, e.g., Sharon Pace Jeanson, *The Women of Genesis: From Sarah to Potiphar's Wife* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 3, and contrast my review in *AJS Review* 17 (1992), 281–284.
23. See below, pp. 89–90.
24. The study of the languages and literatures of ancient Iraq, i.e., Babylonia and Assyria. Since the first great corpora of texts from ancient Iraq, which were deciphered, came from Northern Mesopotamia, i.e., Assyria, the study of all aspects of the language, literature, and culture of ancient Iraq came to be called Assyriology.
25. I.e., the study of the language, literature, and culture of ancient Ugarit; see above, n. 7.
26. See, for example, the study published in *Obstetrics and Gynecology* by Harer and el-Dwakhly, which is listed below under "Women and Womanhood in Ancient Egypt: Articles," p. 170, #2185.
27. See there, pp. 319–344.
28. (Leiden: International Association of Egyptologists in cooperation with the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten).
29. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association and Catholic University of America).
30. (Rome: Biblical Institute Press).
31. (Düsseldorf: Patmost Verlag).

INTRODUCTION

For a general orientation to the study of women in the world of Hebrew Scripture, commonly called the Old Testament, readers are urged to consult entries such as "Women," "Women in the Old Testament," and "Women in the Ancient Near East," and the like in such standard reference works as *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols.; New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1962); *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon, 1975); *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985); *The International Standard Bible Dictionary*, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromley (4 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979–1988); *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1992); and the like, as well as general, Catholic and Jewish encyclopedias.

The entries in the standard Bible dictionaries concerning biblical books, in which women play an especially significant role often provide useful information, insights, and bibliography. Commentaries in the standard series of Bible commentaries, especially on those biblical books or parts of books, in which women play an important role (Gen. 1–3; 6; 12–50; Ex. 1–15; 21–22; 38:8; Lev. 12; 15; Num. 5–6; Deut. 15; 21–25; Judg. 13–21; Samuel; Kings; Isaiah; Jeremiah; Ezekiel; Hosea 1–4; Zephaniah; Ps. 45; Job. 1–3; 31; 42; Song of Songs [also called Canticles]; Ruth; Esther) should be utilized. Readers should expect that *some* commentaries published since the mid-1970s will pay more attention to women and to feminist interpretations. Some readers may, likewise, be pleasantly surprised that women were never completely ignored in the better biblical commentaries from antiquity until now.

For information and bibliography concerning named goddesses referred to in Hebrew Scripture the reader is referred to the *Dictionary of Deities and Demons*, ed. K. van der Toorn, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

Standard Bible commentary series, which should be consulted include The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday) Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press); The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark/New York: Scribner's); The Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society); The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans); Das Alte Testament Deutsch (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht); Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: Mohr); Handkommentar zum Alten Testa-

ment (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht); The Word Bible Commentary (Waco Texas: Word Books, Inc.); etc. Readers should note that the commentaries listed below under "Hebrew Scripture—Books" are individual commentaries on books, which are especially relevant to the subject at hand, and which are not found in any of the aforementioned series.

Readers are likewise urged to consult Bible dictionaries and the standard Bible commentaries with respect to the various named and unnamed women in the Bible. A list of the unnamed women, who play a role in Hebrew Scripture, may be compiled from a concordance by examining the entries under "mother of," "daughter of," "sister of," and "wife of." As for the women named in Hebrew Scripture—some few of whom merit entries in the standard biblical encyclopedias,¹ there are 111, whose names are as follows: (1) Abi (2 Kgs. 18:2), who is also called Abijah (2 Ch. 29:1), (2) Abigail the wife of Nabal and later of David; (3) Abigail the daughter of Nahash, who was also sister of Zeruiah, and mother of Joab and Amasah (2 Sam. 17:25); (4) Abigail the sister of David (1 Ch. 2:16–17);² (5) Abihail the wife of Abishur (1 Ch. 2:29); (6) Abihail the wife of Jerimoth and mother of Mahalath and the wife of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11:18); (7) Abital wife of David (2 Sam. 3:4; 1 Ch. 3:3); (8) Abishag (1 Kgs. 1–2); (9) Achsah, daughter of Caleb and wife of Othniel (Josh. 15; Judg. 1; 1 Ch. 2:49); (10) Adah I, one of the two wives of Lamech (Gen. 4:23); (11) Adah II, the Hittite wife of Esau (Gen. 36); (12) Ahinoam the wife of Saul (1 Sam. 14:50); (13) Ahinoam the wife of David (1 Sam. 25 etc.); (14) Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite and mother of Oholibamah [see below] (Gen. 36:2); (15) Asenath (Gen. 41); (16) Atarah, the wife of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. 2:26); (17) Queen Athaliah; (18) Azubah, one of the four wives of Caleb son of Hezron (1 Ch. 2:18); (19) Bilhah; (20) Baara, one of the two wives of Shoham [the other was Hushim] (2 Ch. 8:8); (21) Basemath, the Hittite wife of Esau (Gen. 26:34); (22) Basemath, the Ishmaelite wife of Esau (Gen. 36:3ff.); (23) Basemath the daughter of King Solomon, who married Ahimaaz (1 Kgs. 4:15); (24) Bathsheba the mother of King Solomon, who is called Bathshua the daughter of Ammiel in 1 Ch. 3:5; (25) Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh who married Mered (1 Ch. 4:18); (26) Dinah; (27) Delilah; (28) Ephrath, third wife of Caleb son of Hezron (2 Ch. 2:19); (29) Ephrath wife of Caleb (1 Ch. 2:19); (30) Esther (Hadassah); (31) Eve; (32) Gomer (Hos. 1:3); (33) Hagar; (34) Hagith wife of David and mother of Adonijah (2 Sam. 3:4; etc.); (35) Hammolecheth (1 Ch. 7:18); (36) Hanutal (also called Hanital) the wife of King Josiah and the mother of Kings Jehoahaz and Zedekiah (2 Kgs. 23; 24; Jer. 52); (37) Hannah; (38) Hephzibah the mother of King Manasseh (2 Kgs. 21:1); (39) Hazleponi their sister (1 Ch. 4:3); (40) Helah (1 Ch. 4:5,

7); (41) Hodesh (1 Ch. 8:9); (42) Hogleh, one of the five daughters of Zelophehad (Num. 26; 27; 36; Josh. 17); (43) Huldah; (44) Hushim [see above under Baara]; (45) Ischah daughter of Haran and niece of Abram (Gen. 11:29) (46) Jehoaddan of Jerusalem, the mother of King Amaziah son of Joash (2 Kgs. 14:2; 2 Ch. 25:1); (47) Jecoliah of Jerusalem, the mother of King Azariah (2 Kgs. 15:2; 2 Ch. 26:3); (48) Jehosheba daughter of Joram and the wife of Jehoiada the priest (2 Kgs. 11:2) [she is called Jehoshabath in 2 Ch. 22:1]; (49) Jemimah daughter of Job (Job. 42:14); (50) Jerioth, the second wife of Caleb son of Hebron (1 Ch. 2:18); (51) Jochebed; (52) Jerusha, the mother of King Jotham (2 Kgs. 15:33; 2 Ch. 27:1); (53) Jezebel; (54) Judith, the Hittite wife of Esau (Gen. 26:34); (55) Keturah; (56) Kessiah daughter of Job (Job. 42:14); (57) Leah; (58) Lo-Ruhamah, daughter of Hosea and Gomer (Hos. 1:6, 8); (59) Maacah I, the concubine of Caleb (1 Ch. 2; 7; 8); (60) Maacah II, the wife of David and mother of Absalom (2 Sam. 3:3; 1 Ch. 3:2); (61) Maacah III, the daughter of Absalom (1 Kgs. 15; 2 Ch. 11); (62) Mahalath the wife of Esau (Gen. 28:9); (63) Mahalath the wife of King Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11:18); (64) Mahlah I, one of the five daughters of Zelophehad [see above under Hogleh]; (65) Mahlah II the daughter of Hammolecheth (1 Ch. 7:18); (66) Matred, the mother-in-law of Hadar [also called Hadad] King of Edom (Gen. 36:39; 1 Ch. 1:50); (67) Mehetabel the daughter of Matred the daughter of Me-zahab (Gen. 36:39); (68) Merab (1 Sam. 14; 18); (69) Me-zahab (Gen. 36:39; 1 Ch. 1:50); (70) Meshulemeth wife of King Manasseh and mother of King Amnon (2 Kgs. 21:19); (71) Micaiah mother of King Abijah (2 Ch. 13:2); (72) Michal daughter of Saul and wife of David; (73) Milcah daughter of Nahor (Gen. 11; 22; 24); (74) Milcah one of the five daughters of Zelophehad [see above under Hogleh]; (75) Miriam; (76) Naamah I, the sister of Tubal-cain (Gen. 4:22); (77) Naamah II, the mother of King Rehoboam (1 Kgs. 14:21; 2 Ch. 12:13); (78) Naarah, one of the two wives of Ashhur [see above under Helah] (1 Ch. 4:5–6); (79) Naomi; (80) Nehushta, the wife of King Jehoiachin (2 Kgs. 24:8); (81) Noah, one of the five daughters of Zelophehad [see above under Hogleh]; (82) Noadiah, the last named prophetess in Hebrew Scripture Neh. 6:14; (83) Ohalibamah the wife of Esau (Gen. 36); (84) Puah; (85) Rachel; (86) Rahab; (87) Rebecca; (88) Reumah the concubine of Nahor (Gen. 22:24); (89) Rizpah (2 Sam. 3; 21); (90) Ruth; (91) Sarai/Sarah; (92) Serah daughter of Asher (Gen. 46; Num. 26; 1 Ch. 7:30); (93) Sheerah daughter of Ephraim (1 Ch. 7:24); (94) Shimeath, mother of one of the murderers of Joash (2 Kgs. 12:22; 2 Ch. 24:26); (95) Shimrith, mother of one of the murderers of Joash (2 Ch. 24:26); (96) Shiphrah; (97) Shlomith I (Lev. 24:11); (98) Shlomith II (1 Ch. 3:19); (99) Tamar I (Gen. 8); (100) Tamar II (2 Sam. 13); (101)

Taphath daughter of Solomon who married Ben-abinadab (1 Kgs. 4:11); (101) Timnah I, the sister of Lotan (Gen. 36, 12, 22); (102) Timnah II, the concubine of Eliphaz (1 Ch. 1:39); (103) Tirzah, one of the five daughters of Zelophehad [see above under Hoghlah]; (104) Vashti; (105) Zeresh; (106) Zeruah the mother of Jeroboam (2 Kgs. 11:26); (107) Zeruiah, the sister of King David and the mother of Joab, Abishai, and Asahel (108) Zibiah of Beersheba, the mother of King Jehoash (1 Kgs. 12:2; 2 Ch. 24:1); (109) Zillah, one of the two wives of Lamech [see above under Adah]; (110) Zilpah; (111) Zipporah.

Concerning women in ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia readers are urged first and foremost to consult the entries "Women" in the *Lexikon der Aegyptologie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975-) and the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1928-) respectively and the several entries concerning "Private Life" in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson (New York: Scribners, forthcoming). Such reference works in biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies should also be consulted for information and bibliography concerning topics such as prophetess and prostitute.

Readers are likewise urged to examine the books listed below under General Works and the anthologies compiled respectively by Durand, Grimal, and Lesko, which are listed under Ancient Near East and the various books and anthologies of feminist biblical scholarship listed below under Hebrew Scripture—Books.

Scholarly literature up to 1975 in the entire field of cuneiform studies, can easily be located with the help of Rykle Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* (3 vols.; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1967–1975). The latter work includes indices to references to named monarchs and deities in both the cuneiform texts and the secondary literature.

The present *Guide* contains in addition to the Preface, Introduction, and indices eighteen divisions. The first division, "General Works on Women in Antiquity" lists books published between 1779 and the present era, which are valuable for three reasons: (1) They demonstrate that the study of the history of women in antiquity is most assuredly not a passing fad of the last quarter of the twentieth century; (2) they demonstrate that the use of data recovered from the ancient Near East for the understanding of the roles of women in human history goes back to the very beginnings of archaeological research in the Near East in the Napoleonic era; (3) they provide extremely useful information concerning insights into and approaches to the study of women in both the Bible and the civilizations of ancient Israel's neighbors.

The second division, "Women in the Ancient Near East: Books, Articles, and Dissertations," lists (1) anthologies, which contain sem-

inal studies on women in a variety of ancient cultures in the lands of the Bible. The most important of these are the books edited by Durand, Grimal, and Lesko; (2) books and articles, which attempt to deal with women or aspects of the life and experiences of women in the ancient Near East as a whole; (3) books and articles, which deal with the life of women in areas of the ancient Near East, for which there is no separate division among the eighteen divisions of the present *Guide*.

The third division of this *Guide*, "Women in the Art and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East: Books, Articles, and Dissertations," lists materials which discuss archaeological finds from the land of Israel as well as from the other lands of the ancient Near East which a) shed light on women or womanhood in the biblical world; and b) cannot be related to specific non-Israelite cultures of the ancient Near East.

By including in the fourth division of this *Guide*, "Women and Womanhood in Hebrew Scripture—Books," anthologies as well as issues of periodicals, which contain three or more articles referring to women in Hebrew Scripture it was possible to avoid listing any collective work concerned significantly with the subjects of women in ancient Israel or feminist interpretation of Hebrew Scripture more than once. With respect to a number of works, whose connection with these subjects may be less than obvious from their titles, I have cited the specific relevant subjects touched upon in these books.

Division 5, "Women and Womanhood in Hebrew Scripture—Articles," lists articles found in both periodicals and collective volumes. This section lists articles that deal in some significant way with a) women or womanhood in Hebrew Scripture; b) feminist interpretation of Hebrew Scripture; c) the history of feminist interpretation of; or d) the critique of feminist interpretation of Hebrew Scripture. Readers will note the following: a) a few subjects such as the identity of the virgin or young woman mentioned in Isaiah 7 are discussed during every era from antiquity to the present; b) a few subjects such as Huldah the prophetess and women in the Israelite cult are discussed both in the 1890s and the latter part of the twentieth century; and c) a few subjects, such as feminine similes applied to God in Isaiah 4–66, are the subject of quite a number of studies during the 1980s.

Division 6 lists as yet unpublished masters essays and doctoral dissertations dealing with women or aspects of the life and experience of women in Hebrew Scripture. I highly recommend the perusal of masters theses and doctoral dissertations on women in Hebrew Scripture for two reasons. The first is the wealth of bibliography contained in many of these. The second is the frequency with which published scholars who are careful to quote everything

published are found to have, as it were, labored in vain to come up with a new idea, which was already presented in an unpublished thesis or dissertation.

Divisions 7–17 of this *Guide* (see Contents) deal variously with books, articles in periodicals and collective volumes, and dissertations, which touch upon a) specific named women in specific cultures of the ancient Near East; b) the role or roles of women in specific cultures of the ancient Near East.

Division 18 is a comprehensive bibliography of studies concerning Asherah prepared by Prof. Steve A. Wiggins as a by-product of the research leading to his book, *A Reassessment of Asherah*, AOAT 235 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1993). Asherah, it should be noted, is sometimes a cult object but often a goddess, or possibly, for some ancient Israelites the female consort of God. Unquestionably, interest in this deity was aroused by the discovery of references to her in a number of ancient Israelite inscriptions. There should, however, be no doubt that it was the combination of two factors, (a) the discovery of these inscriptions during the 1970s precisely when interest in woman in the biblical world increased tremendously; and (b) that dramatic interest in our subject, which account for the phenomenal number of scholarly books and articles dealing with A/asherah.

NOTES

1. For the more well-known personalities, who are likely to be discussed at length in the encyclopedia articles, commentaries, and in books or articles cited in Divisions 4 and 5 of this *Guide* I have provided no biblical references.
2. According to 1 Ch. 2:16–17 this is the same Abigail, who is described as the mother of Joab and Amasa in 2 Sam. 17:25.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	<i>Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes</i>
ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
AF	<i>Aegyptologische Forschungen</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages & Literatures</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
ARCE	American Research Center in Egypt
ARM	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i>
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BM	<i>Beth Mikra</i>
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCAR	Central Conference of American Rabbis
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i>
CTA	Andrée Herdner, <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i>
DBAT	<i>Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament</i>
DD	<i>Dor le Dor, the Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
EI	<i>Eretz Israel</i>

<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios biblicos</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>EVKomm</i>	<i>Evangelische Kommentare</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>HAR</i>	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
<i>HSM</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
<i>HSS</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Series</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IFAO</i>	<i>Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>IMJ</i>	<i>Israel Museum Journal</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, "Ex Oriente Lux"</i>
<i>JFSR</i>	<i>Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Jewish Law Annual</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KTU</i>	<i>M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Samartin, eds., Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i>
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i>
<i>MARI</i>	<i>Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>MDB</i>	<i>Le Monde de la Bible</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Memoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>

<i>MSL</i>	<i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</i>
<i>n.f.</i>	<i>neue folge</i>
<i>n.s.</i>	<i>new series</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis biblicus et orientalis</i>
<i>OBT</i>	<i>Overtures to Biblical Theology</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>OrAnt</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
<i>o.s.</i>	<i>old series</i>
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Old Testament Studies</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploratin Quarterly</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RHD</i>	<i>Revue historique de droit Français et étranger</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
<i>RivB</i>	<i>Rivista Biblica</i>
<i>RSF</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i>
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse/ Religious Studies Review</i>
<i>RT</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>SASAE</i>	<i>Suppléments aux Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>SBAP</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>SBL</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici</i>
<i>SR</i>	<i>Sciences Religieuses</i>
<i>STTh</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
<i>SWBAS</i>	<i>Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series</i>
<i>TBT</i>	<i>The Bible Today</i>
<i>TGUOS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Theological Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTS</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum Supplements</i>
<i>WJT</i>	<i>Westminster Journal of Theology</i>
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
 ZDPV *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
 ZEE *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*

1. GENERAL WORKS ON WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY

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