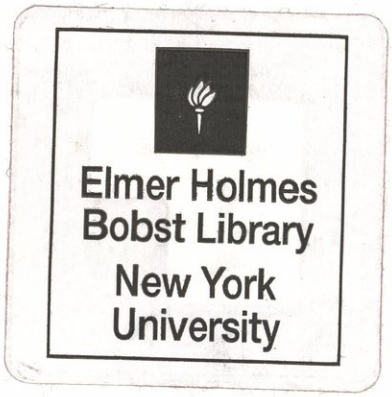
KAREL VAN DER TOORN

FAMILY RELIGION IN BABYLONIA, SYRIA AND ISRAEL

Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life




Elmer Holmes
Bobst Library
New York
University

FAMILY RELIGION IN BABYLONIA, SYRIA AND ISRAEL

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

EDITED BY

B. HALPERN AND M.H.E. WEIPPERT

VOLUME VII



FAMILY RELIGION IN BABYLONIA, SYRIA AND ISRAEL

Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life

BY

KAREL VAN DER TOORN



E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KÖLN
1996

BL
1625
.F35
T66
1996

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Toorn, K. van der.
Family religion in Babylonia, Syria, and Israel: continuity and change in the forms of religious life / by Karel van der Toorn.
p. cm.—(Studies in the history and culture of the Ancient Near East, ISSN 0169-9024; v. 7)
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 9004104100 (alk. paper)
1. Family—Religious life—Iraq—Babylonia. 2. Family—Religious life—Syria—Ugarit (Extinct city). 3. Family—Religious life—Israel 4. Babylonia—Religion. 5. Syria—Religion. 6. Israel—Religion 7. Bible. O.T.—Criticism, Interpretation, etc. 8. Excavations (Archaeology)—Middle East. I. Title. II. Series.
BL1625.F35T68 1995
291'.0939'4—dc20 95-45168
CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

The CIP data has been applied for.

ISSN 0169-9024
ISBN 90 04 10410 0

© Copyright 1996 by E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by E.J. Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface vii

1. Introduction 1

PART ONE

BABYLONIA:
THE FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY RELIGION

Introduction to Part One 11
2. Family and Household in the Old Babylonian Society 13
3. The Cult of the Ancestors: A Historical Focus of Identity 42
4. The Veneration of Family Gods: A Local Focus of Identity 66
5. Family Religion and the Individual: Theology and Ethics 94
6. In Good Days and Bad Days: The Comfort of Family Religion .. 119

PART TWO

SYRIA:
THE CONTINUITY OF FAMILY RELIGION

Introduction to Part Two 151
7. Family Religion in the West: Persisting Patterns 153

PART THREE

ISRAEL:
FROM FAMILY RELIGION TO PERSONAL DEVOTION

Introduction to Part Three 181
8. Family, Household, and Clan in Early Israelite Society 183
9. A Hidden Heritage: The Israelite Cult of the Dead 206
10. Religion before the Monarchy: The Gods of the Fathers 236
11. The People of Yahweh: Saul and the Rise of State Religion 266
12. Inventing a National Identity: The Exodus as Charter Myth 287
13. Integration and Opposition: Religion under the Omrides 316
14. In Search of New Identities: The Ephraimite Diaspora 339

15. Epilogue 373

PART FOUR

ABBREVIATIONS, BIBLIOGRAPHY & INDICES

Abbreviations 383
Bibliography 389
Indices:
Akkadian and Sumerian Texts 450
Aramaic, Canaanite, Ugaritic, and Moabite Texts 459
Bible and Apocrypha 461
Sumerian Terms 470
Akkadian Terms 471
Ugaritic Terms 474
Hebrew Terms 475
Theonyms 477
General Index 480

PREFACE

This book is the fruit of several years of research into the phenomenon of family religion in the ancient Near East. Some preliminary results were read as papers at the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature or published as articles in such journals as the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Vetus Testamentum*, the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* and the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. This monograph does not reproduce these publications, but integrates their central elements in what is meant to be a comprehensive treatment of family religion in ancient Babylonia, Syria, and early Israel.

The opportunity to turn my earlier studies and observations into a monograph was given me by the Faculty of Theology of Leiden University. Owing to a grant by the Netherlands Foundation for Scientific Research (NWO), and thanks to the willingness of my colleagues to temporarily release me from my normal duties, I was able to spend the major part of the academic year 1994-1995 at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) writing this book. As a member of the theme group on 'Magic and Religion in the Ancient Near East', I worked together with Tzvi Abusch, Wim van Binsbergen, Mark Geller, Shaul Shaked and Frans Wiggermann. It would be difficult to determine with any precision how much I owe to our weekly sessions and daily discussions, but I can hardly imagine a better and more stimulating atmosphere of scholarship. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the active part of the staff and fellows of NIAS in creating the nearly perfect environment in which we could pursue our research.

Other friends and colleagues should not go unmentioned. I could not have written this book without the help and advice of Bob Becking, Gary Beckman, Liz Bloch-Smith, John Collins, Diana Edelman, Joan Goodnick Westenholz, Baruch Halpern, Cees Houtman, Arie van der Kooij, Theo Krispijn, Dennis Pardee, Jan Platvoet, David Schloen, Mark Smith, Wilfred van Soldt, Marten Stol, Klaas Veenhof, and Hetty Zock. My gratitude goes to them all.

Wassenaar, 31 July 1995

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Breaking with the habits of earlier generations, historians of religion have been increasingly concerned in recent years with the description and analysis of the religious life of ordinary people. They no longer feel that they must be guided by 'considerations of religious merits' and that therefore it is their task 'to present evidence of the highest religious achievement' in the data which they study.[1] The challenge as many of them perceive it today is to bring to life the religion of the common man and the common woman. Ancient religions especially have too often been reduced to a hotchpotch of myth and ritual bearing little relationship to the forms of religious life as they actually existed. If the history of religions is to fulfil its role as a preserver and interpreter of past religious experience it should focus on the religions as practised in daily life.

My decision to write about family religion was made in the spirit of the above remarks. In the field of ancient Near Eastern studies little research has been done so far into the popular forms of religious life. With a few notable exceptions such as Rainer Albertz, most writers have cultivated other interests. When not absorbed by pure philology, cuneiform scholars have generally limited themselves to studies of the state cult and its theology. Biblical scholars, for their part, have hardly begun to rid themselves of the cloak of the theologian for whom historiography is essentially subservient to theology. One regrettable consequence of this state of affairs is a disregard for the interaction of state religion and family religion and for the formative impact of the latter upon the former. Owing to the historical conjunction of family religion and state religion, the study of the one is bound to lead to a keener appreciation of the other as well.

Religious Pluralism in the Ancient Near East

I have just made a contrast between family religion and state religion. Both the distinction and the definition of the two will not meet with undivided approval. It is necessary, therefore, to explain my reasons for choosing these terms.

---

[1] Quotations from Jacobsen 1976:4.

During the last twenty years there has been a growing awareness of the fact that many of the existing textbooks on ancient religions fail to do justice to their subject because they tend to see religion as the combination of the cosmology of the élite and the liturgy of the state cult. Though these are indeed religion, they are not more than a part of the entire complex of religion in a given civilization. No religion is a monolith; it is an assemblage of different clusters of beliefs, values, and practices, each cluster having its own niche in society. There is, in nearly every historical religion, an internal pluralism—pluralism because the diversity is tacitly accepted by most of the participants in the religious system.[2] Since the discrete clusters of beliefs, values and practices are at home in distinct social groups, it is possible to speak of 'domestic religion', 'city religion', 'royal religion', and the like. Despite this plurality of religions, the differences between them are not insurmountable. All these 'religions' are aspects of a single religious system; they are not separate entities, but hold together.[3]

In studies on the multi-layered nature of religions, the internal diversity is frequently framed as an opposition between 'official' and 'popular' religion.[4] While such a distinction may be appropriate when applied to religions with an established body of doctrine, adherence to which is the hallmark of orthodoxy, it is of little use when we are dealing with religions that have no dogmatics. Both the Old Babylonian and the Early Israelite religion belong to this class—as do most ancient religions.[5] It would be difficult to draw the line between official and popular in Israelite religion, especially since such a distinction—assuming it could be made—does not coincide with the distinction between normative and deviant as made by the biblical authors. The diversity within the ancient Near Eastern religions is better classified by its social setting. One could thus distinguish the religious practices performed by the family from those performed by the state; the religion of the one profession, such as the scribes, might be set off against that of the other; urban religion might be contrasted with rural religion; and in this way a series of oppositions could be delineated.

---

[2] Lanczkowski 1980:30-35.

[3] Note, e.g., the observations by Conrad 1980:486-488, who argues that 'personal religion' in Israel is to be seen as an aspect of the more encompassing whole of Israelite religion.

[4] Note, e.g., the title of a collection of essays edited by Vrijhof & Waardenburg, *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (Vrijhof & Waardenburg 1979). For Israelite religion see Segal 1976, who contrasts 'popular religion' with 'the established cult'. A similar opposition is implied by the title of Albertz' ground-breaking study *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion* (Albertz 1978).

[5] Though the term 'canonical' is sometimes used by Assyriologists of certain cuneiform texts, it does not qualify the latter as having absolute authority in moral and doctrinal matters.

In most studies that deal with the issue of pluralism in ancient religions, only two layers are distinguished. Albertz, to mention a pioneer in the field, speaks in the title of his book about 'personal devotion' as distinct from 'official religion' (*Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion*).[6] In connection with the Mesopotamian evidence, Lambert makes a comparable distinction by using the terms 'state' and 'private' religion.[7] Though more refined subdivisions have been defended,[8] I believe that the division in two components is indeed the most useful one. In recent research a case has been made for a tripartition: alongside 'personal' and 'official' religion, there would have been the category of 'local' religion.[9] Once it is acknowledged that the category of personal religion should be abandoned in favour of the notion of family religion, however, the phenomenon of local religion merges with the latter. As will become evident in the course of this study, there was such resemblance between ties of kinship and ties of co-residence that a distinction between them is often difficult to make. Those dwelling in the same village or the same city quarter tended to conceive of their interrelation as one of kinship. Though the distinction between family religion and local religion is in principle justified, it is of limited practical use in the cases of Babylonia and Israel.

My preference for the term 'family religion' over the more widely used notions of 'personal', 'individual' or 'private' religion follows from the fact that the religious involvement of individuals in the ancient Near East takes place nearly always in the context of the group of which he is a member. Ahlström's reminder that 'religion was the expression of the life of a community' is justified. 'The religions of the ancient Near East have too often been looked upon from the viewpoints of modern man who is unable to comprehend that private religions held little place in these oriental societies,' as the same author remarks.[10] Though the adjectives 'personal' and 'individual' should not be simply dismissed,[11] it must be borne in mind that in the ancient world 'a person was not an individual in our sense of the word.'[12] Individuals were first and foremost members of a group, the principal one being the family. The term 'private', finally, is infelicitous

---

6 Albertz 1978.

7 Lambert 1975:191.

8 Westenholz 1976 distinguishes four 'layers': popular religion, the religion of practitioners not attached to the temple, the religion of temple practitioners, and the official religion of the ruling family.

9 Thus Weippert, M. 1990:153; Albertz 1992.1:40-43.

10 Both quotations from Ahlström 1982a, foreword.

11 Cf. Chapter Five: 'Family Religion and the Individual'.

12 de Geus 1989:54.

because there was hardly any privacy to family religion. The Near Eastern civilizations were unfamiliar with contemplation or silent prayer; acts of devotion always had a public aspect.[13]

In view of the contents of the religious life of the common man and woman in Babylonia, Syria and Israel, 'family religion' seems to be its most appropriate designation.[14] Its two characteristic elements, viz. the cult of the ancestors and the devotion to a local god, were both at home in the family. The responsibility for the continued cult of the forefathers was normally incumbent upon the paterfamilias. At regular intervals all family members were involved in the rites. The special worship of a patron god was a family matter as well. This 'god of the father' was venerated by successive generations of the family; his cult belonged to its heritage, so to speak. Such data show that the social setting of what goes by the name of personal religion was the family. This fact is best reflected by the term family religion, the use of which is less fraught with misleading associations than that of alternative expressions.

Continuity and Change

The subtitle of this monograph ('Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life') shows that it is intended to be a study of the historical development of a religious phenomenon. Owing to the juxtaposition of three cultures (Babylonia, ancient Syria, and early Israel) it is at the same time comparative. This twofold approach requires a word of explanation.

A central thesis of this study is that family religion, despite local variations, displays very similar forms in Babylonia, Syria, and Israel, the main similarity being the conjunction of the cult of the ancestors and the worship of a family god. These three Near Eastern civilizations belong to a cultural continuum; they constitute, to borrow a term employed by some anthropologists, a field of ethnological study.[15] Ancient Syria, the civilization of Ugarit, and early Israel have a common Semitic background. To what degree their inhabitants are racially related is a moot question, but the fact that they have a common cultural heritage is not in doubt. Religion was part

---

[13] It may be of interest to note in this connection that the frequent expression *maḫar iliya akarrabakkum* does not mean 'I will pray for you to my god' (so the usual translations), but 'I will speak highly of you to my god'. The act of *karābu* ('to bless') is never performed in silence. Its intended effect was to increase the prestige of the beneficiary with god and man.

[14] Cf. Gerstenberger 1980:169 ('Familienglaube').

[15] See de Josselin de Jong 1977:167-168. Compare the notion of 'province ethnographique' used by Mauss & Hubert 1909:133.

of this heritage, as is clear from what has been called on occasion 'the common theology of the ancient Near East'.[16] Family religion in ancient Babylonia and family religion in early Israel are not incomparable. Modern Spain and mediaeval France, though centuries apart, share a European heritage which provides a basis for comparison; so do the Old Babylonian (2000-1500 BC) and the early Israelite (1200-700 BC) civilizations, the Ugaritic evidence (1450-1200 BC) serving as a middle term.

Against the background of a fundamental similarity the differences that emerge must be seen in correlation with the cultural specifics of the three civilizations, on the one hand, and the historical development of family religion in each of them, on the other. The times in which all religions were believed to follow the same evolution have long passed. We are well aware at present that historical developments are contingent upon historical circumstances and must accordingly be explained in regard to those circumstances. There are no general laws of development. To allow an understanding of the distinctive characteristics of Babylonian and Israelite family religion respectively, then, the study of the evidence is preceded in both cases by a description of the social and political setting. In this way, the dangers of a divorce of the religious phenomenon from its historical context can be avoided.

A truly diachronic approach to family religion is only possible to a limited degree for the religions of antiquity, simply because too much data are lacking to allow us to make a historical reconstruction. The approach followed here will therefore be diachronic only in part. The first part of this study consists of a description and analysis of Old Babylonian family religion from a synchronic perspective. A second part on Syrian family religion will serve as a transition to part three of the study, devoted to a description and analysis of Israelite family religion from a diachronic perspective. The terms 'Israelite' and 'Israel' are used here in their strict sense, as designations of what is also known as the Northern Kingdom or Ephraim. Though we must also work with imperfect data in the case of Israelite family religion, there is sufficient evidence to justify the attempt at a historical approach.

The at least implicitly comparative nature of this monograph is, in my view, essential for a proper appreciation of family religion in Israel. Without the knowledge of Old Babylonian family religion, it would be very difficult to interpret the few and mostly oblique references to family religion in the Bible. In the biblical texts as we have them, family religion has survived mainly as a substratum. Though its historical impact has been tremendous, as a study of the evidence will show, it might easily go undetected. Information

---

16 Smith, M. 1952.

about the role of family religion in neighbouring civilizations, however, focuses the eyes on the traces which Israelite family religion did leave in the Hebrew scriptures. Israelite family religion must of course be reconstructed on the basis of Israelite data, just as our knowledge of Babylonian family religion must come from Babylonian sources. Yet a conjoint study of Babylonian, Syrian and Israelite family religion throws the evidence for each of them separately into an unexpected and revealing relief, whether by contrast or by similarity, thus making us see more than we would otherwise.

Within the overall design of the book, each of its three parts fulfils its own role. In addition to being a description and analysis of Old Babylonian family religion, the first part serves as a phenomenology of family religion. Under the title 'The Forms and Functions of Family Religion' it is meant to lay the foundation for the study of both Syrian and Israelite family religion. The part devoted to Syrian family religion has its place in the larger whole in that it demonstrates 'The Continuity of Family Religion', as the intermediate section is called. The continuity in question is both historical (the centuries described falling between the Old Babylonian and the Early Israelite Periods) and topographical (Ugarit being the topographical link between Mesopotamia and Palestine). The third and most extensive part of the book has been called 'From Family Religion to Personal Devotion', since it describes the waning of the traditional forms of family religion and the emergence of a religion of personal commitment to beliefs and values that transcend the immediate interests of the family and the local community.

Religion as a Focus of Identity

An archivist can be content to collect and order his records; the work of a historian, I submit, is not exhausted by the mere collecting and ordering of data. It belongs to his task to make sense of the past. Though the attempt at interpretation might disqualify him as a scientist, it is a duty that may not be renounced.

The basis for any interpretation of the past—the basis, in fact, for history as a scholarly discipline—is the assumption that there is some common ground between previous generations and ourselves. Of course, they were different from us, and their lives and times unlike our own. Yet beneath the evident dissimilarities, we must assume the presence of some continuity by virtue of which their experience is somehow relevant to us. The axiomatic assumption of a common ground justifies our use of modern notions and concepts in the effort to read and organize the past. To bridge the distance between them and us we are forced to continually shift from their terms to

our terms and back. To remain wholly within their terms (which is more than a matter of words, because these terms reflect and perpetuate a certain vision of reality) would defeat all efforts at interpretation. We cannot understand cultures different from our own unless we appropriate them by an effort of translation. Scrupulous adherence to the rule of *Eigenbegrifflichkeit* would condemn us to incomprehension.

The notions of 'religion' and 'identity' were unknown to the inhabitants of the ancient Near East. Because they nevertheless figure quite prominently in this book, a brief comment is in order. The word religion is so commonly used in studies of ancient Near Eastern civilizations, that it is seldom realized that it is not a native concept. Religion in the modern sense of the term is an abstraction of a fairly recent date, since it did not gain currency until the Enlightenment. A certain measure of detachment was needed before religion could be perceived as a separate province of human culture, and the term developed its modern meaning.[17] When the Babylonians or the Israelites spoke about the 'fear of God'—the expression that approximates our notion of religion most closely[18]—they were referring to religious worship and the respect of moral values. In my use of the term, religion refers to the various notions, values and practices involving non-empirical powers. By this definition, the mumbling of a charm to regain potency is as much religion as the pious worship of an aniconic and sternly moral god; it will not do to reserve the term 'religion' for the latter, and to place the former in the dim domain of magic or superstition.

Unlike the concept of religion, which is meant to be descriptive, the notion of identity is primarily interpretative. I use the concept in much the same way as the anthropologist William A. Christian does in a study of saints and shrines in a Spanish valley in the 1960's.[19] Studying the popular devotion to various local saints, Christian discovered that it serves to reinforce a sense of local identity.

> The shrine image seems to engage the social self of its devotees. They approach the shrine not as individuals, but also as members of collectivities. The shrine ceremonies are social as well as religious statements, reaffirmations of identity and solidarity. For this reason they are supported by those institutions which are based in the territory of grace, institutions that depend for their survival or smooth functioning upon the sense of identity that the shrine devotion consolidates.[20]

---

17 See, e.g., Byrne 1989; Harrison 1990.
18 Pfeiffer 1955.
19 Christian, W. A. 1972.
20 Christian, W. A. 1972:46.

Such phrases could, with some slight adaptations, be applied to the Old Babylonian and early Israelite forms of family religion as well. They, too, were social as well as religious statements. It would be misguided to limit the treatment of ancient Near Eastern religion to its doctrinal and liturgical aspects while ignoring its social effects. The assertion and reinforcement of identity, personal as well as collective, was a dominant function of family religion in Babylonia and Israel.

Though the construction and consolidation of identity is an important aspect of religion, one should beware not to overrate the explanatory potential of the notion of identity. Some currents in the sociology of religion tend to do so. In a book published in 1976, Hans Mol presents what he called 'a sketch for a new social-scientific theory of religion' under the title *Identity and the Sacred*.[21] It is an important and at times provocative book which views religion as an instrument of sacralizing identity. Mol is quite right to stress that the search for identity is universal to all human societies (from 'the most primitive of tribes' to 'the most advanced societies'[22]), but he errs in positing it as the quintessence of religion. Religion fulfils a variety of functions. The sacralizing of identity is not the least of them, but certainly not the only one. Aside from the fact that religion cannot be reduced to its social functions, these functions themselves are more diverse than Mol suggests—unless one is prepared to accept an extension of the notion of identity to the point where it becomes a label with little meaning.

By highlighting the role of religion in the identity construction of its followers, then, I simply choose one possible angle from which to approach family religion in the ancient Near East. I do not wish to suggest that identity is the only category in which the function of family religion can be understood. Such things as the search for meaning, the sacralization of a moral code, and the need of moral comfort in times of distress are no less important in the practice of family religion. They will, in fact, receive due attention in this study. The reason why I have nevertheless chosen to focus on the notion of identity is related the modern concern with identity. Since the work of Erikson on psychological identity[23] and Tajfel on social identity,[24] the notion has entered the vocabulary of a great many people with no professional interest in psychology or sociology. By using it as a key to the understanding of ancient religion, I hope to demonstrate the value of the concept for our appreciation today of a religious phenomenon of the distant past.

---

21 Mol 1976.
22 Quotations from Mol 1976:2, 14.
23 See, e.g., Erikson 1968.
24 See, e.g., Tajfel 1982; Abrams & Hogg 1990.

PART ONE

BABYLONIA
THE FORMS & FUNCTIONS OF FAMILY RELIGION

INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

No place or period provides a more suitable entry to the study of family religion in the ancient Near East than Babylonia in the first half of the second millennium BC. In contrast with later periods and other civilizations, the Old Babylonian culture has left a huge amount of documents emanating from the private realm. Though these records do not have the qualities of the literary works from the stream of tradition, such as the Gilgameš Epic or the Story of the Flood, they are a precious source of information on the daily life of the Old Babylonian citizens. Family correspondence, letters to officials and to gods, cylinder seals with personal inscriptions, deeds of inheritance, balance sheets and records of litigation allow us a glimpse of family life in Babylonia.

Religion was one of the realities in the life of the family. Amid an abundance of references to economic matters, our records also contain information about religious rituals and beliefs. The perseverance which the collection and analysis of these data requires is rewarded by a compelling view of Old Babylonian family religion. The two elements of which it consisted were the cult of the ancestors and the veneration of a local patron deity. The one afforded the family a sense of continuity and tradition, the other provided a way of asserting and maintaining a local identity. Both aspects of family religion also had a legitimizing function. Through the cult of the ancestors, the paterfamilias was confirmed in his position as successor to his forefathers. The devotion to the family god, on the other hand, had the attendant effect of legitimizing the social station of the family, since health, wealth, and a good reputation were celebrated as his gifts. Because the ancestors and the family god were assumed to reprove or reward the conduct of the family members, the practice of family religion was conducive to compliance with the culturally accepted code of behaviour.

The family religion we get to know through the study of the Old Babylonian data is not the religion of a cross-section of the population. The channels of written communication were dominated by the upper classes, and it is their religion we learn about. It also has an urban bias, since most of these people lived in the cities. Despite the social imbalance of our information, however, it may be more representative of the general population than might be inferred from the above remarks. The middle and lower classes regarded the gentry, if we may use that term, as a model to emulate. Although the realities of their lives might suggest otherwise, their aspirations did not

greatly differ from those of the élite. Nor did their religion, presumably, even though it was practised with more modest means. The main form of religious involvement of the men and women in Babylonia was family religion. They held on to it, in good days and in bad days, at home or abroad, as to the one thing that would give them comfort and a sense of belonging.

CHAPTER TWO

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN SOCIETY

Being a social phenomenon, religion cannot be properly understood when studied in isolation from the social setting in which it functions. This rule is applicable to family religion as much as to any other form of religion. Unless we have a clear idea of the Babylonian family and its place in the Old Babylonian civilization, Old Babylonian family religion is bound to remain an elusive reality. The present chapter is therefore devoted to a description of family life in the Old Babylonian society.

The Old Babylonian City

For most Mesopotamians of the Old Babylonian period, life as they knew it took place in the city.[1] The city had been there as far back as they cared to remember: before kings reigned there were cities, antediluvian and defying the passage of time.[2] Its inhabitants could scarcely conceive of a civilized life outside an urban environment. Though one or two later texts may extol military life over life in the city ('the finest city food cannot compare with what is cooked on the embers, best beer, however sweet, cannot compare with water from the goatskin, a palace on a platform cannot compare with the shelters of [a camp]'[3]), the general sentiment around 1750 BC was the opposite; to most Babylonians, civilization was by definition urban.[4]

To form an idea for ourselves of life in an Old Babylonian city (u r u, *ālum*) we can draw on written and archaeological sources; for a handful of cities the two are conjointly available. Some Old Babylonian cities have been the subject of a methodical investigation from the literary as well as the archaeological angle; as a result we have a fair idea of certain aspects of life

---

[1] For general presentations of Mesopotamian civilization in the Old Babylonian period see Klengel 1991 and Kozyreva 1991.

[2] For the notion of cities predating the institution of kingship (or the descent of kingship from heaven, as the Mesopotamians put it), see Jacobsen 1939; Hallo 1970.

[3] *Erra* I 57-59. For English translations see Dalley 1989:282-315; Foster 1993.2:771-805.

[4] On the earliest Mesopotamian cities see Adams 1966; Redman 1978; Nissen 1983:41-139. For discussions of the Mesopotamian city in general see Brentjes 1968; Oppenheim 1969; 1977[2]:109-144; Stone 1991; Postgate 1992:73-87.

at Ur,[5] Nippur,[6] and, on the middle Euphrates river, Mari.[7] The textual data that lay at the basis of a demographic study of Sippar, near Babylon, can now be supplemented by an increasing number of archaeological data.[8] The extant information on most Old Babylonian cities, however, is of either the one kind or the other, and always fragmentary. Therefore, a synthetic view of Old Babylonian city life can be obtained only by means of a combination of scattered data, infused with a semblance of life by an informed effort of imagination. In this, the data of previous and later periods are of some help, since the Old Babylonian city is the heir of the third millennium cities and leaves its legacy to later periods.[9]

One of the dominating features of the Old Babylonian city was its wall (*dūrum*). The city wall offered seclusion as much as protection: it constituted a frontier between the inside and outside, and stood as a symbol for the city itself. That is why, to celebrate the city of Uruk, the Gilgameš Epic chooses to sing the praises of its imposing walls (I i 16-19; XI 303-305). The surface area within the walls was not entirely built-on; according to the Gilgameš Epic 'one square mile is city, one square mile is orchards, and one square mile is claypits' (XI 306-307). Though this division of Uruk, schematic and reflecting a specific moment in time, is not simply applicable to other cities, there is evidence of a considerable amount of undeveloped land within the walls of other cities as well.[10] Sippar, for instance, had various fields, orchards, and pasture areas within its perimeter.[11] The extra space was used in times of war to accommodate those from outside the city who took shelter within its walls;[12] spare room was necessary as well for the extension of houses as families grew.[13]

Just outside the city walls were the suburbs which offered accommodation to the overflow from the city and to the semi-permanent encampments of sheep 'nomads'. According to the Instructions of Šuruppak, 'the houses

---

5 Van de Mieroop 1992. Though more restricted in scope, Charpin 1986 is an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of life at Ur.

6 Stone 1977; 1981; 1987.

7 Research on Mari, both literary and archaeological, is still in full swing; the volumes of *MARI* (started in 1982) inform on current insights into aspects of life at Mari.

8 For a demographic study see Harris 1975. After a brief period of—hardly successful—French excavations at Sippar (Abu Habba) in 1894 and following years (see Harris 1975:xii and n. 1; Scheil 1902), excavations were resumed in October 1978 by the College of Arts, Baghdad University. For reports see 'Excavations in Iraq' in *Iraq*.

9 For a useful survey of the archaeological evidence of cities in the late Old Babylonian period see Gasche 1989:109-143.

10 Cf., e.g., AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 331 r. 5', and cf. the commentary *ad loco* by Charpin.

11 Harris 1975:20.

12 See von Soden 1989:306; Charpin, in AEM 1/2:364.

13 See Jacobsen, commentary to proverb 2.144, in Gordon, E. I. 1959:486.

of the outer city prop up the inner city.'[14] The saying, implying that the imposing elements need the support of the humble ones, conveys the image of a conglomerate of houses built close to the outer side of the city wall. These outgrowths of the city could be enclosed by a secondary wall. Distinct from both the city and the suburbs is the *kārum*, originally designating the harbour where goods were unloaded (*kārum* means 'quai'), but by Old Babylonian times the term for the local trade centre and the merchants in charge of it; the often foreign traders enjoyed administrative independence and had a separate legal status.[15]

One or several gates afforded entrance to the inner city (called *libbi ālim*). Its plan consisted of a maze of narrow and often tortuous streets, about two metres wide, criss-crossing the city from wall to wall. Though laid out in what comes close to a rectangular grid, these roads and alleys often followed a sinuous course owing to natural variations in the terrain. Houses on each side marked the gradual transition from the public to the private domain—if street and domestic area may be so defined. The relatively small houses[16] were turned inward: a door, preferably unobtrusive, gave on to a reception room (perhaps known as the *papāḫum*[17]). Penetrating further into the house, the visitor would find a square yard with cooking facilities. Alongside the yard were storage rooms, and at the back of the house the living quarters and the bedroom.

The temple of the city god, situated on what was usually the most elevated part of town,[18] dominated the silhouette of the city.[19] As the principal monumental building, the temple could be regarded as the heart of the Babylonian city. Historically, the Mesopotamian city seems to owe its origin to the temple: the ideology according to which the god was owner of the land, and the citizens his servants, was the key to success of the earliest Mesopotamian cities.[20] Remnants of this theological vision are still present in the Old

---

14 The Instructions of Šuruppak, line 264. See, e.g., Alster 1974:48-49.

15 On the *kārum* see Kraus 1958:81-82; Hirsch 1975; Oppenheim 1977 [2]:116; Kraus 1984:324-326; Michel, C. 1994.

16 On Old Babylonian houses see Heinrich 1975, § 6; Harris 1975:22-37; Postgate 1992:88-108; Krafeld-Daugherty 1994.

17 See Durand 1987:58-61; but cf. Meier, S. A. 1988:220 (dining-room); von Soden 1975:138 (storage room?); Prang 1976:25 (bedroom?); Wilhelm 1995 ('a magazine in a building').

18 Stone 1991:237.

19 On the architecture of Mesopotamian temples see Heinrich & Seidl 1982.

20 The presumed Sumerian ideology of the temple-state has been reconstructed by Falkenstein in his influential essay *The Sumerian Temple City* (Falkenstein 1974), originally published in 1954 under the title 'La cité-temple sumérienne' in the *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 1:784-814. More recent presentations stress the fact that the temple was not the only land-owner; see, e.g., Foster 1981.

Babylonian period: the temple was a major land holder, and possessed a variety of great riches; many a citizen depended on the temple for his livelihood. Yet for all his impact on life in the city, the divine inhabitant of the temple remained mostly inaccessible to ordinary citizens; they communicated with him (or, less often, her) by written statements or through the agency of intermediaries. Only on holidays was a closer contact possible. New Year was the most prominent among the festivals; on that occasion the city god left his temple for a procession along the monumental road that led to a chapel just outside the city. On such days people thronged around the temple area and at the sides of the procession road; there were musicians, acrobats, and wrestling contests; the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding countryside had a few days off; they met and had the opportunity to strike up new acquaintances.[21]

In addition to the main temple, most cities could boast the presence of a variety of secondary temples and chapels scattered over the various quarters and neighbourhoods.[22] Such sanctuaries have been found in Ur,[23] Nērebtum (modern Išchāli),[24] Šaduppum (Tell Harmal, on the fringes of modern Baghdad),[25] Ešnunna (modern Tell Asmar),[26] Tell ed-Dhibā^{c}i (ca. 10 km east of Baghdad),[27] and Isin.[28] Most of these ceremonial buildings are quite simple, consisting of an open courtyard and a covered sanctuary, in the back wall of which is a recess for the cult statue. They usually possess an altar; some of them have a room for votive gifts and images of protective demons affixed to the entrance. Sir Leonard Woolley, the excavator of Ur, qualifies many of these buildings as 'public chapels' and compares them to the wayside shrines of a Roman Catholic town.[29] In the absence of written evidence, the gods to whom these chapels were dedicated can usually not be

---

21 The only monograph on the Babylonian New Year festival is Pallis 1926. It should be used with circumspection, since both the relevance of the collected data and their interpretation by Pallis are debatable. More recent surveys include Falkenstein 1959; Black 1981; van der Toorn 1990; Pongratz-Leisten 1994. It should be stressed that our knowledge concerning the new year festival is based almost exclusively on first millennium sources.

22 See, in addition to the literature mentioned in the following notes, Wiseman 1960; Barrelet 1978:274-275; Heinrich & Seidl 1982.1:167-202; Heinrich 1983. It is not impossible to interpret some of the alleged 'domestic shrines' (see, e.g., the references collected by Albertz 1978:252 n. 152 and Heinrich & Seidl 1982.1:193-196) as public chapels.

23 Heinrich & Seidl 1982.1:190-193 (with references to further literature).

24 Hill & Jacobsen 1990:79-82.

25 Heinrich & Seidl 1982.1:189-190 (with references to further literature).

26 Mayer-Opificius 1979; Heinrich & Seidl 1982.1:190.

27 Mustafa 1949.

28 An Old Babylonian building in Bauteil 5 (Hrouda 1981:37) is interpreted by Mayer-Opificius 1984:145 as a street chapel, perhaps dedicated to the god Sùd.

29 Woolley 1976:30-32.

identified.[30] A text from our period found at Sippar records the dedication of a sanctuary (é, *bītum*) by one Nūr-Ilišu 'for his god' Ḫaniš-and-Šullat.[31] The chapel was not for personal use only; Nūr-ilišu appointed a fellow-citizen as its priest, and promised never to dispute the latter's title to the priesthood.[32] The foundation and maintenance of such a shrine, open to the public, was an act of private charity. Other texts, from different places and later periods, show that the existence of privately financed shrines is not limited to the Old Babylonian period.[33] Their founders may have expected divine benevolence as their reward in addition to an increase in their social prestige.

The appointment of a specialized priest, referred to in the Sippar text just mentioned, reflects a division of labour that is characteristic of urban society. Though most families made their own bread, the professional baker catering to the needs of the temple only,[34] all kinds of other services were provided by specialists. The Codex Hammurabi mentions physicians, veterinary surgeons, barbers, house builders, ship builders, brick makers, smiths, carpenters, shoemakers (CḪ §§ 215-224, 253-274), and all of these professions (often part-time) are found in the records of daily life. There were also scribes, potters, butchers, innkeepers, brewers, tanners, goldsmiths and craftsmen of various other kinds.[35] Though the presence of a market is doubtful,[36] it is evident from the texts that silver was used as a means of payment.[37] In the city were shops and taverns, some of them owned by women, where such money could be spent.[38] Those active in the same occupation tended to exercise their profession in the same quarter.[39] A relatively large labour force was active in the city's work-house (*nupārum, nepārum*) or 'mill' (*bīt ararrim*), which also served as a place of detention. Here slaves, distrainees, and prisoners of war performed the menial tasks of

---

30 Note that the so-called Ḫendurša ga chapel at Ur was in reality dedicated to a goddess, see Van de Mieroop 1992:140.

31 The binomial Ḫaniš-and-Šullat (or more commonly Šullat-and-Ḫaniš) occur both as one god, similar to the Ugaritic Kothar-wa-Ḫasis, or as two deities. I interpret *a-na i-li-šu* in line 7 as a singular referring back to Ḫaniš-and-Šullat. For the god(s) see also Gelb 1950; Edzard & Lambert 1975.

32 CT 6, 36a, Bu. 91-5-9,704, cf. Schorr 1913, 220; Renger 1969:114-115.

33 See, e.g., Arnaud 1991, 87.

34 Van de Mieroop 1992:134.

35 For a survey see the indices of titles and professions in publications of Old Babylonian texts, such as Harris 1975:391-394; Simmons 1978:89-90; Greengus 1979:95-96; Feigin (& Oppenheim) 1979:65-69.

34 See Veenhof 1972:351-357; Kozyreva 1991:106.

37 See Sweet 1958; Kupper 1982; Veenhof 1987:66 n. 14.

38 Harris 1975:20-21.

39 Cf. the scribal quarters at Ur and Nippur, for which see Charpin 1990b; Van de Mieroop 1992:165-166.

grinding barley and weaving cloth, usually in the service of the palace or the temple.[40]

Daily Life in the Babylonian City

If life in the city held more attractions than an existence in the country, it was by no means a life of ease. Unless the city's ruler achieved great success in his military campaigns, the city could not boast great riches. Its inhabitants led a sober life. Their diet consisted of cereals, onions, garlic, and porridge, milk and butter, fish, and modest amounts of meat.[41] We hear of large amounts of beer, but most of it was of second rate quality; people drank it in part out of necessity, because most of the water was unhealthy.[42] The furnishings of private houses were not luxurious. Judging by the items mentioned in wills and marriage contracts, there were reed-mats, cushions, and a limited number of wooden pieces such as a table and chairs, in addition to cutlery, a grindstone and an oven.[43] Clothes, for most citizens, were simple. In the better-situated families the women wore jewellery; those less well off had to borrow their ornaments if they wanted to make an impression at the city festivals.[44]

In the modern perception, the phenomenon of the city is often associated with the threat of anonymity and isolation. Such was hardly the danger in the Old Babylonian city where the average population did not exceed four thousand souls.[45] The major inconvenience of the city was the lack of privacy. Houses gave directly on to the street, and the walls between the one house and the other were insufficient to deaden the noise of family life. Literary counsels advising not to get involved in the quarrels of the neighbours convey a glimpse of life in a city neighbourhood; it was not easy to keep domestic disorder a secret for others. In characteristic anthropomorphic manner, the Babylonians ascribed a special desire for quiet to their gods. The

---

40 See van der Toorn 1986a, with references to further literature.

41 The data surveyed by Bottéro in his treatment of the Mesopotamian cuisine (1983, § 2) apply for the major part to the higher strata of society.

42 Röllig 1970:64-76.

43 For an almost encyclopaedic répertoire of furniture and domestic utensils see Salonen, A. 1963; 1965, 1966. For an assessment of the furnishings of an ordinary house see Klengel 1991:117-118 and Postgate 1992:191-192. The *enûtum* (furnishings) records drawn up on the death of the owner of a house convey a general idea of the simplicity of the furniture of most Mesopotamian houses, even those of high officials, see Michel, C. 1994:289-290.

44 Note the warning in the Instructions of Šuruppak, lines 213-216, against choosing a wife during the festival, because her apparel may well be borrowed. For the interpretation of the text see Wilcke 1978:227-228.

45 See the calculation in Postgate 1992:80.

flood had been brought down upon mankind, according to the Old Babylonian Atraḫasis Myth, because the human creatures made too much noise; the din kept the gods awake. The mythological theme reflects a central concern to the people of the time. Refuse was another problem in the densely populated cities;[46] the importance attached to a pleasant scent and the metaphorical qualification of improper behaviour as 'malodorous'[47] reveal a sensitivity to smell almost as acute as that to noise.[48] A priest had to have a clean and fresh scent in order to be pleasing to the gods, a rule based on the assumption that gods reacted quite like humans.[49]

During the day the sounds of city life hardly ever subsided. As soon as dawn had broken the hum of daily life began. After the first meal of the day people went out to work; some to their shops in the city, others to the palace or the temple—the two 'great organizations', as Oppenheim called them—, others yet to the fields just outside the city walls. In the inner city vendors sang the praises of their goods, cart drivers ordered people to get out of their way, while children produced the noise that usually attends children's games.[50] All came to a temporary rest at noon, at the hour of the siesta. People returned home to find coolness and rest, and the gates of palace and temple were closed; sleep was prohibited only to the guardians of the gates.[51] In the late afternoon, as the worst of the heat had subsided, life began anew. The second meal of the day was eaten, and people returned to their chores. Later still they would gather in the city gate which served as the city's square, or in one of the bars, mostly run by women.[52] At nightfall the

---

46 Cf. the comparison of unfounded incriminations to 'filth' in TCL 18, 86 [33] *ḫuḫḫiātim* [34] *immuḫḫiya lā tutabbaki*, 'do not heap filth on me.'

47 *ša ana eṣēnim la naṭâ*, AbB 2, 115:12-14; see also Alster 1991:50, line 84 (n í g - ḫ á b is 'odorous behaviour'). Note also that some of the Mesopotamian cultic food taboos are based on the smell caused by certain products, see van der Toorn 1989:351-352. Cf. also Cassin 1968:125-126.

48 See *CAD* Z 150-151 s.v. *zû* for references to excrements and refuse. One of the cleaning implements was the broom of date spadices (*CAD* S 326 s.v. *sissinnu*, 2; Landsberger 1967:18-19). Water was used to sprinkle (*salāḫu*) floors, and presumably to clean them.

49 See Goetze 1968:25 lines 1-10, about the use of cedar resin by the priest.

50 Young girls before the age of marriage 'are at leisure to play, and play every day. They jump around ..., the street resounds with their cry,' according to YOS 11, 92:7-12. See also Borger 1991:34, line 13, speaking about 'the city squares where the playing did not stop.' For a survey of children's games see also Landsberger 1960:119-129.

51 For the siesta in general see the references in *CAD* M/2 s.v. *muṣlalu*. Among the texts to be added is AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 298:42-43 *muṣlalam inūma sikkāt ekallim nadê*, 'at the hour of the siesta, when the bolts of the palace are closed.' Note also the observations by Durand in AEM 1/1:342-343.

52 For the bar see *CAD* A/2 s.v. *aštammu*. Note also Harris 1990:224-225 n. 26; Meier, S. A. 1988:93-94.

gates were closed and silence settled in. Woe to the lonely traveller outside the city; neither god nor man would protect him.[53]

The Family and the Household

The basic nucleus to which the Babylonian belonged, whether he lived in the city or in the country,[54] was the family (*bīt abim*).[55] It was the social and emotional centre in the life of the Babylonians,[56] providing them with a corporate identity nothing else could replace: the family constituted a group of people participating in the same 'flesh and blood', to quote the words of a central metaphor. Those who shared in this 'flesh and blood' were 'brothers'. Everybody else was a 'stranger' (*nakrum*), being 'foreign' (*aḫûm*) to the family.[57]

The dimensions of the Old Babylonian family are not clearly defined; usually the term *bīt abim* refers to a nuclear family consisting of a man and his wife and their two or three children (polygamy was exceptional, and children in excess of the number of three above average). Grown up and married, having themselves become parents, children continued to refer to their own family as part of their ancestral *bīt abim*. Unlike the word *qinnum*, 'nest', which also serves as a designation of the family, the notion of *bīt abim* has both a synchronic and a diachronic dimension. At a synchronic level, its semantic range covers both the 'nuclear' or the 'extended' family.

The family is referred to as the 'house of the father' (*bīt abim*, Sumerian é a d - d a), the paterfamilias being its most prominent member. His role had two aspects: within the family he was the highest authority, and to

---

[53] At night 'the noisy population has become quiet, the doors that were open are barred. Gods of the land, goddesses of the land, Šamaš, Sîn, Adad and Ištar have receded into the lap of heaven; they give no judgment, they decide no cases. The night is veiled, the palace is hushed, and the open country is deadly still. The wayfarer calls to the god, but He who is beseeched keeps on sleeping; the true Judge, Father to the orphaned, Šamaš has gone off to his bedchamber.' From the Old Babylonian Prayer to the Gods of the Night, lines 2-15. For a full translation and references to the current editions see Foster 1993.1:146-147.

[54] For an illustration of the role of the family in the traditional society of the Amorites see ARM 23, 496.

[55] On the family see Sjöberg 1967; Kraus 1973:47-48; Gelb 1979; Stone 1981; Wilcke 1985:219-241; Diakonoff 1982:37-48; 1985; Donbaz & Yoffee 1986:66-67; Glassner 1986; Leemans 1986; Powell 1986; Stone 1987; Stone & Owen 1991:1-11.

[56] The attachment to the family transpires in the sentences which this father wrote in a letter home: 'Don't you know that someone abroad is eagerly awaiting messages from his home?' (TCL 17, 19 [10] *kīma alānû ana šipirtim* [11] *ša bītišu uznāšu ibaššiā* [12] *attā ul tidē*).

[57] Cf. Van Lerberghe & Voet 1991, 77 [27] *anāku ana aḫiya kâta* [28] *ul aḫiāku* [29] *šīrka u dāmūka anāku*, 'I am not foreign to you, my brother, I am your own flesh and blood'; Whiting 1987, 11 [3] *anāku aḫuka* [4] *šīrka u dāmūka* [5] *anāku nakrum* [6] *nakarma* [7] *anāku anā awātīka* [8] *azzaz u attā* [9] *awātī šime*, 'I am your brother; I am your own flesh and blood. A stranger would be hostile, whereas I support you; now you pay attention to my affair.'

society at large he represented the family; the position was taken by 'the oldest male member in full possession of his faculties'.[58] He held 'paternal authority' (*abbūtum*, n a m - a d - d a). Acting as the head of the family, he was their spokesman in court and took part in the sessions of the city elders —if the family enjoyed sufficient social standing to have a representative among the elders. 'Paternal authority' did not at all times devolve upon the actual father. On occasion, the eldest son would hold the position. Witness some of the literary sources, the 'big (i.e., eldest) brother' (p a $_4$ or š e š - g a l) had a position of great authority, even during the lifetime of his father.[59] This tallies with the fact that the Sumerian also has a special term for the eldest brother of the father, viz. p a b i l g a, literally the 'oldest big brother'.[60] Though the Sumerian terminology has been interpreted as reflecting an archaic fratriarchy,[61] there is no indication of the existence of fratriarchal structures in the Old Babylonian family. Testamentary texts from later periods show that women could also be given the juridical status of father; there is no convincing way in which these arrangements can be interpreted as relics of a matriarchal age, either.

The Old Babylonian family is patrilinear (inheritance is through the male line) and patrilocal (the wife goes to live with her husband and his family). Though the influence of women in the family could be great, judicial authority lay with the men. The women of the family had to remain in the background, having their domain in the private quarters of the house (to be distinguished from the reception area at its entrance). A man expected his wife not to behave as 'a woman who goes out' (*wāṣītum*). Officially, the city's public facilities (such as the gate and the bar) were open to her; yet it was understood that most of these were places a well-bred woman would not visit, except on special occasions. Modesty, submissiveness, and a sense of decency were impressed upon the Babylonian wife as cardinal virtues.[62] Daughters were to display similar qualities from a young age onward; only at celebrations and festivals was there a climate in which they might freely mingle with the men folk—a temporary permissiveness which sometimes led to undesired, if predictable, results.[63]

---

58 Gelb 1979:58.

59 Wilcke 1985:221 n. 12.

60 Edzard 1960:253-258; Sjöberg 1967:212-219.

61 So Edzard 1960:255, reviving an idea that was earlier defended by Koschaker 1933.

62 See Finet 1973b.

63 According to a paragraph of the Middle Assyrian Laws, 'violation' (here a juridical term for sexual intercourse without the legitimacy of marriage) might take place during the 'city festival', see Driver & Miles 1935:422-423, § 55. A bilingual incantation from the first millennium BC refers to the Ardat lilî demon as 'the girl who did not rejoice with the other girls, who was not seen at the festival of her city' (*SbTU* 2, 7:5-6).

The nuclear family was part of the larger network of the clan (*kimtum*, Sumerian i m - r u - a or i m - r i - a).[64] Such a clan could be dispersed over several cities.[65] Members of the clan were under the obligation to help one another. Even if the ties of kinship were thin, as long as one was family, one was entitled to its protection against outsiders.[66] An example of an appeal to kinship solidarity is found in the letter which announced the arrival of Sîn-abušu in Sippar. The man did not know a soul in the city, and had to rely on the hospitality of his wider kin-group to provide him with lodgings, which is why he needed a letter of introduction. Its writer informs the addressee that he has sent this Sîn-abušu to Sippar, 'to you', and insists that the man be treated as family: 'That man is no stranger to us; he is our brother, from among our own clan (*kimtum*). Provide him with a decent guest-house and treat him correctly; his heart must not be bitter.'[67]

The family inheritance followed the male line. A man's part in the inheritance qualified him as a full member of his family group. The males of the extended family had coparcenary rights to its land.[68] It followed that transactions in which a portion of the land changed ownership had to be witnessed by all share-holders. This exclusively male society was also present on other occasions of great moment, such as the division of the patrimony among the children. Middle Babylonian inheritance texts from Emar are explicit in their reference to the 'brothers' in whose presence a man announces his will; since his possessions are part of the clan it is only reasonable that the clan members should be present.[69] Old Babylonian texts are not as explicit. Yet prosopographical research shows that here, too, the witnesses often belonged to the family of the testator.[70] Women are rarely mentioned among those witnessing the act: their share in the clan property was merely indirect, either through their fathers or through their husbands.

---

[64] The word *kimtum* may refer to the nuclear family, as in TCL 18, 81 ([4] *aḫatka imtūt* [5] *ummaka marṣatti* [6] *u Sîn-magir mārī imtūt* [7] *kuštannima* [8] *kimtī lā iḫalliq* [9] *[tam]karūtum lā itabbalu*, 'Your sister has died, your mother is ill, and my son Sîn-magir has died. Come here! My family should not perish; the creditors should not take along (its remaining members).' The letter is perhaps a school exercise, and thus not 'real', see Kraus 1964:28-29). (Other terms yet, such as *salātum* (*salūtum*), can be used for the still wider web of kinship established by matrimonial relations. On the various terms see Kraus 1973:47-49.

[65] Cf. TCL 18, 85 [18] *ina ālim šâti kimtī* [19] *u aḫī attāma*, 'In that town your are my family and brother.'

[66] Cf. TCL 17, 21 [31] *kīma aḫam u qerbam* [32] *[l]ā išû epšēku*, 'I have been treated like somebody who has neither brother nor relative.'

[67] AbB 12, 144 [15] *awīlum šû* [16] *ul nakarniāšim* [17] *aḫuni libbu kimt[ini]* [18] *bīt napṭ[arim ṭ]ābam* [19] *š[u]kuššum* [20] *ittīšu išāriš* [21] *dubub* [22] *li[bb]ašu [l]ā im[a]rraṣma.*

[68] See Van de Mieroop 1992:154, 170; cf. Donbaz & Yoffee 1986:66-67; Falkenstein 1956, 201.

[69] See Durand 1989a:170 n. 23.

[70] Cf., especially for the older period, Bottéro 1971:104-110.

The contrast perceived between kin and non-kin made the need for solidarity within the kin group all the more important. When the world outside is seen as dangerous and inimical (to the point where the language does not distinguish between 'foreigner' and 'enemy', both being referred to as *nakrum*), division within the family cannot be tolerated; it would be harmful to all its members. Hence the unwritten code of conduct commends filial obedience, fraternal solidarity, and parental care as essential virtues.[71] Internal strife and dispersion of the family were dreaded as major evils: to oust people from their clan (*kimtum*), or to disperse a united family (*qinnu puḫḫurtu*) would inevitably elicit a curse from the gods.[72] The dwindling of family values (*aḫḫūtum*, literally 'brotherhood') to the point of extinction is an apocalyptic horror believed to occur only in times of great distress.[73] At such times 'the son will not concern himself about the father's well-being, nor will the father about the son's; a mother will happily plot harm for her daughter.'[74] In the worst of all scenarios, famine would disrupt family solidarity to the extent where a mother would not open the door to her daughter, but would be watching the scales at the latter's sale; children would be served up for dinner, as the one house consumed the other.[75]

In the early Babylonian civilization, which combined a devotion to family values with a strong sense of public propriety, open conflicts within the family were regarded as a disgrace. Children were to 'honour' (*kubbutum*) their parents and to provide for their needs; disobedience and disrespect were severely punished.[76] The woman who married into the family was to respect her husband and to comply with the wishes of his parents. No family is impervious to tensions and quarrels, however. To reconcile the reality of family discord with the ideal of undisturbed harmony, the Babylonians sought to blame forces outside, or on the fringes of, the family when conflicts came to light. Public scandal was avoided, or at least minimized, by mythological explanations. Demons might be invoked as the cause of the trouble or, more characteristically perhaps, witchcraft and the evil eye.[77] Such explanations exonerated the principal members of the family and helped to maintain the illusion that the family did not suffer from internal division but from attacks by outsiders.

Solidarity was in the first place a matter regarding the men of the family:

---

71 Cf. van der Toorn 1985:13-14.
72 *Šurpu* II 52-53.
73 *SbTU* 3, 90:48 (*Šumma izbu*).
74 *Erra* IIC 33-34.
75 *Atra-ḫasīs* 1 12 S v 18-26, and see Lambert's commentary on p. 166 for parallels.
76 van der Toorn 1985:14.
77 See Walters 1971; Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85-87.

discord could be conceived of, perhaps tolerated to a degree, if it had been instigated by the women having been married into the family. All the men of the kin group were 'brothers' (*aḫḫū*); they were supposed to honour their 'brotherhood' (*aḫḫūtum*). The feminine equivalents of these expressions were seldom used: outside the nuclear family women rarely spoke of one another as 'sisters', nor did they pledge loyalty to their 'sisterhood'. Patrilinearity and patrilocality characterized the Old Babylonian family. In the Babylonian perspective women were either temporary or associate members. Daughters would eventually marry and leave the family, and wives who had joined the family originally belonged to a different family. Even if they were expected to live up to the same standards of loyalty as the men, their position was not the same. Women were regarded as the vulnerable elements in the familiar cell; in cases of alleged sorcery or debauchery and dissolution, they were almost invariably the first to be suspected.[78]

The domestic situation of the Old Babylonian family is not uniform; it differs from period to period, from city to city, and even from neighbourhood to neighbourhood. A clear distinction must be made between house and household; one house could provide room to more than one household, each of them centred around its own 'fireplace' (*kinūnum*).[79] In cities like Ur and Nippur, there was both nuclear family residence and multiple family residence.[80] If the situation at Ur can be taken as the rule, the Old Babylonian houses measured about 100 square metres. In earlier periods houses were more spacious (about 400 square metres at Fara and Abu Salabiḫ), which may reflect a development from extended family residence toward nuclear family dwelling. Also in cases of nuclear family residence, though, it is clear that families endeavoured to stay close together. It was popular wisdom to have a vacant lot adjacent to one's house; when the children married and needed houses of their own, they would at least remain neighbours.[81]

Even where houses were built for single family residence, the extended family or the 'clan' followed a pattern of residential propinquity. One of the excavated quarters of Old Babylonian Nippur shows evidence of occupation by kinsmen and retainers of one given family.[82] Familial households in Ur,[83] Kiš,[84] and Nippur[85] consisted, on an average, of twenty to forty persons. In

---

78 Cf. Greengus 1970.
79 See Postgate 1994:62.
80 See Stone 1981; Diakonoff 1985; Charpin 1989.
81 Jacobsen, *apud* Gordon, E. I. 1959:486.
82 Stone 1987:126-127.
83 Diakonoff 1985:48.
84 Cf. Ki 1056, edited and discussed by Donbaz & Yoffee 1986:57-69.
85 Stone & Owen 1991:2.

Ur, these corporate families lived in clusters of adjacent houses.[86] Such clusters of houses compare to the *darb* (plural *durūb*) of the traditional Islamic city, i.e., the alley or cul-de-sac around which the houses of related families were built.[87] In the Babylonian cities, too, related families often lived in proximity to one another.[88]

The neighbourhoods or sections of the city (the so-called *bābāti*, *bābū*, *bābānu* or *bābātu*, singular *bābtu* and *bābu*) were inhabited by groups formed around one or more families or an institution. It would be untrue to say that ties of consanguinity united all those living in the same neighbourhood, yet the family was the social model of the interhuman relations within the ward, as evidenced by the early second millennium counsel to treat 'the son of the ward' (d u m u - k á - g i$_4$ - a) as a brother (š e š - g i n$_7$).[89] On occasion, the ward served as a substitute for the family, as in the case where a man, having lost his own son, adopted a neighbour to be his heir.[90] The neighbourhoods were villages in an urban setting; their existence favoured the maintenance or emergence of residential communities with a number of related interests. In this respect the city may be called a conglomerate, not of individuals, but of separate groups.

An indication for the continuing importance of the larger kin group in the urban civilization of ancient Babylonia is the common ownership of land. The existence of collective land property, owned by extended family households, goes back to the third millennium.[91] The coparcenary rights of the clan to land property can be inferred from the large number of sellers mentioned in third millennium deeds of purchase.[92] Witnesses to the transaction were either related to the seller—so mostly—or the buyer.[93] In any event they were always from the neighbourhood.[94] The alienation of land was subject to certain restrictions, because it belonged to the inheritance of the clan.[95] Therefore, when a sale did occur, the transaction was accompanied by

---

86 Diakonoff 1985:59-63.

87 See Wheatley 1976:355-356.

88 Diakonoff 1972:52.

89 van Dijk 1953:104 A vi 14.

90 TCL 17, 29 [16] *lā libbi ilama* [17] *mūtum bēli nišī* [18] *māršu itbal* [19] *mār bābišu ša* k á - d i n g i r - r a^{ki} [20] *ana eqlim* (a - š à-*im*) *kirîm* (g i š - k i r i) *u bītim* (é) [21] *[a]na aplūtišu iškun*, 'Unfortunately Death, lord of men, has carried off his son. He has installed as heir to his field, garden and house someone of his ward in Babylon' (translation K. R. Veenhof).

91 As argued by Diakonoff and others. See, e.g., Diakonoff 1971:17.

92 Gelb 1979:69; see, e.g., Edzard 1968, 107 i-ii (one 'house' acts as seller); Cf. Bottéro 1971:91-96.

93 Krecher 1980b:493; Steinkeller 1989b:107.

94 So Bottéro 1971:106-108, elaborating on the term l ú - m e š k i - i n i m - m a.

95 Steinkeller 1989b:128.

ritual acts designed to create a symbolic bond integrating the buyer with the seller and his kinsmen. By means of gifts and a communal meal, offered by the buyer, the latter became in a sense a member of the clan.[96] There was an effort, then, to maintain the illusion that the land remained 'in the family'. By Old Babylonian times these ideas and customs had still not fallen into abeyance. According to sources from Ur, the average group of landholders consisted of eight men; which means, as matter of consequence, that the extended family consisted of 30 to 40 persons.[97] Only close agnatic kin were entitled to buy fields; adoption was the main legal device by which this principle was circumvented.

The data on the residential propinquity of related families, as well as the interpretation of the land of the family as an almost sacred clan inheritance, shows that the individual in Old Babylonian society derived identity not so much from his own household, but from the kin group of which his family was a part. His portion in the land of the fathers was proof of his rightful place within that community. That is why people at Sippar, when forced to sell their land, kept a small part called the *ezibtum*, 'left over', as a symbolic share in the family estate.[98] The clan (or the kin group, if a more general term is preferred) provided a link, too, between the individual and the wider community in which he lived—first the neighbourhood and then, usually, the city. The society he lived in may be visually represented as concentric circles; from circumference to centre there were the city (or, in the case of the country, the land or the tribe); the neighbourhood (or the village); the house or compound of houses; and, finally, the individual household.

The Social Stratification

Families and clans were part of the wider network of Old Babylonian society. The structure of that society was not egalitarian. In the Old Babylonian city—and in the Old Babylonian civilization in general—several hierarchies can be distinguished. The first stratification to be discussed is social, the second political, and the third religious. Though correlated, these stratifications are best separately dealt with.

Each man and woman in the Old Babylonian society had a proper station in one of the three strata of the social hierarchy which, provisionally, may be referred to as the upper, middle and lower classes.[99] The existence of an upper class is evident from the designation of certain people as *kabtum*

---

96 Bottéro 1971:109; Steinkeller 1989b:142-144.
97 Diakonoff 1985:48.
98 See Oppenheim 1969:15.
99 For a fundamental discussion see Kraus 1973:92-125. See also Yaron 1988:132-154.

(literally 'weighty'); a *mār kabtim* is a man of importance. These notables are often mentioned alongside the 'palace' (*ekallum*) or the 'king' (*šarrum*) and the man of substance (*rabium* or *rabûm*).[100] Though they have influence with the king, they cannot be reduced to mere royal servants. They are best described as the aristocracy out of whose midst the king had arisen, and which formed his principal support group.[101] In texts from the Old Babylonian city of Mari, the group is referred to as the *qaqqadātu* ('chiefs'),[102] the *wēdûtu* ('notables'),[103] or the *mārē damqūtim* ('nobility' as opposed to 'the poor fellows', *eṭlūtum lapnūtum*).[104]

The usual term for a member of the social élite is *awīlum*. In addition to its current meaning 'man' or 'human being', the term is a social appellation best rendered as 'gentleman'.[105] The designation has moral overtones. In business, one is to behave as a *mār awīlim*, which means that one is to adhere to certain ethical and social standards.[106] The code of behaviour of the *awīlum* makes no clear distinction between ethics and etiquette: an *awīlum* should know how to behave decently; he should not look greedily on food and on beer when invited to dinner.[107] Likewise a 'lady (*awīltum*) should conduct herself 'in accordance with [her] *awīlūtum*-status'.[108] The prestige of the *awīlum* is not based on wealth alone; it is wealth in combination with a sense of rectitude, generosity, and munificence. The *awīlū* were originally the landed gentry; though many of them had earned their riches through commerce, they looked upon their position as inherited. Theirs, they believed, was a prominence by tradition, protected by the gods and beneficial to society.[109]

---

100 On the *kabtum* and *rabium* see Kraus 1984:245.

101 See *CAD* K s.v. *kabtu*; Kraus 1973:118; Walters 1971:35-36.

102 See *CAD* Q 107 s.v. *qaqqadu* 3; Kraus 1973:118; Stol 1976:78.

103 *CAD* E 34-35 s.v. *edû*, adj.; ARMT 22, 127:5-6; AEM 1/1 (ARM 26), 150:10; AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 414:23.

104 ARM 2, 1:15-23 (for a translation of the letter see Oppenheim 1967b:106-107); Kraus 1973:118-119; Durand, in *MARI* 3 (1984):277; Durand, in ARMT 21:518; ARM 23, 620:2; 621, cf. p. 578 for discussion.

105 *CAD* A/2 55-56 s.v. *amīlu* 3; Kraus 1973:117-122; van der Toorn 1985:111-112. Note also on l ú, the Sumerian counterpart of *awīlum*, Jacobsen 1993.

106 UET 5, 81:16-23 'What do you take me for, that you treat somebody like me with such contempt? I have sent as messengers gentlemen like ourselves (*mārī awīli kīma nêti*) to collect the bag with my money (deposited with you) but you have treated me with contempt by sending them back to me empty-handed several times, and that through enemy territory.' Translation Oppenheim 1967b:82. See also Oppenheim 1954:12-13.

107 CCT 4, 28a [30] *uzan* [31] *Amur-ilī piti palāḫam* [32] *lū ide ana* n i n d a *u* k a š [33] *lā idaggal lū awīl*. For a transliteration and translation of the complete letter see Ichisar 1981:229-231.

108 AbB 12, 117:113.

109 Cf. the appeal in an Old Babylonian letter addressed to a group of nobles: 'Because the god has accepted your prayers, you are now gentlemen and men of property; all your affairs have prospered' (AbB 3, 52:19-21). Even if the author of this letter was merely

A member of the aristocracy regarded himself as quite superior to the *muškēnum*. By itself, the term *muškēnum* denotes the 'population' in the most general manner. The king, referring to his subjects, speaks of the *muškēnum* as a collective; they are 'his' *muškēnum*, i.e., his subjects.[110] It is in the king's interests to act in such a way that the 'opinion of the subjects' (*pî muškēnim*) should not turn against him.[111] There is no trace of condescension here; the term *muškēnum* is used neutrally, so to speak, to refer to 'inhabitants of the land'.[112] When *muškēnum* appears in contrast with other terms, however, it assumes the nuance of 'underprivileged'. Thus the population known as *muškēnum* is contrasted with the 'strong' (*dannum*), that is wealthy, citizens;[113] they are opposed to the 'notables' (*wēdûtu*);[114] and to the men of eminence (*kabtum*).[115] To speak of the *muškēnum* as 'weak' or 'powerless' ('I have not hastened to take anything by force from the powerless *muškēnum*'[116]) is almost a redundancy.

The most common pair of opposites is that of the *muškēnum* versus the *awīlum*. In contrast with the *awīlum*, the aristocrat in position and manners, the *muškēnum* is the commoner who is common in his behaviour.[117] Even though the *muškēnum* need not be wholly without means, he is considerably removed from the *awīlum*—in the eyes of the latter, that is. Some statements suggest that there was no common measure: 'I am a *mār awīlim* whereas he is a *mār muškēnim*: how could he possibly return my favour?'[118] The relationship between *muškēnum* and *awīlum* is similar to that obtaining between the Roman *cliens* and his *patronus*: the former 'serves in the gate'

---

flattering, the view here expressed was certainly held by the *awīlū* in question.

110 Cf. Charpin 1993:176 no. 4:23.

111 AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 408:54; cf. ARM 10, 152 r. 10; ARM 27, 1:24. See also AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 418 r. 11'-12' ('the eyes of the people [*muškēnim*] are looking at My Lord'). Note also the mention of the offering 'of the population (*mu[škēnim]*)' alongside the 'offering of the king' (*nīq šarrim*), see Birot 1980:142, i 24.

112 Note the association between l ú *muškēnum* and d u m u - m e š *m[ātim]* in Bonechi & Catagnoti 1994:74, no. 38 (reference M. Stol).

113 ARM 27, 25 12 *u* l [ú] *dannumma ša kīma šêm išû wašib* 13 l ú *muškēnum enšum ša kīma šêm lā išû* 14 *ana nārim ittalkam*, 'And whereas the wealthy ones who possess grain stay in place, the poor *muškēnum* who do not possess grain have gone to the river.'

114 ARM 14, 81:38-39; AbB 1, 89 29 *muškēnūtī* 30 *ul tide* 31 *u* l ú *wēdāta pidi alkam*, 'Do not you know that I am a *muškēnum*? You, however, are a notable: come to my rescue!'; AbB 4, 154:22-24.

115 de Meyer 1982:274 11 *ina amat šarrim* (text: *šarrum*) *ina amat kabti* 12 *ina amat muškē[nim]*; Kraus 1984:178 § 15 and commentary Kraus 1984:245-246.

116 Durand 1991:18, A. 3696 13 l ú *muškēnam enšam* 14 *ina emūqim la aḫmuṭuma la ʿelʾ[qu]*.

117 Cf. the derogatory overtones of Italian *meschino* (wretched creature, miserable fellow) and French *mesquin* (mean, shallow, paltry, petty), both going back, via Arabic *miskin* (poor), to Akkadian *muškēnum*.

118 AbB 3, 33 22 *anāku mār awīlim šû mār muškēnim* 23 *ina minîm gimillī uṭâr*.

of the latter in return for his protection.[119] Evidence from Nērebtum (Išchāli) suggests that one could also be a 'retainer' (*muškēnum*) of a temple.[120]

If the *muškēnum*, in respect to the *awīlum*, stands for the Babylonian middle class, the lower class is generally said to consist of slaves (*wardum*). The *locus classicus* for this social tripartition is the sequence *awīlum*, *muškēnum*, *wardum* found in several paragraphs of the Codex Ḫammurabi.[121] The social distance between slaves and members of the élite can be measured by the expression of indignation over the fact that the testimony of a slave is relied upon for the extradition of 'gentlemen'.[122] Slaves were not the only ones in the class of the economically and socially underprivileged. Many people not having the benefit of property or a professional training were hardly better off than slaves, even if they were free. They had to hire themselves out to whoever was looking for unskilled labourers: as shepherds, cultivators, and non-specialized craftsmen.[123] Prostitutes, waiting for clients at the crossroads and in the shade of the city wall, belonged to this category as well;[124] so did most prisoners of war. The texts do not reveal much about the lower stratum of society; in spite of its numerical importance, it remains largely unknown. No study on Babylonian religion can overcome the handicap of our one-sided information: knowledge of the religion of important segments of the population is denied to us.

The social stratification of Old Babylonian society coincides in large measure with the unequal distribution of material wealth. In later times, the term *awīlum* came to mean 'rich', and *muškēnum* 'poor'.[125] This economic nuance is not wholly absent in the Old Babylonian usage of the terms: writing to his god, an individual complains that his brothers have not come to his rescue even though he is a *muškēnum*;[126] the fact that one is a *muškēnum* should suffice to elicit pity.[127] The *muškēnum* was known, indeed, to be

---

[119] AbB 11, 82:17-20 ('My status as a *muškēnum* allows me to serve at the gate of My Lord; let My Lord not turn me down, and let me not serve at the gate of Kubburum, who kills me'). The relationship between *awīlum* and *muškēnum* is such that the latter may ask the former for 'charity' (*usātum*), i.e., a charitable loan, AbB 1, 89:26-31.

[120] Hill & Jacobsen 1990:80.

[121] CḪ §§ 196, 198-199, 209, 211, 213; 215-217; 221-223.

[122] TCL 18, 90 [12] *ana pî wardim* [13] *mār awīli ittanaddinū*, 'Are free citizens being extradited on the testimony of a slave?'

[123] Klengel 1971:42-43.

[124] *Gilg* VII iii 19-21; cf. Bottéro 1992:193-194; Lambert 1992.

[125] Cf. *SbTU* 3, 94:43 *išarru awīlūtam illak*, 'He will become rich and attain the status of *awīlu*'; Arnaud 1986, 213:10-11 'Since the death of my husband, I am poor (*muš-kè-na-ku*) and I have contracted debts.'

[126] AbB 12, 99:11-12.

[127] See AbB 4, 154 [24] *aḫulamma muškēnum*, 'Have mercy! He is poor.' Cf. TCL 17, 37 [35] *ʿkīmaʾ abī idû* [36] *muškēnēku* [37] *abī ina nītim ša ālim liṭēranni* [38] *lā udabbabūninni*, 'As my father knows, I am a *muškēnum*. Let my father save me from the grip of the city;

'weak' (*enšum*).[128] It was incumbent upon the king, according to the prologue of the Codex Hammurabi, to protect 'the weak from the mighty (*dannum*)' (CḪ i 37-39). These terms have economic implications, just as their Sumerian equivalents s i g and k a l a g.[129] They indicate that the middle and lower classes tended to coincide with an economic underclass. Some people were so desperately debt-ridden that they even sold their children into—what they hoped to be a temporary—slavery.[130] Nor was the presence of beggars in the streets of the Babylonian city an unknown phenomenon.[131] In spite of the dishonour incurred by taking alms, sheer hunger reduced some people to beggary.[132] Other paupers waited for the evening when they could go out and scavenge the streets unobserved.[133]

The Political Hierarchy

The second hierarchy shaping Old Babylonian society was political; it coincides largely with the social hierarchy, since the king[134] might be viewed as the representative of the upper class. Predictions in the omen literature mention the possibility of a *muškēnum* seizing the throne.[135] The event was unusual (for which reason one finds it mentioned in the omen literature); the ruler was normally a *mār awīlim* from an established family. He refers to his underlings as the *muškēnum*, which suggests that he regarded the *awīlū*, at least to some extent, as his peers.[136] Also, the administration consists largely of members of the upper class. Qualified as *mārē damqūtim*, they are found in texts from Mari as court dignitaries[137] and leaders of the royal army.[138]

The power of the king was such that he could receive epithets normally

---

they must not harass me any longer.' For the interpretation see Kraus 1973:124-125.

128 Durand 1991:18, A. 3696 13 1 ú *muškēnam enšam* 14 *ina emūqim lā aḫmuṭuma lā ʿelʾ[qu]*.

129 Jacobsen in Gordon, E. I. 1959:485-486, commentary to proverb 2.141.

130 CḪ § 117. See on this subject Stol 1983b:13-15; Kienast 1980.

131 See Wilhelm 1990:520 n. 78. See also the following notes.

132 According to the Instructions of Šuruppak, lines 139-140 'The utterance of a curse afflicts only the outside, but almsgiving kills.' For the interpretation see Wilcke 1978:220-222 and cf. Römer 1978:185. Another Sumerian proverb says that 'To stretch out (the hand) begging is an aberration (n í g - g i g) against Ninurta,' Falkowitz 1980:245-246, proverb 3.175.

133 'The widow scavenges evenings on the road for something to eat,' Falkowitz 1980, proverb 3.19.

134 On kingship in Mesopotamia see Garelli 1974.

135 Nougayrol 1971:71 9' *mār muškēni kussâ iṣabbat*.

136 Kraus 1973:120-122 stresses the links between the *awīlū* and the palace to the point where they all become part of the royal administration.

137 According to ARMT 23, 620 the king hosted 21 d u m u - m e š *damqūtim* at his table.

138 Lafont 1985:162.

used for gods. In letters from Mari the king is called 'my star' or 'my sun', star and sun being usual qualifications of gods in theophoric personal names.[139] The sheer divinity ascribed to the king is made explicit in a number of ways. The turn of phrase 'May the king act as it pleases his divinity'[140] could still be interpreted as a form of flattery. But the oath by the king instead of, or along with, the god is indicative of the sphere of influence the human ruler is credited with. The matter deserves to be noted, especially since the king can also be mentioned in the place where one normally finds a reference to the personal god of the individual. Cylinder seals carry the name of their owner, his patronymic, and the name of his god. Instead of the expression 'servant of Šamaš' (or some other god), many seals read 'servant of Hammurabi' (or some other king). The significance of these occurrences will be probed in another chapter; suffice it to remark here that the devotion to the king may be connected to his divine status.[141]

Though the king is at the apex of the political hierarchy, he does not wield absolute power. The social élite (consisting of such men as the *kabtum* and the *rabium*) also had its share of influence; run-away slaves might seek refuge in the palace, or with the *kabtum* or the *rabium*.[142] These men of importance could grant judicial proceedings,[143] which suggests that they acted as chiefs and judges.[144] Indeed, in one or two Old Babylonian texts the *kabtum* is mentioned in parallelism with *dayyānum* ('judge').[145] Since the judiciary was not a profession but an honorific office, the judges are aptly characterized as a 'standing committee' of some of the more prominent members of the community.[146] The judges did not have the same authority as the king, yet their influence was far-reaching. If a good reputation was essential for a happy life in the Babylonian city, it was especially important to be well-considered by the *kabtum* and the *rabûm*.[147] According to texts of a later period people might even resort to magical means to win their favour.[148]

---

139 See Durand 1984:132.

140 See D. Charpin in AEM 1/2:233, note r).

141 On the divinity of the king see also Jacobsen 1943; Sjöberg 1972; Wilcke 1974:179-180; Hallo 1988; Veenhof 1988. For the ideology of kingship in the early Old Babylonian period see Römer 1969.

142 Walters 1971:35-36.

143 UET 5, 246, cf. Kraus 1955:133.

144 It should be noted that there was no rigorous separation between the judiciary and the executive in ancient Mesopotamia.

145 See MSL 1:93 *Ana ittišu* VII i 37 lú-g[ur$_4$ eg]ir-a-ni nu-u'n-tar = *kabtum arkassu ul iprus*; cf. line 39: di-kud di-[b]i nu-un-kud = *dayyānu dīnšu ul idīn*.

146 Oppenheim 1967a:12.

147 AbB 3, 22:29-31.

148 Abusch 1985.

The so-called 'elders' (*šībūtum*) formed another body with political power counterbalancing, to some degree, that of the king.[149] They were in part conterminous with the circle of the 'judges'. The title 'elders' does not mean that these men were all senior citizens; they did, however, all belong to the local élite.[150] Unlike the judges, they did not need to be formally recognized or appointed by the king. The elders of the early second millennium are the heirs of the third millennium institution of the city council (u n k e n) of which all the family heads of the city (a b - b a [a b b a$_x$] u r u) were members.[151] They represented the city to the king, advising him in all relevant matters. Without their approval, the king could not easily reign. It is probably wrong to call this a form of democracy, even if primitive; what it amounts to is an aristocratic control of the exercise of royal power.

Many matters of the civil administration were settled at a level beneath that of the city as a whole, viz. that of the ward or the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood, called *bābtum* (Sumerian d a g - g i$_4$ - a) or *bābum* (k á) in Babylonian, i.e., 'gate', had its own jurisdiction and responsibilities.[152] Headed by a *rabiān bābtim*, 'leader of the ward',[153] or a *ḫazannum*, 'alderman, burgomaster',[154] the ward regulated its own local affairs, from sanitation to security. Minor cases, such as a divorce procedure, might be settled by the neighbourhood court.[155] The 'man of influence' (*kabtum*) of the ward, who acted normally as its judge, was expected to represent and defend the interests of the neighbours vis-à-vis the city authorities.[156] These neighbourhoods, whose structure was indistinguishable from city quarters,[157] can be regarded as the institutional layer between the city and the individual families.

---

[149] On the elders in Old Babylonian times see Klengel 1960; 1989.

[150] Lafont 1985:162 notes that in texts from Alalaḫ the terms 'elders' (*ši-bu-*m e š-*šu*) is used interchangeably with 'notables' (l ú - m e š - s i g$_5$ = *damqūtu*).

[151] Römer 1980:42 commentary to line 3 (with references to further literature); Gelb 1984.

[152] Donbaz & Yoffee 1986:67. See also *CAD* B 10-11 s.v. *babtu* (1. 'quarter of a city, neighborhood, ward'); 22-23 s.v. *bābu* (2. 'city quarter'), and add to the references BE 17, 86: 19-24 *ul nakarum šû aḫuya ... apil* k á-*ya*, 'He is no stranger, he is my brother ... living in my city quarter.'

[153] Stol 1976:80.

[154] On the equivalence of these terms see Klengel 1960:366 and n. 1.

[155] Driver & Miles 1952.1:242-244; Diakonoff 1971:29. For the role of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood as witnesses see Veenhof 1976:160.

[156] Cf. VAS 22, 85 18' *ipâdūninnima* 19' *3 ūmī kabtum ša ina* k á-*kunu* 20' *tazzissu* 21' *ul izzizunim* 22' *wākil tamkārim izzizamma* 23' *ušāṣianni*, 'They locked me up and for three days the 'man of influence' whose station (* *tazziz-su*) is in your ward—they did not come to my rescue. The inspector of the merchants came to my rescue and released me.' Cf. Kraus & Klengel 1983:54-55.

[157] Adams 1969:188. Stone 1987:3-4 compares the Old Babylonian neighbourhoods to the residential quarters of pre-industrial Muslim cities; these Muslim neighbourhoods consist of between 500 and 1000 inhabitants, and have their own mosques and bath-houses.

The Religious Hierarchy

The third hierarchy in the Old Babylonian city is religious; once again, it must be noted that there is a substantial overlap with the two previously mentioned hierarchies. Leo Oppenheim has formulated the theory that the city developed as landed owners began to maintain 'town houses' at nearby sanctuaries, and eventually moved their main residences there. Thus there would have emerged 'a community of persons of equal status living in symbiosis with a cultic center.'[158] The hypothesis is attractive in view of the evident ties in Old Babylonian times (and later) between the main temple of the city and the city's social élite. Though the god is patron of the entire city, his temple is run in fact by the established upper-class families of the city.[159]

The links between the city temple and the city élite brings up the question of the relations between temple and palace. It is generally held that kingship is a later development in Mesopotamia, having been preceded by the rule of the high priest (the Sumerian e n).[160] In this construction of the historical development, the advent of kingship is often regarded as having led to a kind of dualism, the temple remaining an independent centre of political power. There is little evidence to support this idea, however. The physical distance between temple and palace in a number of cities is no valid argument, since the palace had usually to be built on new premises.[161] According to the liturgy of the Babylonian New Year festival, known from late first millennium copies, the chief priest (*šešgallu*) of Marduk slapped the king on the cheek and heard his confession at the beginning of the first month of the year.[162] Yet this fact should not be interpreted to mean that the king was inferior to, or even kept in check by, the priest. The supervisor (*šangûm*) of the temple was in fact appointed by the king.[163] Also, the palace had apparently complete records of, and unrestricted access to, temple property.[164] A king was likely to feel that this was as it should be, since it was his responsibility to keep the temple in good repair.[165] Though in theory the king was in the

---

158 Oppenheim 1977[2]:113-114.

159 See Van de Mieroop 1992:234-235. An Old Babylonian letter from Mari refers to eighty 'leaders' (*qaqqadātu*) who abused their privilege of access to the temple of the city goddess, AEM 1/1 (ARM 26), 256; around 1200 BC at Emar, the temple of the city god 'Ninurta' was under the control of the 'elders', also referred to as the 'city'. In Neo-Babylonian times, the temple was run by a college of 'nobles' (*mārē bānî*), see Joannès 1982b:112, 174.

160 See Jacobsen 1957.

161 See Postgate 1992:137.

162 Cf. van der Toorn 1991:333.

163 Renger 1969:180 n. 1920.

164 Gallerey 1980:18-19; note her reference to Falkenstein 1963:50.

165 Van de Mieroop 1992:96.

service of the city god, the reverse was true in practice: the temple provided religious legitimacy to the king.[166] In the hierarchy of status the temple may have ranked higher than the palace, but in the hierarchy of power the palace was superior to the temple.

To grasp the significance of the religious hierarchy and its social constitution, it is necessary to understand that the role of the temple in the Old Babylonian society went well beyond the realm of devotion. The temple is not the Mesopotamian equivalent of our synagogue or church; it was literally the 'house' or 'palace' of the city god. Being one of the two 'great organizations', the temple was an important economic, judicial, and administrative centre.[167] There was hardly a safer place to put one's money than the temple treasury: the god himself would keep watch; embezzlement would amount to hierosylia. The temple served as a bank of savings for wealthy citizens,[168] for merchants as a bank of commerce, and for people in financial need as a bank of loans.[169] Temple loans to the needy did not bear interest; their records often leave the date of reimbursement open, saying that the debtor will pay 'on the day the god has shown him favour'.[170] A religious terminology is also used for commercial loans to which Old Assyrian merchants refer in their letters: they are called 'votive gifts' (*ikribū*), since they are eventually to be returned to the temple.[171]

The importance of the temple as a centre of finance followed from its role in the city economy. By the Old Babylonian period the city god had long ceased to be the sole formal owner of the city and its land; yet the temple domains were still impressive. The temple of the moon god Nanna at Ur can be cited in example.[172] It owned land inside and outside the city; many of its fields were rented out for a fee or a share of the harvest; likewise, most of its date orchards were cultivated by tenant farmers. The enormous herds of sheep and goats owned by the Nanna temple were assigned to the care of professional shepherds. Another source of income for the temple derived from the marshes in the vicinity of Ur; they were a quarry for fishermen and reed-cutters. The temple had a special house (the Ganunmaḫ) and a granary for storing its wealth; the former harboured the temple taxes and votive gifts,

---

166 Hallo 1966; Klíma 1978:209-214.

167 A selection of the extensive literature on the subject includes Kraus 1954; Postgate 1972; Lipinski 1979; Charpin 1982; Kozyreva 1991:107-108.

168 Bogaert 1966.

169 Oelsner 1974:262.

170 Harris 1960; Veenhof 1987:58-62; Skaist 1994:172-180.

171 For a description of the system and the terminology see Veenhof 1977:113-114; 1987:61.

172 Based on Van de Mieroop 1992:77-105.

whereas the granary was the place for cereals and bread. In addition to its non-movable property, the temple had votaries who worked as millers and weavers in the temple's 'workshops'; they consisted of prisoners of war, widows, children from impoverished families, and the like.[173] Loans to traders, bearing an interest, resulted in a further increase of the temple's possessions.

The survey of the possessions of the temple lends a certain urgency to the question concerning the destination of these riches; who stood to gain by the temple's wealth? The theologically correct answer to the question would be: the god of the temple and his divine entourage. Since the gods fed on the sight and the scent of their offerings, most of the temple's income was left for humans to use. What remained after the expenditures for personnel and maintenance served as a reserve capital from which the entire community was potentially to profit. The temple aided indebted farmers by means of loans without interest; citizens who had ended up as prisoners of war were ransomed with temple money (CḪ § 32); those who had suffered severe losses on account of robbery were indemnified from the temple funds.[174] The temple adminstration, drawn from the *awīlū* of the city, had the right of decision in such matters; a royal appointee, the *šatammu*, served as liaison with the palace;[175] in practice, the king had the right of veto.

Judicial matters were dealt with in the temples, too, in the main one at the level of the city and in the neighbourhood shrines at the level of the neighbourhood or ward (*bābtum*).[176] The presence of the god, in the form of an image or some other symbol, endowed the proceedings with a lustre of legitimacy and solemnity. Since the Babylonians did not distinguish between civil law and criminal law, all kinds of cases were brought to the temples: allegations of larceny, inheritance disputes, and suspicions of marital infidelity could all be dealt with in the temple of the city god.[177] Along with the judiciary, the chiefs of the city (*qaqqadāt ālim*) could be present at the

---

173 Gelb 1972.

174 According to CḪ § 23 the restitution was made by the *ālum* and the *rabianum* after an official declaration 'before the god', i.e., under oath. It is not said where the money came from.

175 Gallerey 1980:19.

176 On the role of the central temple as place of judicial litigation cf. Christian, J. B. 1969:58 no. 18 [20] *awīlū kīma ša dīnum u dayyānu* [21] *lā ibaššû* [22] *itepšū* [23] *šumma ina [kit]tim* [24] *abī attā* [25] *ana Larsam ṭurdaššunūtima* [26] *ina bīt* [d]*Šamaš* [27] *dīnam lišāḫizū*[r]= *šunūti*[ʾ]*ma* [28] *šumma ḫibiltašunu* [29] *ibašši* [30] *ina dīn* [d]*Šamaš lilqû*, 'The men have acted as though there were no lawsuit or judge. If you are truly my father, send them to Larsa that they might investigate their matter in the temple of Šamaš; and if they have suffered injustice they will receive compensation by the verdict of Šamaš.'

177 Klengel 1976a:72.

deliberations.[178] The distribution of justice was based on the consensus of the judges and the chiefs composing the leading élite of the city. Records of the proceedings were usually kept in the temple archives. When physical evidence prevented a matter from being brought to the temple, the case was nevertheless adjudicated in the presence of the god by means of the divine weapon; this weapon was simply carried to the place of litigation; the parties involved made their statements in front of it.[179]

In the religious hierarchy the temple stood at the top; society as a whole, including the authorities, had to bow to it. In reality, the religious hierarchy appears to have had a primarily symbolic function. From the intimate ties of the established upper class (the *awīlū* out of whose midst the 'elders' came) and the palace with the temple it is evident that the effective power lay with the king and the city élite. The institutionalized religion of the day, embodied in the temple, veiled the effective hierarchy of power: it offered the citizen the image of a stern yet merciful god who reigned supreme, bestowing his kindness on all alike, irrespective of their status or position. Before the god, every citizen, including the king, was a slave.[180] In the real world, however, equality was an illusion. All through the Old Babylonian period society remained divided in classes based on wealth and prestige.

Outside the City

Due to the provenience of most of our sources, the Old Babylonian society may appear to have been thoroughly urbanized and quite sophisticated. There was also a world outside the city, however; life in the villages and encampments was as much a part of the Old Babylonian civilization as life in the city. In the mind of the urban population, the division of the Old Babylonian society in an urban and a rural element tended to coincide with the distinction between Akkadians and Amorites; the former were the traditional inhabitants of the cities, the latter the 'nomads' who felt at home in the open country.[181]

The average Old Babylonian city had a hinterland with which it was in close contact. Spread out over the countryside were various villages and encampments; though politically dependent upon the city, they enjoyed a relative autonomy in their administration. The distinction between a city and

---

178 AbB 10, 161:6'-10'.

179 Harris 1965; Van Lerberghe 1982; Spaey 1993.

180 It is entirely in line with the idea of 'equality before God' when later the qualification 'beggar' (*pisnuqu*) is used by Nabonidus to qualify himself in relation to the god (VAB 4:68, line 19).

181 According to Finkelstein, J. J. 1969:53 n. 1 the term 'Amorites' could simply refer to the 'rural population'.

a village is not always clear in the language: the world *ālum* may refer to either a city or a village, which suggests that the differences between them were gradual. A specific designation of the rural settlement is *kaprum* (é - d u r u $_5$); another term is *dimtum* (a n - z a - g à r) which, in distinction from *kaprum*, refers to a place with fortifications (*dimtum* means 'tower').[182] The main characteristic which distinguishes both the *kaprum* and the *dimtum* from the *ālum*, it seems, is the homogeneity of the village population in contrast to the diverse origins of the city dwellers: the *kaprum* and the *dimtum* are clan settlements, inhabited by members of the same kin group and their retainers.[183]

In some cases there is evidence to the effect that the land of the village was communal property. A document from Mari records the solemn transaction by which a tract of arable land (*eqlum*) near Appān, belonging to the Rabbaean clan Bīt-Awīn, was given by that clan to Yarīm-Addu (the verb is *naḫālu*, 'to give in inheritance'). In confirmation of the allotment, thirteen leading members of the clan, 'brothers' of Yarīm-Addu, took an oath by the Assyrian king Samsī-Addu and their eponymous ancestor Awīn the Rabbaean.[184] Such customs cannot be dismissed as foreign elements in the Mesopotamian system. The celebrated Maništušu Obelisk (ca. 2260) records the royal purchase of eight fields, totalling 3430 hectares; each field was bought from a group of people (called the *bēlū eqlim*, 'owners of the field') belonging to the same kinship cluster. The transaction, conducted in the presence of the 'witnesses of the field' (*šībūt eqlim*), included the presentation of gifts to the 'brothers'—presumably the members of the kin group that owned the property.[185] Comparable customs are attested for other places in late third millennium documents;[186] they are still found until deep into the second millennium in the peripheral zones of Mesopotamia.[187]

Archives belonging to, or dealing with, inhabitants of the countryside convey an impression of the social organization of a village. An example is the archive of the soldier Ubarum who lived in the village (u r u^{ki}, i.e.,

---

[182] See *CAD* D s.v. *dimtum*, esp. pp. 146-147.

[183] See Diakonoff 1975; Heltzer 1979; Foster 1989; Groneberg 1989. The interpretation of the *dimtum* as a clan settlement rests on an extrapolation from the evidence for Nuzi, for which see Jankowska 1969 and Grosz 1988:23-24. Evidence for extended family villages in later times is not lacking: for the Neo-Assyrian period see, e.g., Postgate 1988:142-145 commentary to nos. 54-56; for the Neo-Babyloninan period see, e.g., Brinkman 1989.

[184] ARM 8, 11. For a discussion of the text see Astour 1978:4; Leemans 1983:69.

[185] Matouš 1969:6-8; Steinkeller 1989a:335a. For a discussion of the obelisk see also Glassner 1986:132-139.

[186] See n. 92.

[187] For Nuzi and Arrapḫa see the literature mentioned in n.183. For Emar see van der Toorn 1994b.

ālum!) of Ṣupur-Šubula, not far from the city of Kutha.[188] Comparable in this to the ward of any big city, the village was administered by a council of elders, led by the *rabiānum*—a dignity rotated year by year among the elders; the local *mu'irrum* (g a l - u n k e n - n a) exercised authority on behalf of the Babylonian king who reigned over Ṣupur-Šubula. The village had its own temple, dedicated to the god Šubula, theologically interpreted as the son of Nergal because of the proximity of Kutha (where Nergal was the chief god). The local temple was the place to settle legal disputes and to conclude contracts; the national gods Šamaš and Marduk were invoked as witnesses alongside Šubula. Evidently, there was a local administration and a local religion; these were subordinate, however, to the national (i.e., Babylonian) administration and the national religion. The organization of the village differed little from that of the city neighbourhood; in fact, the former may have served as a model for the latter.

Though the actual difference between village and city was gradual, the city population cultivated an image of the country-dwellers that was based on the assumption of a fundamental contrast. They perceived the Amorite living in the country as a typical 'nomad'.[189] He was depicted as

> a tent-dweller, [buffeted] by wind and rain, [unfamiliar with] the habit of praying (...). He digs up mushrooms in the hills, but does not know how to kneel; he eats raw meat; he has no house while he lives, nor is he buried when he dies.[190]

Amorites were said to belong to 'a ravaging people, with the instincts of a beast'.[191] The unflattering image was completed, according to a piece of evidence from the first millennium, by the characterization of the Amorite as a sexual pervert: '[The A]morite says to his wife: You be the man, [I] will be the woman'.[192] Summing up the ignorance and lack of manners of the rural population, the Amorite nomad was the antipode of the civilized Babylonian citizen.

The clichés about the Amorites catered to the need for an anti-type as a

---

[188] The archive has been published by Sollberger 1951 and Szlechter 1953. It has been studied by Landsberger 1955.

[189] Literature on the 'nomads' includes, in addition to the studies mentioned in the following footnotes, Kupper 1957; Klengel 1959; Malamat 1962; 1967; Klengel 1972; Talon 1986; Malamat 1989. On the Amorites see Gelb 1961; Huffmon 1965; Buccellati 1966; Gelb 1968; Liverani 1973; Anbar 1991.

[190] Translation based on the reading of Klein 1993:104-106.

[191] Civil 1967:31 v [25] m a r - t u l ú - ḫ a - l a m - m [a] [26] d í m - m a - u r - r a - g i n$_x$.

[192] *BWL* 230, translation and commentary of the Assyrian Collection of Bilingual Proverbs, column i 1-4. Note also Borger 1991:36-37, line 27, which says that the nomads 'have intercourse like animals' (ú - m a - a m - g i n$_7$ - n a m, Akkadian 'birds').

means to define an urban identity; they cannot be taken as a faithful reflection of reality. The barbaric Amorite belongs to the same category as the fundamentalist Muslim and the bigoted Christian: they are distorted images designed to flatter the self-complacency of those who produce them. That the Amorites were by no means the scum of society, as the string of clichés might lead one to believe, is clear from the fact that many of the royal dynasties in the Old Babylonian period were of Amorite descent. Hammurabi of Babylon had Amorite ancestors; so did Samsī-Addu of Assur and Zimrī-Līm of Mari. Their fathers were 'kings that dwelt in tents', as the Assyrian king list puts it.[193] Nor did the Amorite monarchs try to disguise their origins. Sacrificial rituals for the dead, attested for Mari[194] and Babylon,[195] publicly commemorated the Amorite ancestry of the ruling monarch.[196] An Amorite king like Zimrī-Līm had to be reminded by one of his officials that he was king of both the Haneans (an Amorite people) and the 'Akkadian' (i.e., native) element of the population; therefore he should not ride solely on horses, as was the Amorite custom, but in a chariot with mules, in accordance with the native practice.[197]

Real Amorites could in fact be found in a variety of settings: some were pastoralists with a pattern of annual transhumance;[198] others had settled in villages and taken to an agricultural mode of existence;[199] yet others served as soldiers in the king's army;[200] while some lived in the city, usually in the same neighbourhood.[201] The main thing these different groups had in common was their ethnic background:[202] the Amorites are originally from the Syrian regions situated west of Mesopotamia.[203] Amorite was their native tongue; though hardly ever used in the written records of the time, the language surfaces in their names and the names they gave to their settlements.[204] Also in an urban setting they preserved a separate identity: they usually lived in what we would call 'ethnic' neighbourhoods;[205] marriage

193 See Kraus 1965.
194 Birot 1980.
195 Finkelstein, J. J. 1966.
196 For a discussion of these texts see Charpin & Durand 1986:159-170.
197 ARM 6, 76. See Charpin & Durand 1986:143-145.
198 See Matthews 1978; Anbar 1991:159-170.
199 Anbar 1991:170-174.
200 Anbar 1991:184-185.
201 See below, n. 205.
202 See on this issue Kamp & Yoffee 1980:89-99.
203 Singer 1991.
204 Charpin & Durand 1986:157-158.
205 A list from the city of Ešnunna mentions twenty-nine Amorite men, divided into five *bābtum*s and denoted as residing in the city. The editor of the text suggests that in this context the *bābtum* stands for a small encampment (Gelb 1968), but nothing proves that

partners were preferably sought within their own group.[206] It is the combination of success in an urban environment with the maintenance of an Amorite cultural identity that explains some of the resentment the Amorites elicited from native Mesopotamians.

The advice to Zimrī-Līm to act in such a way as to satisfy both his Amorite and his Akkadian subjects offers a glimpse into the cultural differences between the rural and the urban population. So do some of the Amorite terms relating to their social organization. Thus the *ḫibrum*, 'lineage group', refers to a number of conjoint households.[207] It was a subdivision of the clan or *gāyum*, a word etymologically related to Hebrew *gôy*, 'people'.[208] Each clan was under the leadership of a *sugāgum*, whose designation is particular to the Amorite milieu, but whose functions ran parallel to those of the *ḫazannum* known from the Babylonian city wards.[209] The *sugāgum* was appointed by the king on the recommendation of the clan;[210] he was chosen from, and assisted by, a council of elders, the *šībūtu*.[211] A collective of clans could be referred to as a 'land' (*mātum*), a 'house' (*bītum*) or as 'sons of So-and-so' (e.g., d u m u - m e š *Yamīna*).

To some extent the differences in social organization between Amorites and Akkadians may be more terminological than real; yet the fact that these Amorite terms did survive suggests that there were no fully satisfactory equivalents in the Babylonian idiom. Apparently, the Amorites consciously maintained their 'tribal' culture in their social organization. To call this culture nomadic is not entirely appropriate. Theirs was a nomadism that has been described as 'enclosed', because they were surrounded by, and depended upon, the urban civilization of the Babylonians; the transhumant movements they made were limited. The rural Amorites were not bands of lawless adventurers; most of them were simply pastoralists. Like any other segment of the population, they were expected to pay taxes.[212] The temple administration collected these contributions on behalf of the palace.[213] The

---

such is the case. Clan-wise habitation of city neighbourhoods is not typical of Amorites (Donbaz & Yoffee 1986:67). Two suburbs of Sippar, viz. Sippar-Amnānum and Sippar-Yaḫrūrum, grew out of Amorite encampments.

206 Charpin & Durand 1986:171-172.

207 Anbar 1991:79.

208 On the term and its significance see Talon 1985:278-280.

209 Anbar 1991:151 appears to make a distinction between the *sugāgum* and the *ḫazannum*. His description of the two offices, however, suggests a remarkable likeness.

210 Anbar 1991:144-145.

211 Anbar 1991:150-154.

212 Talon 1979; cf. Diakonoff 1985:51 and n. 13.

213 Gallerey 1980:12-15; see also Ellis 1974. Landsberger 1955:130 notes that Ubarum, inhabitant of the village Ṣupur-Šubula, had to pay a regular family tax, called k ù é a - b a (*kasap bīt abim*), to the local temple.

freedom of the Amorite nomads was limited, then; they had been integrated into the administrative system of the Old Babylonian states.

Because of the cohabitation of Amorites and Akkadians, the Old Babylonian society has been characterized as 'dimorphic'.[214] Though the use of the term is subject to the risk of over-emphasizing the distinctions,[215] it can hardly be denied that there was a dimorphism of sorts, manifesting itself in the coexistence of two different lifestyles and patterns of social organization. The dimorphism is also evident in the points of reference which the two population segments chose for defining themselves. Whereas the urban population of Akkadian extraction looked to the city and the neighbourhood as anchors of identity, the Amorites and the village dwellers (the two being nearly indistinguishable at times) identified with their land and their ancestors. The 'sons of the city' (*mārē ālim*) defined themselves in a different way than the 'sons' of ancestor So-and-so, such as the *mārē Awīn*. This distinction also plays a role in the characteristic forms of family religion of the Akkadian and Amorites segments of the population—and it is to the forms of family religion that the following chapters are devoted.

---

214 Rowton 1976a; 1976b; 1977.

215 Cf. the critique of the concept of social dimorphism by Kamp & Yoffee 1980:94.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS: A HISTORICAL FOCUS OF IDENTITY

'The religion of the family' is an ambiguous expression: it might refer either to the religion as practised by and within the family or to the devotion to one's family and family values. To avoid such confusion, preference has been given in this study to the term 'family religion'. It should not be overlooked, however, that the practice of family religion is rooted in, and thrives upon, attachment and loyalty to one's family. No better illustration of this principle than the cult of the ancestors: veneration of one's forebears is a form of devotion to one's family in its historical dimension. The two sides of the coin—devotion to the family and devotion of the family—cannot be entirely separated. The present chapter will seek to describe, first the rites of passage into and out of the family, and then the cult of the ancestors.

Rites of Incorporation

The predominant metaphor for the Babylonian family is that of 'flesh and blood' (*šīrum u dāmū*). The concept of kinship underlying this expression is that of common descent; through the line of generation, the members of the family are part of the same flesh and blood. Yet by itself such common ancestry is neither a prerequisite nor a guarantee of membership in the family.

Like any other human institution, the Old Babylonian family is a social construct. Even if presented as a natural fact, it becomes a social reality only because the participants ascribe to a set of common symbolizations.[1] Their assent to these symbols takes the form of participation in the family rituals. Such rituals may be quite informal, to the point of escaping notice. The rites of incorporation and exclusion performed at the passage from the out-group to the in-group or vice versa, however, are too emphatic to go unrecognized. These rites of passage deserve particular attention because they reveal some of the fundamental values of Old Babylonian families.

The best-known rite of incorporation is the marriage ceremony.[2] It

---

[1] Cf. Strauss, A. A. 1959:149.

[2] See Greengus 1966; 1969; Renger 1973a; Veenhof 1976; Wilcke 1985:241-284; Klíma 1986; Sauren 1986; Westbrook 1988.

realizes and validates the transfer of a woman from the realm of the one family group to that of the other. The wife is not a natural member of the family; she must change places in order to become part of it, acquiring a new status in the process. The transaction was concluded in several phases, the central event being the wedding in the house of the bride. Here groom and bride made a formal statement of mutual acceptance, declaring themselves to be husband and wife. This performative illocutionary act was witnessed by the respective families. In celebration of the marriage, which had become a reality as soon as the solemn words had been spoken, the guests joined in the *kirrum*, a common meal with a generous supply of food and drink.[3] An important effect of the table communion was the creation of a bond between the two families; by partaking of the same food and drink, the two families were knit together. Henceforth, there would be *salātum* (family ties) between them, according to the wording of an Old Babylonian letter.[4]

In addition to the ceremonial meal, characterized as a rite of 'mutual ingestion' in the anthropological literature, the various phases of the wedding were accompanied by other symbolic acts. To mark the engagement the groom anointed his bride to be.[5] The act was customary in transactions of real estate as well, where it was designed to create a community between seller and buyer: by anointing each other, seller and buyer created fictitious family ties between them.[6] The anointing in the setting of the betrothal served a similar purpose: the man incorporated the bride in his family group.

Another marriage act was the veiling (*pussumu*) or covering (so with the Sumerian term d u l$_6$)[7] of the bride (*kallatu*, Sumerian é - g i$_4$ - a) by the groom. Though this rite of investiture is often neglected in studies of the Babylonian marriage, its significance should not be underrated. The custom is attested in a string of texts. According to a Babylonian pseudo-prophecy, painting an idyllic tableau of family relations, 'the bride will be veiled and she shall humbly serve her husband.'[8] The Epic of Gilgameš describes the face of the dead as being covered (*katāmu*) 'like a bride'.[9] A similar conclusion concerning the bride can be deduced from the investiture of the *ēntu*-priestess at Emar, since the rite of consecration mirrors the investiture of the

---

3 See Kraus 1964:24-25; Landsberger 1968:76-85.

4 Laessøe 1959:62-63, Sh. 874 35 *inanna māratka* 36 *ana māriya idnam* 37 *u salūtum ina bīrī[n]i* 38 *lā ipparras*. *CAD* S s.v. *salātu* translates the word as 'kin by marriage'.

5 See Landsberger 1968:80-81 n. 4. Note also the anointing of the *ēntu* on the occasion of her consecration; the ritual is modelled after the wedding rites (Arnaud 1986, 369:3-4).

6 See, e.g., Krecher 1980b:494 § 9; Wilcke 1985:257-258; Gelb 1992:168-169.

7 Civil 1983:47, lines 12-13, cf. translation p. 48; for a slightly different interpretation of the text see AEM 1/1:103 n. 46.

8 *kallatu* (m í - é - g i$_4$ - a) *uktal[lal mūssa ip]alla[ḫ]*, Borger 1971a:11 iii 17.

9 *Gilg* VIII ii 17.

woman at her wedding. The ritual prescriptions say that the priestess shall have her head covered (*kuttumu*) 'like a bride'.[10]

Whilst the role of the veil in the wedding ceremonial is sometimes acknowledged, it has hardly been noted that the garment occurs in a dual capacity. Many studies limit their observations to the bridal veil as a symbol of chastity or virginity. Thus the ceremonial function of the veil at the wedding has been summarized by saying that 'the bride came to the groom veiled (or, sometimes, he himself would veil her), so that he might unveil her in privacy.'[11] What has frequently gone neglected, however, is the far more important role played by the veil as a symbol of belonging. The summary just quoted confuses the two aspects by failing to distinguish between the veil worn by the woman at the outset of the ceremony, and the veil with which she was covered by her new husband. Yet the two situations must be distinguished; the veil worn by the bride as she came to her husband is not the same veil which the husband later put on his new wife.

The veiling of the bride by the husband is well attested in Mesopotamian texts. An Old Babylonian example is found in the epistolary archives from Mari. As Šibtu, the daughter of the King of Aleppo, was wedded to Zimrī-Līm, envoys from Mari came to bring the marriage gift (*biblum*) and to put a veil over the princess.[12] Here it is not the husband who veiled the bride, but emissaries acting in his name. Yet though the actual veiling might be performed by others, the juridical person responsible for the veiling was the husband. The significance of the act is made explicit in the Middle Assyrian Laws (§ 41). They rule that the man who wishes to turn his concubine (*esirtu*) into his legal wife is to veil her (*pussumu*) in front of five or six witnesses, while publicly declaring her to be his wife. The small ceremony constituted a valid marriage act. A public veiling by the husband, so the text suggests, was the non-verbal part of a rite by which he proclaimed his bride as his wife.

The custom may well go back to the third millennium. In Sumerian texts the rite by which a marital relationship was confirmed or reconfirmed included the covering of the woman by her husband. The Sumerian verb d u l, rendered in Akkadian by *katāmu*, literally means 'to cover'. The object used to cover the woman was a piece of cloth, so that it is possible to translate d u l as either 'to clothe' or 'to veil'. A Neo-Sumerian court protocol of a remarriage has recorded the words pronounced by the husband to the woman he had earlier divorced: 'I want to cleanse myself with you, I want to

---

[10] Arnaud 1986, 369:63-64.
[11] Tsevat 1975:239.
[12] t ú g *kutummê eli marti niddi*, AEM 1/1 (ARM 26), 10:13-15.

veil (d u l) you (again).'[13] Veiling or clothing the woman could either initiate the marriage with her, or reaffirm or renew it. The veil had come to be so intimately connected with the wedding ceremony, that in Sumerian the verb d u l, 'to cover', developed the connotation 'to marry'. Of the poor man's daughter it is said in a proverb that her love is cheap. 'She is a woman whom the man with whom she lies does not clothe/veil (d u l), who is not given as his wife (d a m - a - n i).'[14]

The general purport of the husband's veiling his bride is clear: he thus legally wedded her. But what was its specific significance? A clue to the solution is found in a phrase belonging to the terminology of the marriage contracts. An Old Babylonian marriage document says that a man called Mār-Sippar has 'taken' a woman called Tabbītum, 'for marriage and for clothing and feeding her.'[15] What is referred to in the Sumerian texts with the verb d u l, 'to cover (with garments)', occurs in the Old Babylonian terminology as 'clothing' (*labāšu*). The provision of the woman with clothes was one of the core responsibilities of the husband. By putting a veil upon his bride he publicly assumed this responsibility and demonstrated thereby that he accepted the woman as his wife.[16] The veiling by the husband was primarily an act of clothing. The gesture was symbolic, focusing on the head of the bride as a *pars pro toto*. By veiling his wife, the husband clothed her and incorporated her into his family.

Excommunication by Divestiture

The social significance of the rites of veiling and clothing is elucidated by the reverse actions. It might be expected that a woman would lose the right to wear a veil in the event of divorce. In fact, the only passage where such a symbolical penalty may be referred to is found in a Neo-Babylonian marriage agreement. The relevant lines are difficult to decipher and their interpretation is of necessity provisional.[17] Instead of unveiling as a symbolic denudation, however, a number of texts hint at an actual stripping of the woman. In legal

---

[13] Falkenstein 1956, 23:9-10.

[14] OECT 1, Pl. 13 i 7-9, translation by T. Jacobsen in Gordon, E. I. 1959:482.

[15] CT 48, 51 [7] *ana aššūtim u mūtūtim* [8] *ana labšūssa u aprūssa īḫussi*. The text has been collated and translated by Westbrook 1988:122-23. Westbrook translates *apāru* as 'hatting'. Following a suggestion by J. C. Greenfield, I prefer to take *apāru* as a by-form of *epēru*, which may be translated as 'to provide for (with victuals)'.

[16] Note that the ritual anointing might be interpreted along similar lines, since a husband was under the obligation to regularly provide his legal wife with 'rations of grain, wool, and oil' (VAS 8, 9:12-14; cf. CT 48, 51; 61:12'-13').

[17] Joannès 1984:75, lines 77-78. Joannès reads the relevant passage *ina* t ú g *šir²am tikkašu tuparreq*, 'elle dégagera sa nuque de la casaque.' For a different interpretation see Roth 1989:111-112.

documents from Nuzi and Ḫana denudation occurs as an act of divorce.[18] The standard phrase runs 'to strip off the garment and to drive out naked.' Such is the fate of the wife should she reject her husband, or after his death go to live with another man, or give family possessions to a 'stranger'. In each case mentioned, it is the wife who has disrupted the family. Denudation is not her punishment for dishonouring her husband, but the result of her disrespect for the solidarity of the family she has married into.

A variant of the phraseology found at Nuzi and Ḫana occurs in legal texts from Ugarit, Emar, and El-Qiṭār. Testamentary texts from Emar say that the widow who marries outside the family is to put her clothes (t ú g - m e š = *ṣubātū*) upon a stool, after which she is free to go wherever she likes.[19] An analogous penalty could be imposed on male members of the family. A deed of inheritance from El-Qiṭār warns the heirs that the one who contests the validity of the will is to put (his) clothes on the chair and leave the house, so that he will wander about unprotected.[20] According to a comparable text from Ugarit the son who does not recognize the premier position of his widowed mother must put his garment (túg ú - è = *naḫlaptu*) on the door-bolt and go off (*ipaṭṭar*) to the street.[21] In the same vein it is written in a Ugaritic adoption record that the adopted son, should he misbehave in any serious way, is to put his garment on the door-bolt and go out (*itteṣi*) into the street.[22] The family provided its members with clothes.[23] The one who was forced to return his garment was stripped of his social skin; his ties with the family were severed. He had to go out on to the streets alone, without the protection of the family, and with no claim to its possessions.[24]

In Old Babylonian times, the separation of the woman from her husband and his family usually took less dramatic forms. The current symbolic act to signify the rupture of the marriage was the cutting of the hem of the

---

[18] Malul 1988:122-138.

[19] Huehnergard 1983, nos. 2:18-24; 3:14-17. For improvements on the original edition and commentary see Huehnergard 1985:431-434; Wilcke 1985:309-313. In one text the woman has to deposit her garment 'in the wooden box', see Tsukimoto 1991, no. 23:30-33.

[20] Snell 1984:161, lines 13-18. In view of the parallels, line 18 should be read *iš-tu* é *ú-ṣì li-it-ta-a-lak*. Huehnergard's interpretation of g i š - š ú - a as *littu*, 'stool', is confirmed by the occurrence of g i š - g u - z a , 'chair', in the record from El-Qiṭār.

[21] Thureau-Dangin 1937, RS 8.145:22-23 (copy p. 246, transliteration pp. 249-250). Cf. the Emar text that says that the son who persistently disobeys his mother is to 'release himself (from the house and the family)', literally 'release his head' (s a g - d u -*šú lipṭur*), *qaqqadu* expressing here the reflexive aspect of the action. For the text see Tsukimoto 1991, 29 r. 6'.

[22] *Ug*. 5, 83:8-10.

[23] Cf. the frequent request for clothes in family correspondence, see AbB 2, 83:18-19; AbB 5, 160 r. 3'-5'; AbB 9, 106:16-22; TCL 18, 84:6-22; 18, 111 (translated in Oppenheim 1967b:84-85). On the theme see Zaccagnini 1983:237.

[24] Cf. Sigrist 1993:387-388. Was clothing distinctive by expanded family?

woman's garment (*sissiktam batāqu*).[25] Tearing one's garment in half was an acknowledged gesture to signify that one wished to dissociate oneself from someone or something.[26] Cutting the hem of one's wife's garment, in conjunction with the repudiation formula 'she is not my wife,' constituted the divorce. The act was as symbolical as the covering of the woman by the man with the hem of his garment: the former must be understood as the annulment of the latter. It has also been suggested that the *sissiktum* is identical with the bridal veil: cutting it or biting it off would then be an aggressive form of unveiling, reducing the woman to the liminal state in which she carried neither the veil of her father nor that of her husband.[27]

The ceremonial stripping and the deposition of the garment are the opposites of the veiling and clothing of the bride; the latter signified incorporation into the family, the former separation from it. The fact that a formal divestiture could be inflicted on both men and women supports the social interpretation of its opposite. The investiture of the bride, if her being veiled or ceremonially clothed may be so referred to, was not intended to underscore her charm, nor was it meant to induce a temporary departure from the profane world, as Arnold van Gennep once suggested.[28] In ancient Babylonia the bride was veiled or otherwise clothed by her husband to publicly demonstrate her entry into his family, with all the ensuing rights and duties. As long as she was married she had the right to wear the veil as a symbol of her belonging to the family of her husband.

Through the introduction into a different family, marriage provided the woman with a new identity. She received a new name: henceforth she would no longer be known as 'the daughter of NN_1' but as 'the wife of NN_2'. Her husband's name was the symbol of her safeguard and her identity from her marriage onward. A son might flatter his father by saying that the latter's 'good name' (*šumum damqum*) had been placed on him: he thereby implied that he was under his father's protection and shared in his social prestige.[29] In a similar way did the woman live under the shelter of her husband's name. That is why the excommunication from her husband's family left her naked, in the same way it did the disinherited son: they lost their family name, and thereby a part of themselves. Their nudity, partial or complete, symbolized this loss of identity. Cut off from the family they were free—yet theirs was a freedom inspiring fear rather than relief.

---

25 For references see Finkelstein, J. J. 1976; Veenhof 1976:159.
26 See, e.g., AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 323 [21] *ana šībūt awātim* [22] *ṣubātī ašruṭ*.
27 Cf. Wilcke 1985:283.
28 Van Gennep 1909:240-241.
29 AbB 10, 203 [4] *šumka damqum ina muḫḫini* [5] *šakin.*

The Care and Feeding of the Ancestors

To be incorporated in a family meant to be incorporated in a community that embraced several generations. During different periods in their lives, some of these generations were contemporaries of one another: grandparents, parents and children might even live in the same house. Yet the generations that had died also continued to have an impact. The dead were included in the community of the living. This continuing communion with the earlier generations was manifested and, in a sense, realized through the cult of the ancestors.

To fully appreciate the nature of the society constituted by the family, an analysis of the forms and function of the ancestor cult is indispensable. An introduction into the matter may be found in the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgameš Epic. As Gilgameš set out for his journey to the Cedar forest, the elders of Uruk pronounced a valediction of blessings and advice. One of their counsels to the hero concerned the daily cult to his dead father:

> When you see the night fall, dig a well:
> there must always be clean water in your flask.
> Cool water you should sprinkle for Šamaš,
> be mindful of the divine Lugalbanda.[30]

Though this advice may seem unrelated to the cult of the dead, it is not. Lugalbanda was the father of Gilgameš. Šamaš is mentioned because the dead resided in the underworld, and the sun god acted as a mediator between the dead and the living. During the time of day Šamaš was with the living, but when evening fell, the sun descended to the world below and met the dead. The 'cool water' libated to Šamaš was intended for Lugalbanda. A wealth of texts reflecting actual practice (such as letters and deeds of adoption) show that the cult of the dead was by no means a mere literary ideal.

One of the duties of a pious son was to bring regular offerings to the ancestors, and in particular to his own father. Though the duty was incumbent on all the children, the main responsibility for the cult of the dead lay with the one who had succeeded his father as paterfamilias. Normally, this was the eldest son. Testamentary decisions from Old Babylonian Nippur show that the eldest, in addition to a preferential part, received such paraphernalia of the domestic cult as the 'ceremonial table' (b a n š u r z à - g u - l a , *paššūr sakkê*).[31] In his capacity as the new head of the family, he

---

[30] OB Gilg. Y vi [40] *ina nubattika ḫiri būrtam* [41] *lū kayyānū mû ellūtu ina nādika* [42] *[ka]ṣûtim mê ana* [d]*Šamaš tanaddi* [43] *[lū] taḫassas* [d]*Lugalbanda.*

[31] Prang 1976:16, 28; 1977:224.

was to 'uphold the family and the ancestral spirits.'[32] Since the son did not receive his authority by delegation from the ruled, but by transmission and assumed devolution from the ancestors, his leadership in the cult of the ancestors had the attendant effect of legitimizing his position.[33] Only rarely did a daughter achieve this position.[34]

The advice the elders of Uruk gave to Gilgameš assumes that offerings to the dead were a daily ritual. A technical term for this day-to-day care of the ancestors is *kispu ginû*, 'regular funerary offering', found in a Middle Babylonian text.[35] Also in Old Babylonian times, the word *kispum* (from the verb *kasāpu*, 'to break in small pieces') is the standard term for the cult of the ancestors. It designates primarily the presentation of food. Such food, offered on a daily basis, was simple: after a short invocation, the ancestors were given a bowl of fine flour, and water was poured for them.[36] Because these daily rites were quite informal, little mention is made of them in the texts. Some references to this daily cult have gone unnoticed, furthermore, because the dead are in this connection at times referred to as the 'gods' of the paterfamilias.[37] The sufferer who complains that he is treated as though 'he ate his food without invoking his god, and neglected his goddess by not bringing the flour offering' does not refer to the temple cult, but to the portions the ancestors were to be given daily.[38] The text implies that the offerings to the dead coincided with the meals of the living.

On special occasions more solemn rites were performed, including the presentation of a full meal. In ancient Babylonia, the usual time for this solemn repast fell at the end of the month.[39] This time is referred to as the *ūm bubbulim*, the day(s) when the moon has been 'taken away' (*babālu*). Its Sumerian equivalent u $_4$ - n á - a , 'resting day', must probably be interpreted as a reference to the repose of the moon.[40] The invisibility of the moon, due to its conjunction with the sun, lasts between twenty and fifty-six hours,

---

32 The quotation is from an Old Asyrian letter, *KTK* 18. Lines 6-9 read: 'Whom do I (trust) and whom do you? Is there any stranger (*aḫium*) who tomorrow will give us just one shekel to uphold our family (*bīt abini*) and our ancestral spirits (*eṭemmē*)?' The translation is by Larsen 1976:289 n. 10.

33 Cf. Skaist 1980.

34 For some examples see van der Toorn 1994a:46.

35 Tsukimoto 1985:80.

36 Cf. lines 73-76 of the Incantation to Utu (Cohen, M. E. 1977): 'Utu (...), flour is piled up for you, water is poured for you. Fine flour is brought, to the man's god ..., a water libation is made for you ...'

37 See especially the section 'Gods and Ancestors' below.

38 *BWL* 38 [19] *ilšu lā izkur ēkul akalšu* [20] *izib* ^{d}*ištartašu masḫa*^{r}*tu*^{1} *lā ubla.*

39 Tsukimoto 1985:46-48 (Old Babylonian); 57-60 (Mari); 62-65 (Third Dynasty of Ur); 79 (Middle Assyrian); 110 (Neo-Assyrian); 123-124 (Neo-Babylonian).

40 See Livingstone 1986:264 nn. 28-29; Sallaberger 1993.1:60-61.

which means three nights at the most. This period of lunar invisibility may be termed the interlunium.[41] In Akkadian it can also be referred to as the *rēš warḫim*, literally the 'beginning' of the month, but actually a designation of the end of the month, covering the period of the moon's disappearance until its first reappearance.[42]

The cuneiform evidence shows that, from the third through the first millennium BC, the interlunium was consistently associated with funerary rituals. Already a mid-third millennium text from Lagaš associates the funerary meal with the interlunium ([u $_4$] - n á - a - k a).[43] Evidence from the Ur-III Period points to the same association.[44] A Sumerian incantation to the sun god from the beginning of the second millennium also mentions the 'day of the dark moon' as the day of the funeral offerings.[45] To illustrate the continuation of the practice in Old Babylonian times we may quote from a letter written by a *nadītum*[46] (a woman dedicated to a god and living in a cloister) to her brother.

> As you, my brother, know, this year you have sent me neither garlic, nor onions, nor *sirbittum* fish. When I do not write you, you forget about me! I am now sending Muballiṭ-Marduk to you. [Make] preparations to send me one shekel silver worth of garlic, one shekel silver worth of onions and *sirbittum* fish. (If not,) what will I contribute throughout the year to the *kispum* offering of your family at the time of the moon's disappearance?[47]

The letter suggests that the monthly *kispum* was a family ritual in which all living members were assumed to participate, if not in person then at least by making a material contribution. The phrase 'throughout the year' indicates, moreover, that it was celebrated each month of the year.

The days of the disappearance of the moon were in some respects frightening. According to the hemerological tradition, the days of the interlunium, around the 29th or the 30th of the month, are dangerous.[48] A lexical list calls the 30th, identified as the 'day of the *kispu*', an 'evil day'.[49] The practical consequences are illustrated by a section of a hemerological compendium

---

41 For a discussion of the Latin terminology see Lunais 1979:331-337.

42 See Whiting 1987:62-63; J.-M. Durand, *NABU* 1987, 73.

43 Thureau-Dangin 1903:32, no. 58 = AO 4042, i 6'-ii 2, cf. Rosengarten 1960:306-308; Cohen, M. E. 1993:54.

44 Sallaberger 1993.1:60-62.

45 Alster 1991, line 137.

46 *Pace* Tsukimoto 1985:47, who assumes that the letter was written by a man. The reference to 'Šamaš and My Lady' in line 22 shows that the sender was a *nadītum* living in Sippar.

47 AbB 1, 106:4-19.

48 See, e.g., Labat 1939:313-314.

49 MSL 5:23-24, lines 192-202; see also *Šurpu* VIII 43; *BMS* 61:12// *LKA* 153 r. 12.

dealing with the 29th of the month. For each month, the entry opens by saying that one should not go out through the gate.[50] One was well advised not to undertake a journey, and also other activities had better be suspended. People used these 'holy-days' to come together as family for a festive meal.[51] Delicacies they could not afford on normal days, such as meat and quality beer, were now on the menu. It is probably in the context of this feast that the monthly *kispum* was offered. As the family joined in a meal of plenty, it did not forget its ancestors; the latter received their share of the dishes.[52] Also in respect to the dietary customs, then, past and present generations lived in synchronism.[53]

Once a year there was a kind of All Souls' Day. In Old Babylonian times, it normally fell in the fifth month known as Abum (August).[54] The Sumerian writing of this month's name is n e - I Z I - g a r. A later text offers an etymological explanation by saying that in the month Abu, 'braziers are kindled, a torch is raised for the Anunna gods.'[55] The Anunna gods (or the Anunnaki) are the gods of the underworld; by the time this text was committed to writing, the ghosts could be included in their number.[56] 'Raising a torch for the Anunna gods' was a mortuary rite addressed at the gods of the netherworld, including the dead. Was there indeed an annual 'feast of torches' at which 'families entertained the ghosts of their dead'?[57] In spite of occasional doubts,[58] such seems to have been the case indeed. As part of the All Souls' festival there was a vigil during which lights had to be burned. This explains why the *Maqlû* ritual, whose calendrical setting in Neo-Assyrian times is the night and early morning of Abu the 29th, assigns such a prominent role to Girra, the god of fire.[59] Parallels from the ancient world to such a torch-lit annual death watch are known.[60]

---

50 Labat 1965:126-129 no. 59.

51 A later ritual calendar (Labat 1965:128, no. 59:2) prescribes that on the 29th of Ayyar, people were to 'hol[d a festive] meal (*nigûtu*)'.

52 This suggestion has already been ventured by Bottéro 1972:97-98; see also Bottéro 1980b:38.

53 Tsukimoto's dismissal of the possibility that the *kispum* was integrated in a family meal cannot be accepted, the only evidence being adduced coming from Mari (1985:60).

54 Tsukimoto 1985:48-51; Cohen, M. E. 1993:454-465; Sallaberger 1993.1:126, 206. For the netherworld character of Abum see also Abusch 1974:261 and n. 34.

55 *KAV* 218 a II [8] k i - n e - m e š [9] *uttappaḫā dipāru ana* [d]*Anunnaki* [10] *innaši.*

56 Note the quotation in *LAS* 1, 132 of the saying that 'Respect for the Anunna-gods procures (a long) life' (*palāḫ* [d]*Anunnaki balāṭu uttar*) by way of an approving commentary on Esarhaddon's demonstrations of piety towards his deceased mother Ešarra-ḫamât. See also *LAS* 2:120.

57 Quotation from Langdon 1935:123.

58 Cf. Tsukimoto 1985:50.

59 See Abusch 1974.

60 See, e.g., Wiebach 1986:263-291.

Though the proceedings of the special *kispum* ceremonies are not known in detail, its essential elements can be reconstructed without great difficulty. To mark the invisible presence of the ghosts, a chair was set up on which they were presumed to seat themselves. Such a 'chair for ghosts' (g i š - g u - z a g i d i m, *kussû eṭimmē*), known from a lexical list,[61] occurs once in a first millennium *kispu* ritual. During the course of an occasional *kispu*, the one performing the rite is to set up a chair 'for his family ghosts' (*ana eṭemmē kimtišu*).[62] Such chairs (or rather thrones) were usual in the cult for the royal dead as well.[63] In the family rituals of the common people, these chairs may have stood around the *paššūr sakkê*, the ceremonial table which belonged to the inheritance of the eldest son.[64] This table was used only on solemn occasions.[65]

In Commemoration of the Dead

The central rite of the cult of the ancestors is the invocation of the dead by their name (*šumam zakāru*). Often quite modest, the food offerings of the ancestor cult are attendant only to the recitation of the name. The leader of the ritual, usually the eldest son who has assumed the position of paterfamilias, is called the *zākir šumim*, 'the one who invokes the name'. Also, from the perspective of the dead, the main purpose of the cult of the ancestors is to ensure that their names do not perish; their identity is to be preserved. At the same time, the piety towards the forefathers endows the living with a family identity that is anchored in the past. In addition to fostering cohesion, then, the cult of the ancestors reinforces a sense of identity in those participating.

One of the Old Babylonian texts to throw some light on the *kispum* ceremony of private families is the prayer to the moon god Sîn commissioned by Sîn-nāṣir. It illuminates the importance of the invocation by name. The

---

61 ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* IV 93, see MSL 5:157.

62 *BBR* 52:12-14.

63 For the Ur III period see Sallaberger 1993.1:147 with n. 696 (showing that a chair was not unusual in non-royal funerary rituals either). A royal *kispum* ritual from Mari indicates that the offerings were brought 'in the room of the thrones' (*ina* é g i š - g u - z a - ḫ á), see Birot 1980: lines 7, 10. The first millennium prohibition to 'remove the chair' (*kussû nakkuru*), found in tomb inscriptions, has its background in the offerings for the dead (see Fadhil 1990:478). The custom of bringing the funerary offerings to the throne of the deceased ruler is reflected in the Ugaritic ritual of *KTU* 1.161 = RS 34.126, see Bordreuil & Pardee 1991:151-163.

64 Prang 1976:16.28; 1977:224.

65 Such as the wedding, see OB Gilg. P iv [14] *bītiš emūtim iq[rū'inni]* [15] *šīmat nišīma* [16] *(x-)x-ar kallūtim* [17] *ana paššūr sakkî eṣēn* [18] *uklāt bīt emi ṣayāḫātim*, 'They invited me to the house of the father-in-law where it is the custom of the people to celebrate the marriage. I heaped food on the ceremonial table, delightful dishes for the house of the father-in-law.' On the reading of line 16 cf. K. Hecker, in TUAT 3/4 (1994):652, note to line 146.

prayer was meant to be recited at the break of dawn, as the moon went down to the world of the dead.

> [S]în, you are the god of heaven and earth.
> [In the mo]rning I am pouring water to you
> [for the f]amily (*kimtum*) of Sîn-nāṣir, the son of Ipqu-Annunītum.
> Release the family (*kimtum*) of Sîn-nāṣir, the son of Ipqu-Annunītum,
> that they may eat his bread and drink his water:
> Išme-Ea son of Šamaš-nāṣir, his wife and his family (*kimtum*);
> [Il]tani, *nadītum* of Šamaš, his daughter;
> [Sîn]-nāṣir, son of Išme-Ea;
> ⌜Kasap⌝-Aya, *nadītum* of Šamaš, his daughter;
> Sîn-iddinam, son of Sîn-nāṣir;
> Iddin-Ea, son of Išme-Ea;
> Amat-Aya, *nadītum* of Šamaš, his daughter;
> Di-Utu-binduga, his son;
> Ebabbar-nu-u'ulše-ḫegal, his son;
> Eḫursag-mušallim, his son;
> Ipqu-Ea, son of Išme-Ea;
> Amat-Mamu, *nadītum* of Šamaš, his daughter;
> Nidnuša his son;
> Ibni-Ea his son;
> Iqīš-Ea son of Išme-[Ea], his wife and [his] family;
> Ipqu-Aya son of Išme-Ea, Abī-mattum his wife [and his family (?)];
> Lamassani, *nadītum* of Šamaš, his daughter;
> Ilšu-ibnišu his son;
> Sîn-nādin-šumi his son;
> Sîn-kabit-biltum, son of Sîn-nādin-šumi;
> Ikūn-pî-Sîn son of Ipqu-Aya, whom .... have struck to death;
> Sîn-erībam son of Ipqu-Aya,who sleeps (*ṣallu*) in Maškan-Adad;
> Ipqu-Annunītum son of Ipqu-Aya, Bēlessunu his wife.
> [R]elease the family (*kimtum*) of Sîn-nāṣir son of Ipqu-Annunītum,
> that they may eat [h]is [br]ead and drink his water![66]

The fact that the prayer is addressed to Sîn need not be inspired by a special devotion to this god: Sîn is addressed here, like Šamaš elsewhere, as a deity who can mediate between the dead and the living. He can 'release' (*wuššuru*) the dead from the netherworld, as Šamaš can 'make the spirit approach its family.'[67]

---

66 BE 6/2, 111:1-33, studied in detail by Wilcke 1983:49-54.
67 Alster 1991, line 114.

The body of the prayer consists of a litany of names. Though the modern reader of such a text may be overcome by a feeling of monotony, this is less likely to have happened to the original audience. To Sîn-nāṣir, these names had significance: they were the ancestors from whom he descended and in whose company he was at home, here and in the hereafter. In the prayer for the family of Sîn-nāṣir, five generations have been brought together. Last in the list are Sîn-nāṣir's own parents, Ipqu-Annunītum and his wife Bēlessunu. Retracing the succession of the generations, however, the list goes back all the way to Šamaš-nāṣir, the grandfather of Sîn-nāṣir's grandfather. In the end, then, the patrilinear genealogy embraces five generations. In ordinary families, this is the maximum. As a rule, the *kispum* is brought only to dead kin which the eldest generation alive still remembers from having seen them. That is why the list in standard *kispum* invocations does not go beyond three generations: it specifically mentions father and grandfather, mother and grandmother, and brother and sister; the remaining ancestors are only referred to in the vaguest of terms as 'family, kin, and relatives'.[68]

The list of Sîn-nāṣir's ancestors is as interesting for the names it mentions as for those it omits. The place of the women deserves to be noted. Only two classes of women are represented: mothers and women defined as *nadītum* of Šamaš. A frequent but not entirely adequate translation of the term *nadītum* is 'nun'. In Old Babylonian times, it was customary among upper class families to dedicate one of their daughters to Šamaš of Sippar, or to the god of some other city, such as Marduk of Babylon. These women were viewed as concubines of the god in question; they were not allowed to bear children. Because their integration into the household of their god was mainly symbolical, they were the only female offspring to remain within the family. Other daughters married and went off to join other families, where they were included in genealogical lists as wives and mothers—much as the wives and mothers in Sîn-nāṣir's list. These wives and mothers did not enjoy the same position as the fathers, apparently. While the names of the latter are always given, the mothers are at times referred to anonymously as 'his wife'. Only Bēlessunu is mentioned by name.

Genealogical lists are family history in telegraphic style. It must be stressed that the ancestor cult is the setting in which such genealogies functioned and—presumably—originated; the cult also fostered a sense of connection with the past. A close reading of the prayer shows that it goes beyond the mere enumeration of names. It provides the skeleton of a family history. Some of its bones are fleshed out by the inclusion of additional

---

[68] See, e.g., *KAR* 227 r. iii 9//*LKA* 89 r. 3.

information. Thus Sîn-erībam, an uncle of Sîn-nāṣir, is said to 'sleep' (*ṣalālu*, the usual euphemism for the post-mortal condition) in the town of Maškan-Adad. Ikūn-pî-Sîn, another uncle, has met with a violent death, since he is said to have been 'slain' (*maḫāṣu*). These data are mentioned, presumably, because unlike the other ancestors, Sîn-erībam and Ikūn-pî-Sîn were not buried in the family plot; the details are added to explain their absence. A third uncle was apparently the black sheep of the family, since not even the names of his wife and children are given.[69] Such details suggest that the monthly family reunion—the usual setting of the *kispum*—was also the occasion on which family memories were kept alive.

Gods and Ancestors

Asleep in the earth, the ancestors lived with the gods of the netherworld. By the first millennium BC they had come to be included in the general category of the Anunnaki, the gods of the world below. This is hardly a mere confusion of notions; also older texts make no clear distinction at times between the gods and the dead, implying that both groups have similar powers. This raises the question of the status of the dead: were they regarded as gods, or was that a mere metaphor?

The study of what may be called the ontological nature of the dead cannot be limited to the Old Babylonian evidence, if only because of its paucity on the matter. A suitable entry into the subject is furnished by Middle Babylonian texts from Emar, a city on Mesopotamia's periphery.[70] Quite a number of the inheritance texts from Emar mention the 'god' or 'gods' of the family. The reference to the 'gods' occurs in various formulations. The most complete type must be translated: 'The gods (belong to) the main house. The main house is the share of PN, my eldest son.' Concomitant with the position of principal heir was the duty to minister to the gods. In the words of the traditional formula, the heir had to invoke (*nubbû*), to honour (*palāḫu*) and to tend (*kunnû*) 'the gods and the dead' of his (or her) father.[71] Possession of the main house and the responsibility for the cult of 'the gods and the dead' are two sides of one coin, apparently. The link is based on the presence of the gods in the main house. So much is implied in the translation of d i n g i r -*lī* (*ša*) é g a l as 'the gods belong to the main house.'

The binomial expression 'the gods and the dead' (*ilī u mētē*) is peculiar. It contains a key to the understanding of the nature of the family gods. An

---

69 Wilcke 1983:49.
70 For a survey of the evidence see van der Toorn 1994b.
71 Huehnergard 1985:428-431.

analysis of the verbs used in connection with 'the gods and the dead' shows that the cult they received was mortuary. The most frequent verb is *nubbû*, best rendered as 'to call upon', the equivalent of *šuma zakāru*, 'to invoke', in other texts. The second verb, *palāḫu*, 'to honour', goes with a funerary cult as well: 'honouring' the dead implies their provision with victuals. The verb *kunnû* has a similar connotation; it is rarely used in connection with the cult of the gods, and far more often in the context of burial rites. All this suggests that the 'gods' of the Emar inheritance texts refer in fact to the ancestors. The expression 'the gods and the dead' is best taken as a hendiadys: the dead are called 'gods' on account of their privileged state. The gods entrusted to the care of the main heir, then, are the material symbols of the family ancestors. As the new paterfamilias, the main heir is to continue their cult.

The insights gained from the Emar tablets can be helpful in the analysis of family religion in ancient Babylonia. It is true that Emar is at the periphery of the Mesopotamian culture. Also, the texts written at Emar use a terminology that sometimes differs from the conventional idiom in records from the Mesopotamian heartland. The same phenomenon can be observed in Akkadian texts from Nuzi and Susa. A difference in terminology need not coincide, however, with a difference in conceptual outlook. In fact, aspects of the Mesopotamian view of life that have not been grasped from a study of the Old Babylonian texts may sometimes be discovered through the study of peripheral texts. The divine nature ascribed to the dead is a case in point.

Indications about the divine state of the dead are not entirely lacking in Old Babylonian sources. Such Old Babylonian divine names as Ikrub-El ('El has blessed'), Itūr-Mer ('Mer has returned'), Ikūnum ('He is steadfast'), and Iqūlam ('He has paid attention to me') are morphologically theophoric (or hypocoristic) human names; and such was indeed their original status.[72] Like the names Bēlšunu ('their lord'), Šumi-aḫiya ('the name of my brother') and various others, they belong to mere mortals. After their death, the people who bore these names were venerated like gods, however, and their names were treated as divine names.[73] This onomastic evidence articulates a phenomenon which might easily escape notice: in Babylonia, the dead belong to the realm of the gods. A proper understanding of the importance of the family rituals for the dead is not possible without a grasp of the divine nature of the ghosts.

---

72 Cf. the entries Ikūnum and Jakrub-El in the *RLA*.

73 See Stol 1991:203-205, and contrast Huffmon 1971:289. In a personal communication, Stol has added the names Amat-Zarriqum (CT 6, 31b:4) and ^{d}A.ba-^{d}En.líl-gim (OECT 8, 20:11), Cf. also Išar-āliššu, Išar-kīdiššu, Išar-mātiššu and Išar-padā(n), in origin Old Akkadian personal names, but attested as divine names in Old Babylonian times and later (see W. G. Lambert in *RLA* 5:173, 174).

Another indication of the fact that the dead were conceived of as gods in Old Babylonian times is found in a euphemism for dying. The expression occurs mostly in Old Babylonian records of adoption. The moment of death of the adoptive father or mother is sometimes referred to in these texts as the point at which his or her gods call on him or her to join them.[74] The word 'gods' is always in the plural. Since most Babylonians had only one god to whom they were especially devoted, there is reason to suspect that the 'gods' of these texts are not gods in the ordinary sense of the term. According to the euphemism, moreover, the gods 'address an invitation' (*qerû*); the verb is normally used for an invitation to a meal.[75] There is no evidence that the Babylonians believed that the dead would dine with the gods; the dead were 'gathered to their fathers', as the biblical idiom has it. It is these deceased 'fathers' who are referred to as gods in the phrase *ištu ilūšu iqterûšu*, 'after his gods have called on him (to join them).'[76]

The belief in the divinity of the dead is already present in Sumerian texts. In wisdom counsels and hymns the 'mother' is regularly put in parallelism with the 'god'.[77] This does not mean that the family god was incarnate in the father and passed from his body to the bodies of his children, as has sometimes been claimed.[78] The terminology should rather be seen as a reflection of either the authority of the paterfamilias while still alive or the deified state ascribed to him after death. The 'death of [one's] god', mentioned in a Sumerian hymn to Utu is a retrospective reference to the death of one's father.[79] The reference to ghosts as the 'divine dead' in a Sumerian

---

74 For a convenient survey of most of the relevant texts see *CAD* Q 242-243.

75 The interpretation of *qerû* as 'to take away' (so *CAD* Q 243) is unfounded. There is not one text for which this meaning is assured. The idiom has been misunderstood by the *CAD*, because it failed to see that the 'gods' are in fact the ancestors.

76 Note also the plural of *eṭemmū* in CḪ r. xxvii 39 (g i d i m - g i d i m -*šu*) and VAS 1, 54, end: *ina šaplāti eṭemmūšu mê zakûti liltû*, 'May the spirits of his ancestors drink clear water below'. References courtesy M. Stol.

77 *SP* 1.145 'Accept your lot and make your mother happy, do it promptly and make your god happy'; 1.157 'A dishonest child—his mother should never have given birth to him, his god should never have fashioned him; 1.161 'Born from a mother, [fashioned] by a god'; *Instructions of Šuruppak*, lines 259-263 'The words of your mother and the words of your god you must not discuss. A mother is like the sun god Utu, she gives birth to humans; a father is like a god ...; a father is like a god, his word holds good' (for the translation see Wilcke 1978:211, 230-231). The latter text shows that it is the human father who is likened to or qualified as 'god' in these texts.

78 *Pace* Jacobsen 1976:159; cf. Klein, J. 1982:295-297.

79 The expression is found in the Utu hymn edited by Cohen, M. E. 1977, line 44 (n a m - ú š d i n g i r - z a - k a m), and in the Utu hymn edited by Alster 1991, line 135 (n a m - ú š d i n g i r - r a - n a). Alster's suggestion that this refers to the personal god as the personification of the man's personal luck must be rejected. Elsewhere in the Utu hymn, the expression 'his god' refers to the ancestor(s) as well (e.g., line 75). The qualification of the god's death as 'the destiny of mankind' (g i š - š u b n a m - l ú - u l u $_3$,

incantation against spectres (*šipat* ^{d}a d $_{6}$(LU$_{2}$xBAD) b a - u g $_{7}$) fits with this evidence.[80]

The conception found in Sumerian texts informs the use of the divine determinative for Lugalbanda in the Gilgameš epic; the divine determinative is affixed to his name because, being a ghost, he has entered the realm of the gods. Against this background, the inclusion of the *eṭemmū* in the group of the *ilānu* (or the equation of the two groups) in Middle Babylonian texts from Nuzi cannot be dismissed as peripheral;[81] nor can the hendiadys *ilīya u mētēya* ('my gods and my dead') in texts from 13th century BC Emar be regarded as a departure from the Babylonian views. The dead are 'the gods that dwell in the underworld', as a Neo-Assyrian text has it.[82] Hence the ghosts of one's parents can be referred to as the 'god of the father' and the 'goddess of the mother' (d i n g i r *abi*, ^{d}i n n i n *ummi*).[83]

The fact that divinity is ascribed to the ancestors explains the taboo on sexual intercourse with 'the daughter of one's god'. A cuneiform commentary to this expression specifies that 'the daughter of one's god' means 'one's sister'. Though this interpretation has at times been dismissed as erroneous, there is no valid reason not to accept it. Relations with 'the daughter of one's god' are prohibited because they are incestuous.[84] As a man is often qualified as 'the son of his god', meaning 'the son of his (now deified) father',[85] so a woman may be called 'the daughter of her god', meaning 'the daughter of her (now deified) father'.[86]

Where the Ancestors Sleep

The fact that Gilgameš can bring his libations to Lugalbanda at any station on the way to the Cedar forest shows that the cult of the dead was not limited to one consecrated place. Ordinarily, however, the cult of the dead was conducted in the house of the family. Such domestic devotion is also mentioned in the Epic of Gilgameš. When Gilgameš and Enkidu have slain the Bull of Heaven, Gilgameš takes its horns and has them made into libation vessels. He fills them with oil and dedicates them as ointment utensils 'for his god

---

line 135) offers additional support to the interpretation of 'his god' as a human being.

80 Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:74, IM 90648 line 15.

81 On the relationship between the *ilānu* and the *eṭemmū* in Nuzi texts see van der Toorn 1994b.

82 McGinnis 1987, col. i 23: d i n g i r - m e š *āšibūt erṣetim*, cf. commentary on p. 5.

83 Meier, G. 1944:142 line 37; Abusch 1987:58-59 n. 79.

84 For the texts and a discussion see Renger 1973b. I disagree with Renger about the nature of the girl's 'god' and the extent of the group with which that god was connected.

85 *CAD* I/J 100-101.

86 Schollmeyer 1912:138, K. 3025:20 *mar-ti* d i n g i r -*šú*; cf. Seux 1976:217 nn. 8-9.

Lugalbanda' (*ana piššat ilišu* ^{d}*Lugalbanda iqîš*). They were hung on the bed in the sleeping-room of the paterfamilias (*ušērimma itattal ina urši ḫammūtišu*).[87] It has been suggested that this implies 'that Gilgamesh kept a statue or statuette of him [i.e., Lugalbanda] in his bedroom where he anointed it regularly.'[88] Though the suggestion is based on information from the first millennium version of the Epic, there is evidence to suggest that it holds good for the time of Hammurabi as well.

An important passage in this connection is found in *Dumuzi's Wedding*, a Sumerian composition known from a poorly preserved Old Babylonian tablet.[89] The text describes the wedding of Dumuzi and Inanna in analogy with the usual wedding ceremony among humans. Having obtained the hand of Inanna, Dumuzi takes his spouse home. As the pair reach the house, Dumuzi turns to Inanna and says:

> O my bride, come to my ...
> O Inanna, ... the house of my god.
> To the house of my god I have brought you.
> In the presence of my god you will sleep at my side,
> on the ceremonial seat of my god, o Inanna, you will sit at my side.[90]

The place referred as 'the house of my god' (é-dingir-ĝá) cannot be separated from Dumuzi's own house, or rather: the house of his family. The 'god' of Dumuzi, then, is within the house. The reference to the connubial bed 'in the presence of' (igi) the god suggests that the god was believed to dwell in or near the bedroom of bride and bridegroom. This was the bedroom of the paterfamilias, a room of which Dumuzi, as head of the new household, had taken possession. Here he would sit, together with his spouse, on the 'ceremonial seat' (zà-gu-la)[91] that had once belonged to his father, referred to in the text as 'his god'. We know about the existence of the 'ceremonial table' (banšur-zà-gu-la), inherited by the eldest son, and used on solemn occasions; the ceremonial seat presumably went with it. Dumuzi intimates, in other words, that Inanna would enjoy all the

---

87 *Gilg* VI 174-175.

88 Dalley 1989:129 n. 68

89 *SLTN* 35. The text is also known, more prosaically, as 'Dumuzi-Inanna C'. For translations and studies see Jacobsen 1946:14-15; Falkenstein 1950:325-327; Kramer 1963:497; Bottéro & Kramer 1983:102 n. 12; Sefati 1985:323-339; Wilcke 1985:275-281; Jacobsen 1987:19-23; Frymer-Kensky 1989:189.

90 Column iii ^{9}mí-ús-dam-mu x-ĝá-šè DU-ni ^{10} ^{d}Inanna x x x é-dingir-ĝá ^{11} é-dingir-ĝá-šè mu-u$_{8}$-tum$_{4}$-e ^{12} igi-dingir-ĝá-šè ì-da-nú-en ^{13} zà-gu-la-dingir-ĝá-ka ^{d}Inanna mu-da-tuš-ù-dè-en.

91 For zà-gu-la as 'ceremonial seat' or 'seat of honour' see Sjöberg 1960:63 n. 3; 1975:219-220.

rights of the mistress of the house. His reassurance was apparently necessary, for he had later to repeat it to allay Inanna's fear that she would end up as a domestic servant.[92]

A Sumerian hymn to the sun god, meant to be recited during a ceremony for the dead, speaks about the ancestor as eating, drinking and sleeping in his own house.

> Let the dead man eat in front of his house,
> let him drink water in his house,
> let him sleep in the shade of his house.[93]

Eating and drinking are activities the dead can engage in only when their descendants provide them with food and drink. Since it may be assumed that the offerings were enjoyed at the place where they were presented, the natural locus of the cult of the dead, according to this hymn, is the family house. This is the place, too, where the ancestors are said to sleep. If the dead eat, drink, and sleep in the house, they must of course be present there; this presence must be taken literally, it seems.

Indeed, the concrete background of the idea of the ancestors sleeping in the family house is the practice of burying the dead within the house. 'Sleeping in the shade of one's house' is an 'allusion to the common practice of burying the dead in private houses', as the editor of the Sumerian hymn writes.[94] We have one reference to this practice in an Old Babylonian letter.[95] Other literary evidence for intramural burial is found in later sources. The myth of Erra and Išum has a passage in which the constructor of a house is pictured as saying: 'These are my living quarters: I have made them and will relax within them; and when my destiny has carried me off, I will sleep therein.'[96] A first millennium ritual to dispel a bad dream also implies that the ancestors are present in the bedroom. As soon as the sleeper is awoken from his nightmare, he is to touch the floor of the bedroom, to light

---

[92] Cf. Jacobsen's translation of column iv, 5-9 (1987:22): 'I have not carried you off into slavery, your table will be a [splen]did table, will be a splendid table, at the splendid table I eat! Your table will be the splendid table, will be the splendid table, you, you will eat at [the splendid table.]'

[93] Alster 1991, lines 151-152: l ú - ú š - e i g i é - a - n a ḫ é - g u$_7$ - e a é - a - n a ḫ é - n a g - n a g g i z z u é - a - n a - k a ḫ é - n á - n á . For i g i in line 151 there is a variant g i š (= ú ?). One would expect n i n d a , 'bread'.

[94] Alster 1991:28 (correct 'buring' into 'burying').

[95] AbB 1, 140 [17] *ištu* u$_4$. 2 0 . k a m [18] *Narāmtum aḫatka* [19] *ina šulputim* [20] *imūt* [21] *alākam epšam* [22] *warkat bītim* [23] *[p]urusma aḫassa* [24] *[x]-x-šima ina bītiša* [25] *[iqt]ebirši*, 'Twenty days ago your sister Narāmtum died on account of an act of defilement. Come over and settle the matter of the estate. Her sister has taken her away and buried her in her house.'

[96] *Erra* IV [99] *ša bīta īpušu ganūnīma iqabbi* [100] *annâ ētepušma apaššaḫa qerbuššu* [101] *ūm ubtūlanni šīmatī aṣallal ina libbi.*

the lamp, and to 'bless' (*karābu*) his 'god' and his 'goddess'.[97] Was the unpleasant dream provoked by feelings of guilt towards deceased parents? The belief that 'neglected ghosts may send evil dreams' was not uncommon in antiquity.[98]

Excavations at Ur and other places have shown that in the houses of the Old Babylonian upper class, the dead were interred underneath the floors.[99] These burials date from the time of the occupation of the houses; the dead and the living dwelt together. The customary room for the intramural burial is the second largest of the house.[100] This room is situated, as a rule, in the recesses of the house.[101] It must be identified with the bedroom of the paterfamilias, whose claim to legitimate succession would be underscored by the silent approval of the ancestors. That the dead were to be placed in the quietest room of the house may be inferred, too, from the Sumerian term for the offering to the dead, viz. k i - s ì - g a . The name is derived from the designation of the grave and means 'place of silence'.[102] Since the dead were not to be disturbed, it was not unnatural to bury them beneath the room that offered the highest degree of privacy; which, in the ancient Near Eastern house, is the bedroom.[103]

It should not be inferred, however, that intramural burial was a condition for the ancestors to receive a cult. The archaeological evidence shows that not all dead received intramural burial; both inside and outside the city, separate cemeteries have been found.[104] It is difficult to believe that the people buried there were not included in the cult of the ancestors. Even people who had disappeared, and who might be either alive or dead, were included in the *kispum* ceremony. The fact is illustrated by the case of a father and his lost son.

---

97 Oppenheim 1956:343, tablet 79-7-8, 77 r. 16'-17'.

98 The quotation is from Tibullus II vi 37: *ne tibi neglecti mittant mala somnia manes*. For another possible allusion to intramural burial in a first millennium ritual see Tsukimoto 1985:125.

99 See Strommenger 1964; Gasche 1989:60-61; Krafeld-Daugherty 1994:174-235.

100 So Luby 1990, according to Van de Mieroop 1992:37. Luby's dissertation was inaccessible to me.

101 Cf. Krafeld-Daugherty 1994:186 'Gemeinsam ist den Hauskapellen, dass sie möglichts weit vom Hauseingang entfernt liegen und somit für Fremde zum unzugänglichsten Bereich des Hauses gehören.' Krafeld-Daugherty identifies the domestic chapels with the rooms used for intramural burial.

102 See Lambert 1987a:403-404.

103 The parallel with the innermost sanctum of the god in his temple is interesting: the image of the god stood in the *kummu* (a g r i g), a term that can be rendered as 'bedroom', 'private quarters'. The cella was indeed a place where no light penetrated, and where noises were reduced to muffled sounds.

104 Barrelet 1980 (who is too sceptical about the occurrence of intramural burial, however).

> My son Sukkukum disappeared from me eight years ago and I did not know whether he was still alive and I kept making funerary offerings for him as (one would) for a dead person. Now they have told me that he is staying in the town of Ik-barî in the house of Ibni-Ea the charioteer and the goldsmith, the son of Ṣilli-Šamaš.[105]

It is possible that these dead—real or presumed—who did not physically 'sleep' in the family house were present there in the form of a statuette or some other symbol. The Epic of Gilgameš refers to a statue of the deceased Enkidu, and implies the existence of a statue of Lugalbanda.[106]

The Authority of the Ancestors

Even in death, the ancestors were by no means powerless. They dwelt with the gods and wielded divine power. Being kin, they were kind at core; only when the living misbehaved did they turn into adversaries. The forefathers exercised an authority that was protective as well as disciplinary; they acted as tutelary spirits. In this they continued to play the part of parents—only this time with powers well beyond those of ordinary mortals.

The tutelage of the ancestors was regarded as a safeguard of the integrity of the family or clan (*kimtum*). Threats to this integrity were manifold. First in line was the curse of infertility which would lead to an 'extinguished brazier' (*kinūnum belû*), an image of the interrupted lineage.[107] A first millennium prayer uses the epithet *mudeššû zēri*, 'providing abundant seed', for the 'god' and 'goddess' of the house.[108] The expression does not refer to the fertility of fields or flock, but to human procreation. Expectations concerning the ability of the deified kin to provide their descendants with offspring are also hinted at in *Dumuzi's Wedding*. Just before Inanna is brought into 'the house of [Dumuzi's] god' where, in the presence of the god, she is to sleep with Dumuzi, the latter asks his god for male offspring.[109] This does not mean that 'the ancients believed that children were conceived only when the personal god and goddess of husband and wife, the family deities, entered the bodies of the couple in the act of procreation and made them fertile.'[110]

---

[105] AbB 13, 21 [5] *[I]Sukkukum marī* [6] *ištu* m u - 8 - k a m *iḫliqannima* [7] *balṭūssu ul īdēma* [8] *kīma mītim kispam* [9] *aktassipšum* [10] *inanna ina* [uru]*Ik-barî*[ki] [11] *ina bīt* [I]*bni-Ea rakkābim kutimmim* [12] *mār Ṣilli-Šamaš* [13] *wašbūssu iqbūnim*.

[106] For the statue of Enkidu and its cultic use see *Gilg* VIII ii 25-iii 5. For the statue of Lugalbanda see above and n. 88.

[107] For the expression see AbB 2, 111:15-16; Landsberger 1916; *CAD* B, s.v. *balû* 1a and *belû*; AbB 12:81 ad no. 93, a).

[108] Sweet 1970:7, lines 5-6.

[109] *SLTN* 35 iii, 5-6, translated by Jacobsen 1987:22 as 'O my master, my bride [is accompanying me], may she duly give [bi]rth to a little lad!'

[110] *Pace* Jacobsen 1987:22 n. 6. Jacobsen's translation of column iii, 7 ('O my master,

The spirits of deceased kin did not need to enter the bodies of the couple to grant them offspring; yet their blessing was indispensable.

The integrity of the family has a moral as well as a physical aspect; the tutelage of the ancestors included both. As protectors of the moral integrity of the family, the dead kin might be appealed to as a collective referent. This notion is particularly well attested in Assyrian letters from the Old Babylonian period. A woman, asking her brother for money, urges him to 'please the god and the spirits.'[111] The god is the family god, and the spirits are the ghosts of the ancestors. Someone acting against the interests of a given family 'shows contempt' towards its ancestral spirits.[112] Because these spirits embody the family conscience, they can also be invoked in protestations of innocence, alongside the god of the city and the family god. A striking example is found in the correspondence between Enna-Suen and his son. The father blames his son for declaring that he, Enna-Suen, cheats him. The refutation of this incrimination is followed by the words:

> Aššur, Amurrum, and the spirits of my fathers may be my witnesses that I do not cheat you! And is this not enough (to convince you) that you have put a curse into my mouth?[113]

The oath of innocence was a means to clear one's name. Central to such an oath is a conditional curse by the gods (and, in this case, the ancestors): the juror brings a divine punishment over himself should his assertion be false. A conditional curse (here euphemistically called a 'blessing', *ikribum*[114]) invoking the ancestors as witnesses is also found in later texts from El-Qiṭār and Emar, where the 'spirits' of the father are referred to as 'the god[s] of the father'.[115]

---

go in to her in the house') must be corrected. The Sumerian reads l u g a l - m u é - a k u$_4$ - r a - n i, and means 'as my lord entered the house.'

111 BIN 4, 96 [15] *ṣubatē* [16] *ana kaspim ta'irma* [17] *kaspam kunukma* [18] *[š]ēbilam kima* [19] *ilam* (d i n g i r) *u eṭemmē* [20] *tagammiluma* [21] *la aḫalliqu* [22] *epuš*, 'Convert the clothes into silver, put the silver under seal and send it to me. Act so that you please the god and the spirits, and I do not perish!'

112 BIN 6, 59 [8] *u ištu uṣūni eṭemmē* [9] *[ša a]bīni lū uqallilma* [10] *[u] niāti ana ṣaḫḫurūtim* [11] *[lū iškunniāti]ma*, 'And since he left he has shown contempt towards our father's spirit and [even] us he has thereby [treated] as small persons.' The translation is that of Larsen 1976:288.

113 *Aššur* [d]*Amurrum u e-ṭé-mu-ú ša a-bé-a liṭṭulāni lā asalliukani u annītum maṣātma ša ikribam ippīa taškunu.* I owe the reference to this quotation from the unpublished letter kt 91/k 139 to prof. K. R. Veenhof (Leiden). For comparison one might cite *KTK* 18 r. 11': *Aššur ilki u abini liṭṭulā*, where *abini* may in fact refer to the deceased father.

114 The meaning 'curse' for *ikribum* is also attested in Old Assyrian in Lewy 1926, 15:25 ('before their god[s] an *ikribum* came out of the mouth of their fathers') and CCT 4, 31a:28 ('he does not bear you any grudge and [even] uttered [*pāšu ublam*] an *ikribum* to that effect'). I owe both references to K. R. Veenhof.

115 Arnaud 1991, 70 [11'] *[mann]ume ša awātē annûti* [12'] *[unakk]ar il* (d i n g i r -

The appeal to the ancestors as moral referees is usually motivated by tensions within the family: a woman feels neglected by her brother; father and son are on bad terms. Incidentally, the ancestors are invoked against outsiders. Those who treat a family disrespectfully may be accused of contempt toward the spirit of its father. It may be assumed that such accusations were addressed to persons who had personally known the father during his lifetime; their behaviour after his death was felt to be an insult to his memory. It is clear from these references that the ancestral spirits, together with the gods of the family, symbolized the family identity. Anyone acting against the interest of the family elicited the displeasure of its ghosts; those promoting its interests, on the other hand, would be followed by their blessing.

From the exorcistic rituals against angry ghosts, mainly known from texts from the first millennium, one might gain the impression that the ancestors were fundamentally malevolent, and that the main function of the *kispum* was to keep them at bay. This view is certainly wrong. The central motive of the *kispum* was *do ut venias* ('I give that you may come') rather than *do ut abeas* ('I give that you may go away'); the purpose of the rite was communion and the maintenance of mutual good-will. Those who performed the *kispum* rites wished to perpetuate the compact between the dead and the living. The family and its ancestors were to 'bless' each other, to say it in Babylonian terms. The closing lines of the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty, a text recited during the royal *kispum*, are illuminating in this respect.

> And any dynasty not recorded on this tablet,
> and any soldier who fell while in arms for his lord,
> royal sons and royal daughters,
> all humanity from where the sun rises to where its goes down,
> all who have no one to care for them or to call them[116]
> come ye, eat this, drink this, and give your blessing
> to Ammişaduqa the son of Ammiditana, king of Babylon![117]

The purpose of the *kispum*, according to this text, was the obtaining of the blessing of the dead. One finds this idea in a variety of texts from different

---

meš) *abīšu lu bēl* (en) *dīnīšu*; Snell 1984, lines 23-24: *ilāni* (dingir-me-*ni*) *ša abiya ana šēbūte altakan.*

116 *sa-ḫi-ra-am* must be interpreted as *zākiram.*

117 Finkelstein, J. J. 1966:96 [32] *palû* (bal) *ša ina ṭuppi annî lā šaṭru* [33] *u rēdû* (aga-uš) *ša ina dannat bēlīšu imqutu* [34] *mārē šarri* (dumu-meš lugal) [35] *mārāt šarri* (dumu-mí-meš lugal) [36] *awīlūtum kališin* [37] *ištu ṣīt šamši* (^{d}utu-è-a) *adu ereb šamši* (^{d}utu-šú-a) [38] *ša pāqidam u sāḫiram la išû* [39] *alkānimma anniam aklā* [40] *anniam šitiā* [41] *ana Ammiṣaduqa mār* (dumu) *Ammiditāna* [42] lugal kádingir-ra^{ki} [43] *kurbā*. For the translation see also Lambert 1969.

places and periods.[118] The 'blessing' was mutual: the living were to bless the dead by invoking their name and presenting them with food and drink, and the dead would bless the living with peace.

To have the blessing of one's ancestors is to have their approval; to have the blessing of one's offspring is to have their gratitude. For both parties involved the manifestation of mutual acceptance was important. 'The word of the living is precious to the dead, the word of the dead is precious to the living,' as the Sumerian hymn to the sun god says.[119] The central moment in this contact between the dead and the living was the *kispum*. It constituted the rite by which the family proclaimed and, by the same token, reaffirmed and reinforced its identity. Outside the family, there was no such identity. Only under the roof of the family home would there be kin to call you by your name after your death; out on the street one died nameless. That is why the ale-wife Siduri could give no better advice to Gilgameš than to start a family and have children.[120] The only immortality he could hope for was ancestorhood; ancestorhood would provide him with an identity lasting longer than a lifetime.

---

[118] In a Neo-Assyrian letter addressed to the crown-prince the ghost of the queen-mother is said to 'bless' (*karābu*) the prince because he has shown reverence for her ghost, see *LAS* 1, 132 [5] *eṭemmaša* [6] *ikarrabšu kî ša šû* [7] *eṭemmu iplaḫuni.* For a discussion of the evidence see *LAS* 2:190. An Ugaritic funerary ritual ends with the repeated request for 'peace' (*šlm*)—for the king and his offspring, for the queen and her offspring, and for Ugarit and its city quarters (*KTU* 1.161:31-34).

[119] Alster 1991, lines 107-108: inim lú-ti-la lú ug_5-ga-šè kal, inim ug_5-ga lú-ti-la kal.

[120] See Abusch 1993a.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE VENERATION OF FAMILY GODS: A LOCAL FOCUS OF IDENTITY

The principal means by which a Babylonian might authenticate a legal document is by impressing it with his cylinder seal.[1] A seal is not a signature; it was the equivalent, rather, of an identity paper. The seal's impress on the clay of a contract showed that its owner accepted the binding force of the document.[2] The legend of a seal usually states the name of the owner, his patronymic, and the name of the god whom he serves. These three data provided the essential information concerning a person's identity. Self-identifications in formulary prayers from the first millennium BC follow the same pattern: 'I am A, son of B, whose god is C and whose goddess is D.'[3] In both the legends of the seals and the self-introductions in the prayers, the individual defines his identity in part by his personal god or gods. These personal gods, worshipped by families and kin groups, are normally local gods with a sanctuary in the city district or the neighbourhood. Through the worship of such gods, families asserted the local dimension of their identity.

The Legends of the Seals

The usual legend of the Old Babylonian cylinder seal consists of three short lines: the first stating the name of the owner of the seal, the second defining him as 'son of So-and-So', and the third as the 'servant of god So-and-So.' Instead of the name of a god properly speaking, some seals have the name of a king (either alive or deceased) or a temple (notably the Ebabbar). The individual is thus characterized as a 'son' (d u m u , *mārum*) and as a 'servant' (ì r , *wardum*); the filiation implies identification with a family, the servanthood association with a deity (or a king or a temple, both being looked upon as divine). What is the nature of this association?

Interpretations of the expression 'servant of god A', found on the Old Babylonian seals, can be divided in two groups. Some scholars take the notice as a reflection of the devotion of the owner of the seal: they believe the god someone is said to serve is his 'personal' god, that is, the god (or

---

1 For general treatments of the cylinder seals see Gibson & Biggs 1977; Collon 1987.
2 Cf. Renger 1977:79.
3 Mayer 1976:46-56.

goddess) to whom he feels a particular affection and whose cult he holds in high honour.[4] Others read the expression as the registration of the fact that the owner belonged to a temple bureaucracy. They argue that the term 'servant' refers to a legal status. To prove their point they make a comparison with those seals defining the owner as the 'servant' of a named king rather than a god. If the designation 'servant of king B' means that the person in question belonged to the palace administration, or that he was politically subordinate to the king, the variant 'servant of god A' should be explained along similar lines.[5] A third group of scholars simply suspend judgment. One of them declares that 'we do not know the basis of the association between the deity and the man or its consequences, cultic or otherwise.'[6]

The material that is available does not justify the scepticism professed by the third group of scholars. Careful study of the seal inscriptions has already led to serious progress in the understanding of their significance.[7] Thus the interpretation of 'servant' as a reference to the professional occupation of the owner must be abandoned. A number of inscriptions mentioning both the religious profession of the owner and the god of whom he is servant show that the two do not necessarily match. The view that 'servant of god A' means that the man in question was a temple official is apparently unfounded. An example may illustrate the point:

> Šalim-pāliḫ-Marduk,
> son of Sîn-gamil,
> *šangûm*-priest of Šamaš,
> servant of Marduk.[8]

Apparently, the god this man was privately associated with (Marduk) was not the one he served in his professional capacity (Šamaš). Other seals make a similar distinction.[9] This favours the interpretation which sees in 'servant of god A' a reflection of personal devotion—also when there is no reference to a professional association with a given deity.

The view which takes 'servant of god A' as a statement of a professional relationship may be challenged from another angle as well. The principal argument in its favour would seem to be the occurrence of the phrase

---

4 Thus, e.g., Krausz 1911; Langdon 1919:51 n. 1, 52 n. 2.

5 See Jacobsen 1940:141; Gelb 1977:113-114; Greengus 1979:6 n. 24.

6 Oppenheim 1977[2]:198.

7 Notably Charpin 1990a, to whose work much of the what follows is indebted.

8 Seal impression on TCL 1, 69 r.

9 E.g., von der Osten 1934, no. 263 (Apil-Yatum, son of Nabi-Sîn, *pašīšum*-priest of Inanna, servant of Ea); de Ward 1920:91 (Imgur-Sîn, *pašīšum*-priest of Ninlil, son of Anebabdu, servant of Damu); Jean 1931, 22a (Zaziya, *pašīšum*-priest of Gula, son of Šu-Ninšubur, servant of Ninšubur).

'servant of king B.' By tacit consensus, the latter phrase is taken to imply that the owner of the seal is attached to the court. Such may or may not have been the case, however. Even before their death, kings enjoyed a status not inferior to that of the gods; they were the object of an adoration bordering on worship.[10] Oaths invoke the names of gods and kings alike; similar powers were ascribed to them. Royal names are also found as theophoric elements in personal names, such as Hammurabi-ilī, 'Hammurabi-is-my-god', or Ilūni-šarrum, 'the king-is-our-god'.[11] If kings can be treated as gods, why should they not occur in a divine capacity in the legends of the cylinder seals? In some cases it is evident, moreover, that the king mentioned in the place of the personal god was deceased.[12] This does not imply that the kings who are referred to in a divine capacity are by definition dead; yet the relationship between worshipper and deified king obviously differed from the relationship normally obtaining between employee and employer. It may be concluded that the association between the individual and the god (or king) mentioned in his seal is not based on the former's position as a temple or palace official. The last line of the seal legend is the expression of a private devotion.

Greeting Formulas in Letters

By their nature, seals are stylized and formal expressions of identity. It cannot be taken for granted that they reflect actual religious moods and practices. We must therefore probe for the reality behind the seals. One avenue of investigation that may take us some way toward this goal is a study of documents of day-to-day life; family correspondence falls into that category. Amid the various events and affairs discussed in Mesopotamian letters, the references to matters of religion are relatively rare, it is true, yet they are by no means lacking. In epistolary texts gods are traditionally referred to in two capacities: as powers that may bestow their blessing upon the addressee, and as supreme witnesses to (and, as the case may be, retributors of) human behaviour. In the first capacity they are found in the opening statements of the letters.

To win the goodwill of the addressee, the rules of the epistolary genre require the writer to begin by saying: 'Thus says B: May god C and god D

---

10 Cf. Chapter Two, n. 141.

11 See Klengel 1976b; 1983:8 n. 7. Cf. EA 198:1-2 'To the king, my lord, my personal god.'

12 See Klengel 1983:15 n. 22. Cf. BM 96956 (reference courtesy K. R. Veenhof), a text from the reign of Abi-ešuḫ (1711-1684) with an impression of the seal of Sîn-iddinam the son of Nūrātum, 'servant of Hammurabi' (1792-1750).

keep you in good health,' or some other pious wish. Normally the reference is to two gods; sometimes one, and exceptionally three or more. A mere glance at a collection of Mesopotamian letters suffices to establish that, the contents of the wishes being quite similar, the deities invoked to effectuate these blessings often differ from the one letter to the other. Letter writers were apparently at liberty to select the names of the gods themselves. Assuming that the gods were not chosen at random by the letter writer, what criteria commanded their selection? Do these opening statements afford an insight into the actual religion of a given family?[13]

Inquiries into the motives explaining the choice of deities in the formula of greetings have been hampered by the wish to find one fixed rule; such a rule, apparently, did not exist. The habits that govern the selection cannot be translated into a 'law'. The general considerations of the letter writers are clear: they wish to mention the gods that can effectively bestow the desired benefits because they stand in an acknowledged relationship to the sender, to the addressee, or to both; yet the translation of this concern into the actual choice of deities is variable.

At times, the gods invoked have a relationship with the sender alone. The *nadītum* women in the service of Šamaš usually open their letters by invoking the blessing of their 'Lord' and their 'Lady' upon the correspondent. They sometimes add that Šamaš and his consort Aya (the gods referred to by these epithets) will give their blessing 'for my sake' (*aššumiya*), by which they mean, as other letters show, that their intercession with the divine pair will lead their gods to extend their care to the addressee. In cases like this, the salutatory address tells little about the beliefs of the recipient of the letter.

Letters written by *nadītum* women constitute a minority of the epistolary corpus, however. In correspondence between people living in the secular realm, there usually is a reference to one or more gods with whom the recipient of the letter is somehow connected. According to earlier studies, the gods mentioned are normally those of the cities in which sender and recipient lived; since each Mesopotamian city had its patron deity (Marduk in Babylon, Zababa in Kiš, Tišpak in Ešnunna, and so forth), and correspondence was often between two persons living in different cities, the frequent occurrence of two gods is to be expected.[14] Pressed for further precision, scholars have suggested that good manners required the letter writer to first mention the god of the addressee and only then his own city god.[15] It must be

---

[13] For a study of the background of the Old Babylonian greeting formulas see Dalley 1973.

[14] See Schroeder 1918.

[15] So Landsberger 1929:300.

immediately added, though, that the rules of epistolary decorum were applied with a great amount of freedom.

A perusal of the several thousands of Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian letters shows the presence of another pattern, too. There are quite a number of letters in which the writer calls upon the personal god of the addressee. Some examples illustrate the practice.

> May Šamaš and your god keep you in good health![16]

> May Šamaš, Marduk and Amurrum your creator keep you in good health forever for my sake![17]

> May Šamaš and the god of your husband keep you in good health![18]

> May Šamaš and Ninšubur your creator keep you in good health forever for my sake![19]

These few cases reflect a pattern: the personal god of the addressee comes last, and may be mentioned by his name and the epithet 'your creator', or simply as 'your god' or—when the writer is addressing a woman—'the god of your husband'. The gods previously mentioned are often Šamaš or Marduk, or both. Their mention need not be related to the city of the letter writer: under the Hammurabi dynasty, Marduk is mentioned as the 'national' god, whereas Šamaš seems to owe his place (always first in line) to his role as 'universal' god. Šamaš, in other words, is not invoked in his capacity as city god (which would imply that one of the correspondents were by definition at home in either Sippar or Larsa, which manifestly is not always the case), but because of his omnipresence as the sun god.[20] If there is a traditional order in which the gods are mentioned, then, it goes from the general ('Šamaš') to the particular ('your god').

Once the pattern is established on the basis of a few unambiguous references, it becomes possible to recognize personal gods in deities not explicitly designated as such. When a letter having Larsa as its destination mentions Šamaš and Gula as those who grant the addressee good health, we can be fairly sure that Gula is the personal goddess of the recipient.[21] Likewise, a

---

16 AbB 13, 65:4-5.
17 AbB 13, 161:4-5.
18 AbB 12, 129:3.
19 AbB 9, 132:4-6.
20 Note the frequency of the *aššum Šamaš* formula in letters from various parts of Mesopotamia, see Veenhof 1978. Cf. the equivalent rhetorical question 'Is not Šamaš our (common) god?' in AbB 10, 178:5.
21 AbB 13, 138:4-6. For the destination see AbB 13, p. x.

blessing by Šamaš and Ašnan in a greeting formula presumably means that Ašnan is the personal god of the recipient.[22]

Once again, one must beware not to take a custom for an inflexible rule. Though the rule according to which the order goes from the general to the particular is usually valid, the god who is last mentioned may also be the god of the letter writer. An example of this phenomenon is found in a letter of Ur-Utu, the *galamaḫḫum* priest of Annunītum in Sippar. He flatters a potential benefactor by evoking the admiration and moral respect which the latter's intervention might elicit: 'May those who see me invoke a blessing upon you, my lord, before Šamaš, Marduk, and Annunītum.' The order suggests that Annunītum was the personal goddess of the writer—which other evidence confirms to be the case.[23]

In spite of their standardized forms and obligatory nature, the greeting formulas of the letters offer room for a personal touch. The reference to the personal god of the recipient is not omnipresent; yet its regular occurrence shows that the relationship between a man or a woman and his or her god was a matter of concern to others as well. By alluding to it, they demonstrated their sensitivity to the religious identity of their correspondent. Clearly, the commitment to a personal deity was not only a private matter. One's religious identity, materializing in the devotion to a particular god, was also a social identity.

The Familial Context of Private Devotion

To call the god mentioned on the seal and in the letters the 'personal god' may easily convey a wrong impression. When we speak of a 'personal computer' we refer to a computer that is meant for personal use, normally by one individual only. The gods the Babylonians privately worshipped were not personal in this sense. Babylonians were not devoted each to his particular deity: the cult of the 'personal god' was collective, as the evidence shows.

In a limited number of cases we possess the seals of various members of one family. A synoptic study of these seals reveals that, within a given family, different generations mention one and the same god as their personal deity.[24] One Iddin-Amurrum from Larsa is 'servant of Amurrum', as was

---

22 AbB 13, 146:3.

23 Van Lerberghe & Voet 1991, 68:3'-4'. Ur-Utu is also known as the author of a letter prayer to Annunītum (de Meyer 1989). Since letter prayers were normally addressed to the personal god, this is a case, it seems, where professional service and private devotion coalesce.

24 Charpin 1990a:61-69.

his son Māri-Amurrim;[25] the brothers Etel-pî-Sîn and Waqrum from Ur, sons of Šamaš-nāṣir, both claim to be 'servant[s] of Nimintabba'.[26] Other examples abound. The personal god was passed on from father to son and from son to grandson.[27] He was part of the heritage, so to speak, and as such the god of the patrilineal family.

A family's loyalty to one and the same god over several generations shows that it would be mistaken to say that the god mentioned in a personal seal is the god of the owner's private predilection; he had not personally chosen this god. To judge by the seals the room for choice must have been very small. The fact is illustrated, too, by the practice of sons using the seal of their father.[28] The seals are statements of a family identity rather than an individual identity; therefore, their transmission from father to son need not cause surprise. On the death of his father, the eldest son succeeded to the former's position as paterfamilias. It was his role, henceforth, to represent the family. The transfer of authority was materialized in various ways, one of them being the transmission of the seal. Just as the possession of the royal seal was a means to demonstrate royal authority by commission,[29] so the seal of the father was a visible legitimation of the authority of his successor.[30] The god mentioned in the father's seal was also his son's, not because the son had decided it that way, but by virtue of his membership (and now leadership) of the family.

To judge by the evidence of the cylinder seals, devotion to a particular deity ran in the family: if a man defines himself as a servant of, say, Adad, there is a fair chance that his son and grandson will do likewise. Their devotion follows the family tradition. The fact that the god of the paterfamilias was a god of the other members of the family as well is also evident from the letters, where the expressions 'your god' and 'the god of your father' are used indiscriminately to refer to the same deity. The phenomenon is particularly well attested in the correspondence of Assyrian merchants travelling between the Assyrian homeland and the trading colony at Kārum Kaniš (modern Kültepe in Central Turkey). Their letters, written around 1900 BC,

---

25 Charpin 1990a:62-63.

26 Charpin 1990a:61.

27 A similar conclusion was already reached by Hirsch 1966:57 and Stol 1980:187-188 and n. 9.

28 For examples see Charpin 1990a:73.

29 See Charpin 1992a:70-74.

30 Cf. the observation by Cunnison 1957:22 concerning 'positional succession' among certain clans in the border zone between Zaire and Zambia: 'Whenever a married person dies, he or she must be succeeded by a person who becomes sociologically the deceased, taking not only his role but his identity as well.'

abound with references to the personal god of the recipient.[31] The study of these references becomes particularly instructive when they can be traced to the same family archive. Compare the following phrases, both taken from letters addressed to Innāya, a major Assyrian trader.

> May Aššur and your god be witnesses![32]

> May Aššur, and Amurrum your god, and the shrine[33] of Aššur by which I have taken an oath, reject me (if this is not so)![34]

In letters dispatched by Innāya himself we find:

> May Aššur and Amurrum the god of my father be witnesses: I have not done anything to him![35]

> May Aššur and your [plur.] gods be witnesses![36]

> May Aššur, your [plur.] gods, and the god of my father be witnesses![37]

These few examples (which could easily be multiplied if the correspondence of other merchants were drawn upon as well) support some of our earlier observations. Here, too, there is a movement from the general to the particular: first Aššur, the national god, is invoked, and then the personal god (of

---

31 For studies see Garelli 1962:207-208; Hirsch 1966; 1972:35-36, Nachträge, 18; 1977.

32 TC 1, 20:46, cf. Michel, C. 1991.2, 26 [46] *Aššur u ilka li[ṭṭulā]*.

33 The word *pì-ri-ku-um* is problematic. The only other occurrence is in CCT 4, 43a [31] *[maḫar] patrim ša Aššur i[lli]kū pì-ri-kam* [32] *ša Aššur it[mama umma] šūtma*, 'They went before the sword of Aššur. He took an oath by the *pirikkum* of Aššur, declaring ...'. Following a suggestion by Lewy 1950:25-26 n. 3, von Soden (*AHw* 866 s.v.) interprets *pirikkum* as a lion symbol on the basis of Sumerian p i r i g , 'lion'. Alternatively, Balkan 1967:399-400 n. 3 has suggested reading it as *bi-ri-qú-um*, a by-form of *birqum*, 'lightning'. The Old Assyrian *pirikkum* is connected, I believe, with the word *pi-ri-ik-ki-šu-nu* in an Old Babylonian hymn to Amurrum, OECT 11, 1:12. In view of the parallel expression *šu-ub-ti-šu-un*, it is apparently a variant of *parakkum*, 'shrine' (cf. O. R. Gurney in his commentary, OECT 11:18). This meaning fits the Old Assyrian evidence. The *pirikkum* of Dagan is mentioned in a Mari text (ARMT 23, 284:3), and a text from Emar mentions an undefined *pirikkum* in connection with an oath (Arnaud 1986, 28:5). Note also the goddess *Ištar (ša) pí-ri-kà-ti* in Emar, presumably the 'Ištar (or simply 'goddess') of shrines' rather than 'Ištar of the lions' (cf. Fleming 1992:89 n. 73). For other cases of an oath by a shrine see van der Toorn 1986b.

34 BIN 6, 97 = Michel, C. 1991.2, 44 [20] *Aššur u* [d]*Amurrum ilka* [21] *u pirikkum ša <<ša>> Aššur* [22] *ša atmā[ku]ni liddi'ānī*.

35 CCT 5, 1a = Michel, C. 1991.2, 96 [31] *Aššur* [32] *u* [d]*Amurrum ili abiya* [33] *liṭṭulā mimma lā ēpušušuni*.

36 Donbaz & Veenhof 1985, no. 2 = Michel, C. 1991.2, 98 [7] *Aššur u ilūkunu liṭṭu[lā]*.

37 Donbaz & Veenhof 1985, no. 2 = Michel, C. 1991.2, 98 [18] *Aššur* [19] *ilīkunu u ili* (d i n g i r -*li*) *abiya* [20] *liṭṭulā*.

the writer or the recipient, or both). For Innāya, the latter is Amurrum. Since the god can be referred to both as 'your god' (in letters addressed to Innāya) and as 'the god of my father' (in letters written by Innāya), the personal god is evidently the 'god of the father': even after the father's death, the devotion of the paterfamilias determines the devotion of his son.

The 'god of the father' is not altogether lacking in texts from Babylonia proper.[38] In an Old Babylonian letter from Adab (modern Bismaya), the letter writer (a woman) appeals to Ninšubur, whom she calls 'the god of your father', to 'render a verdict about my affairs and your affairs'.[39] The man and the woman are brother and sister, and theirs is a dispute over the heritage. Since they have the same father, the god of his father is by definition the god of her father: he is the god of the family.[40] A second letter containing the expression is special, because it is addressed to 'the god of my father'.[41] Since this unnamed god is asked to have mercy on the supplicant for the sake of his family, 'old and young ones', he may appropriately be characterized as the family patron. A third occurrence of the expression is found in a personal lamentation not devoid of literary qualities; here the 'god of the father' is asked to intercede with Ištar.[42]

The characterization of the personal god as the 'god of the father' confirms what could be deduced from the witness of the seals: the god to whom the paterfamilias is devoted is also the god of his sons. To judge by the Sumerian evidence, the Babylonian practice goes back to the mid-third millennium at least. The personal god of the male adolescent was the god of his father. In one of the Sumerian literary dialogues from the 'tablet house', the teacher blesses his pupil by 'the god of [his] father', according to the most likely restoration of the slightly damaged text.[43] There are also historical examples of such family traditions. In the royal family of early Lagaš there was a veneration of the god Šulutul (or Šulluḫša, the correct reading of the name being in doubt) shared by father, son and grandson.[44] There is no reason to believe that such traditions flourished only in royal families. Like the Babylonians of the early second millennium, ordinary citizens in the third millennium were devoted to 'the god of their father'.

---

38 The context of the expression is sometimes obscure, as in AbB 11, 15:20.

39 AbB 5, 39 7 *[ya]tta u katta* 8 *[^{d}N]inšubur ili abika* 9 *[liš]āḫiz*.

40 Because of the greeting formula 'May Enlil and Ninurta keep you in good health forever for my sake,' I assume that the woman is a *nadītum* living in Nippur.

41 AbB 9, 141 = YOS 2, 141. For a justification of the translation of d i n g i r *a-bi-ya* as 'the god of my father' (*pace* M. Stol in AbB 9:89) see Groneberg 1986:103 n. 82.

42 IM 58424:13-16, see Groneberg 1986.

43 See Kramer 1949:204, line 83 [d i n g i r] - a d - d a - z u. For the restoration see the translation by Kramer 1965:240.

44 Edzard 1993:203-204.

The terms in which the Babylonians referred to their family gods are always relational. In addition to the customary expressions 'your god' and 'the god of your father', we find, where a woman is addressed, references to 'the god of your husband' (the husband being referred to as *bēlum*, literally 'lord'). One letter writer expresses the wish that 'Šamaš and the god of your husband keep you in good health';[45] another prays that 'Geštinanna and the god of your husband keep you in good health forever.'[46] The expression does not warrant the conclusion that 'women had neither a tutelary god nor a tutelary goddess.'[47] It is true that the ideal woman 'humbly serves the god of her husband,' as a Sumerian text has it,[48] but her devotion to this god may be as fervent and genuine as her husband's. Women were not free to choose the god they would worship; nor were most Babylonian men. The liberty to choose must not be confused with the measure of personal involvement and dedication.

The attachment of a wife to the god of her husband does imply inequality between men and women, however; a man would never be said to serve the god of his wife. The religion of women was always determined by men. There is not a single text from the second millennium that speaks about the personal god of a woman as 'her god', unless the woman in question is an oblate or a priestess.[49] As long as she is not married, a woman worships 'the god of her father' (*ili abiša*).[50] Her wedding altered the situation: henceforth, she was to serve the god of her husband (that is, to be more precise, the god of *his* father). If her family and her in-laws lived in proximity of each other, there is a fair chance that they were devoted to the same deity. When the distance is significant, though, the marriage could coincide with a religious transfer; the woman had to forget her paternal gods. The case of princess Kirûm, who was anxious to return home to worship the gods of her father, shows that the transition was not always easy.[51]

Bēltani, whose father had dedicated her as a *qadištum* (literally, a 'consecrated woman') to his god Adad, henceforth belonged to the god Adad; he now was 'her god', as the text says.[52] Likewise, the *nadītum* women, dedicated to Šamaš, Marduk, or some other god, speak of their divine masters as

---

45 AbB 12, 129:3 (*pace* W. van Soldt).
46 *OBRT* 116:4-5.
47 Stamm 1939:73 (on the basis of personal names).
48 Çiğ & Kramer 1976:416, line 15.
49 Credit for this discovery goes to Nashef 1975.
50 Ungnad 1910:141, line 3.
51 ARM 10, 113:19-22.
52 Grant 1918, 260:14 *maḫar* ^{d}*Adad iliša*, cf. lines 2-4: ^{I}*Ibni-*^{d}*Adad abiša ana* ^{d}*Adad ilišu ana qadištim* (n u - g i g) *iqīš*.

'my Lord' (*bēlī*) and 'my Lady' (*bēltī*). Yet their position is exceptional, since they had entered the household of the god. Though the *nadītum* could marry (provided she remain without children), she was reckoned to belong to the house of her god—in spite of her material connections with the 'house of her father' (in whose ancestor cult she participated and was included after her death) or 'the house of her husband'. Ordinary women have an indirect relationship with the family god; it always takes place through their fathers or their husbands. That is why the husband incurs the blame when she errs or sins. 'If his wife curses his god, *he* bears the punishment of his god,' according to a view that found its way into the first millennium omen literature.[53]

The impression of exclusivity that is so often associated with the modern use of the term 'personal' would seem to find some support in the designation of the personal god as 'the god of my head' (*ili rēšiya*) in texts from the Old Babylonian period. Thus Yarīm-Līm, the king of Aleppo, asserts his readiness for combat in an oath 'by Adad the god of my city, and by Sîn the god of my head.'[54] In an inscription of the Assyrian king Samsī-Addu, the monarch curses his enemies also by 'Sîn the god of my head'.[55] The 'god of my head' occurs once more, this time in a strictly literary context, in the Old Babylonian composition *Man and his God*. The sufferer is said to utter loud complaints 'before the god of his head' (*maḫar ili rēšišu*).[56] Other occurrences are uncertain.[57]

Though it has been suggested that the expression 'the god of my head' is short for 'the god who lifts my head' (*ilu mulli rēšiya*), that is, 'the god who exalts me',[58] there is no need for such convoluted explanations. Nor is it likely that the word 'head' should be taken figuratively as the head of the family, or even the head of a lineage. The expression is attested predominantly in Akkadian texts from West Mesopotamia and Syria. In these western regions one also finds the expression 'the god of my head' with a

---

53 CT 39, 46:64.

54 Dossin 1956:67, lines 27-28; cf. Sasson 1985:238.

55 *KAH* I no. 2 vi 19.

56 Lambert 1987b:190, line 7. Lambert's translation ('the god, his chief') is based on his restoring *i-li-[im] re-ši-šu*. The restoration is required neither by traces of signs nor by reasons of grammar.

57 See AEM 1/1 (ARM 26), 108:6-7. If the bold restoration of Durand is correct, Addu would be 'the god of the head' of Yasmaḫ-Addu. We would have to assume, however, that Yasmaḫ-Addu had a different personal god than his father Samsī-Addu, who called Sîn the 'god of his head'. The expression 'of the head', qualifying a god as personal, is also found in Hittite sources, see *WdM* I/1:211.

58 Grayson 1987:51 note to line 132.

different Akkadian term for head, viz. *ilu ša qaqqadiya*.[59] Its significance is clear from the *Autobiography of King Idrimi of Alalaḫ*: after a seven year long stay among the Ḫabirū, the king found that finally the storm god had returned to him, i.e., literally, 'to [his] head' (^{d}i m *a-na* s a g - d u-*ya it-tu-ur*, lines 29-30); the divine return was followed by the king's successful recapture of the throne of Alalaḫ.[60] The words *rēšum* and *qaqqadum* stand for 'person, self', and the expression 'god of the head' can be rendered as 'personal god';[61] it is the equivalent of the late—and very rare—construction *il ramani*, 'the own god'.[62]

Arguably, the circumlocution 'god of the head' emphasizes the intimate connection between a man and his god. Yet this intimacy does not imply exclusivism. The cult of Sîn, whom Yarīm-Līm called 'the god of my head', was continued by his son Hammurabi; one of the latter's correspondents referred to Sîn as 'the god of your father'.[63] If there was exclusivism, it did not shut out one's male offspring, apparently. In fact, as may be inferred from both the seals and the letters, the personal god could be referred to as 'my god' or 'the god of my father' without distinction. There may have been an exclusivism of sorts with respect to other families, but within the family, different generations are united in a common devotion to the god (or gods) of the family. Their god is both a personal god and a divine patron of the family; they saw no conflict between the two notions.

If the 'god of the father' is the god of his sons, and also the god of his wife and daughters, why not simply call him the 'family god'? Indeed, the term seems appropriate from a modern point of view.[64] Yet the Babylonians themselves spoke seldom of a 'family god'. The expressions *il(i) bītim* and *ištar bītim* ('god of the house' and 'goddess of the house', respectively) do not refer to such family gods as Marduk, Ninšubur, Amurrum and the like, but to *numina loci* or deified ancestors.[65] One Assyrian text from the first millennium mentions 'the gods of the house of his father'.[66] Even if the

---

[59] EA 198 ^{2}d i n g i r - m e š *ša* s a g - d [u -*ya*], in reference to the king.

[60] For editions and studies of the text see Smith, S. 1949; Oller 1977; Dietrich & Loretz 1981.

[61] Note that the personal god honours and protects the 'head' of his protégé, see Chapter Five, n. 37. Cf. also the expression *qaqqadīšu lipṭur*, 'let him release himself,' Tsukimoto 1991, 29 r. 6'.

[62] *STT* 73:60, see also Reiner 1987.

[63] ARM 10, 156:10-11.

[64] Cf. Selz 1990:112: 'It can be shown ... that what is traditionally believed to be a 'personal god', also erroneously termed 'tutelary deity' ('Schutzgottheit'), is in fact a god of the family or the clan, presumably taking care of any member of that family.'

[65] For a discussion see 'Trouble Between the Generations' in Chapter Six.

[66] *ilānu ša bīt abīšu*, Luckenbill 1924:30 ii 62.

expression should be translated as 'his family gods', it would be late and without a parallel in texts from the second millennium. The closest equivalent is in an Old Babylonian letter to Iltāni the queen of Qaṭṭarā (Rimaḫ). The writer refers to 'the god who knows the house of your father'.[67] From the context it is clear, however, that the verb 'to know' has the force here of 'to elect': the writer congratulates the woman with her elevation to queen; since she is a daughter of Samu-Addu, the king of Karana, her accession to the throne is in line with the local dynastic traditions.[68]

The single instance of an expression that might be rendered as 'family gods' is found in a letter to the same Iltāni. With a variation on a traditional greeting formula, the letter writer expresses the wish 'that Adad and Geštinanna, the god(s) of our family (or clan, d i n g i r *kimtini*), honour you in the city where you dwell.'[69] Rīš-Adad, who uses this formula, is well acquainted with Iltāni from the time she still lived in Ešnunna; the reference to 'our family' implies that they were related and were hence devoted to the same pair of gods. This one occurrence of the term 'family gods' (family being understood in the wide sense of the term) is so far unique in the known texts. We must therefore conclude that the terms 'personal god' (**ili rēšim*) and 'family god' (**ili kimtim*) were both used by the Babylonians, but that preference was given to such terms as 'the god of the father', 'the god of the husband', or simply 'my god'. The terms 'personal god' and 'family god' fail to do entire justice to the hierarchical structure of the family and its religion; they are, in a way, too democratic. In a patrilinear society, a household worships the god of the patriarch, that is, the 'god of the father'.[70]

The Local Character of the Personal God

A question that is still unresolved concerns the criteria by which a personal god was chosen.[71] Though for most generations the family god was simply the 'god of their father', whom they had inherited rather than chosen, the devotion of the family to a particular deity must have had a beginning. What

---

[67] *OBRT* 118 [11] d i n g i r *ša* é *abiki idû*.

[68] Cf. Eidem 1989:67.

[69] *OBRT* 119 [5] [d]*Adad u* [d]*Geštinanna* d i n g i r *kim[ti]ni* [6] *ina āl wašbāti qaqqadki likabbitu*, see Lambert 1978:148. The reference to the d i n g i r *kim-ti be-lí-ya*, 'the god of my lord's clan', in ARM 2, 50 r. 12', is based on an erroneous reading. The line reads either d i n g i r *it*[!]*-ti be-lí-ya*, 'God (goes) with my lord (at the side of the army)', or—more probably—[d]a l a d$_3$. m e š *be-lí-ya*, 'The good genius of my lord (goes at the side of the army)', see J.-M. Durand, *NABU* 1991, 34.

[70] Whether slaves were included in the community of worshippers is uncertain. The personal name Ili-awīlim-rabi, 'The-god-of-the-gentleman-is-great', carried by slaves (Stamm 1939:73 n. 2), contains a hint at the devotion of slaves to the god of their master.

[71] For discussions of this issue see Charpin 1990a:74-78; Edzard 1993:204.

was the motive of their distant ancestor who decided that this deity and not another one would be his god and the god of his children? Though a fully satisfactory answer to that question cannot be given yet, some characteristics of the nature of the relationship between a family and its god are beginning to emerge. In anticipation of the discussion to follow, it may be said that the principal correlation is topographic: the deity that the family worships is a god that normally has a sanctuary in the district or the neighbourhood where the family lives. Whether this is the cause or the result of the devotion cannot be established.

The quest for the motive behind the choice of the one god rather than the other is hindered by our ignorance concerning the identity of most Babylonian family gods. Personal names are of limited value for the reconstruction of family religion. In many cases the god of the family is also found as theophoric element in the name of the worshipper or his father. Šulpae-bani ('Šulpae-is-my-creator'), the son of Šulpae-mansum ('Šulpae-has-given') is—not unexpectedly—a servant of the god Šulpae;[72] likewise Māri-Amurrim ('Son-of-Amurrum'), the son of Iddin-Amurrum ('Amurrum-has-given'), is a servant of the god Amurrum.[73] Though the examples could effortlessly be multiplied, there are so many counter-examples that the identification of the family god on the basis of personal names is often a hazardous business.[74] Only when the same theonym occurs in the names of father and son is there good reason to suspect that they honoured the deity in question as their god. But what to make of a father by the name of Enlil-abī, whose son was called Sîn-iddinam, the latter having named his son Mannum-balum-Šamaš? Considerations of propriety, deference to tradition, and mere fashion were all factors in name-giving; apparently, they often took precedence over the wish to include a reference to the god of the father.[75]

From the limited number of instances in which it is possible to establish the personal god of a given individual, and sometimes of several individuals of the same family, certain patterns of choice emerge. It is necessary to remind ourselves first of the fact that a certain familiarity with the god of necessity precedes his choice as patron. On the evidence of the so-called god lists, the Mesopotamian pantheon was extraordinarily rich and ramified; the names of gods run in the thousands. Most of these gods were known only to the theologians of the time, though. Babylonian laymen did not have such a

---

72 YOS 12, 147.
73 TCL 2, 217.
74 Charpin 1990a:72 n. 89.
75 DiVito 1993:269-271, cf. 93 n. 71. A reference to the family god may have been considered imperative only for the name of the first-born son.

panoramic view; they were acquainted only with the major gods of the pantheon and the gods they knew from their surroundings and their particular traditions.

A survey of the gods mentioned as personal gods on the cylinder seals shows that they were chosen from a relatively small group. Unlike such protective spirits as the *šēdum* and the *lamassum*, they are never anonymous.[76] The divine names on the seals can be divided in two groups: the one is constituted by the names of minor deities such as Šubula,[77] Wēdûm,[78] Bēl-ṣarbi,[79] Išar-kīdiššu,[80] Išar-padān,[81] Šatwak[82] and the like; the other by the names of major and well-known gods such as Adad, Amurrum, Ašnan, Dagan, Damu, Enki (and his Akkadian alter ego Ea), Enlil (rare), Gula, Marduk, Nabium, Nergal, Ninsianna, Ninšubur, Ninurta (rare), Nissaba, Šamaš (rare), Sîn, Zababa and a few others. The occurrence of both minor and major deities shows that fame was not the principal factor in the choice of a god.

The analysis of the catalogue of divine names on the seals, in combination with a search for the correlation between the worshipper and the identity of the god, yields three motives of choice. A study of the theonyms alone suffices to establish a general tendency to address the family worship to a deity below the highest level of the—locally differentiated—pantheon. A first indication to this effect is the absence of the goddess Ištar (or Inanna) as personal goddess on seals.[83] In view of the presence of other goddesses, the gender of the deity was no obstacle for her worship. Rather than to her sex, the absence of Ištar is to be related to the prominence of Ninšubur. Ninšubur was the minister of Ištar, and could in that capacity be asked to intercede

---

[76] The *šēdum* and the *lamassum* were protective spirits that could act as emissaries of the family deity. An Old Babylonian letter opens with the words 'to my father whose god, his creator, gave him an everlasting guardian angel' (TCL 17, 37 [1] *ana abiya ša ilšu bānīšu* [2] *lamassam dārītam iddinušum*). One neither prayed to such angels nor worshipped them. Only the family gods were worshipped. Most of the time one's *lamassu* was anonymous. In the cases where a specified deity is said to be a *lamassu*, the latter term serves as a functional epithet (Jacobsen 1989:74). On the *šēdum* and the *lamassum* see also A. Belkind *apud* Rosengarten 1971:158; Mayer 1978:494; Edzard 1993:206.

[77] VAS 22, 12 seal d.

[78] YOS 12, Pl. C, no. 490.

[79] BIN 7, 214.

[80] Goetze 1950:114; Porada 1950:159 fig. 9; YOS 12, 428.

[81] Scheil 1909:133.

[82] UET 5, 476 seal 4.

[83] The only possible exception I am aware of is found in CT 47, 32 seal impression 6 which reads ì r ^{d}*Ninšubur*, ì r *Eš$_4$-tár*, which I would preferably understand as 'Warad-Ninšubur (son of) Warad-Eštar,' rather than 'Warad-Ninšubur, servant of Eštar.' The very rare seals that mention Ištar/Inanna as family god refer to a local form of the goddess, such as Inanna of Zabalam (Charpin 1990a:71 n. 88). Note also the mention of Ištar-ṣarbat in BE 6/1, 5:9 and TCL 1, 83.

with the goddess. An Old Babylonian prayer from Nippur shows that Ninšubur could indeed be worshipped as family god ('the god of my father') precisely because he was able to reach Ištar.[84] Letters to family gods often allude to their role as intercessors: the goddess Ninmug is asked to intercede with her consort Išum,[85] Amurrum's word is 'heard before Šamaš',[86] and an anonymous 'god of my father' is asked to plead for the letter-writer with 'your friend' Marduk.[87]

The absence of Ištar/Inanna on the seals alerts to the fact that some of the other high gods are either absent or very rarely mentioned as well. Anu never occurs, Šamaš only seldom, and the mention of Enlil or Ninurta is highly exceptional. The glyptic data are too abundant to dismiss such matters as pure coincidence. It seems that only kings could boast a private devotion to the highest gods. Since royal worship was never a strictly private matter, however, the kings who professed such devotion thereby made a political statement as well. They claimed to be superior to normal human beings to the point where they could freely communicate with the highest-ranking deities. Ordinary citizens considered intimacy with the upper echelons of the pantheon presumptuous. Though in their prayers they recognized the fact that these gods were ultimately in command, they tried to influence their decisions by the intermediary of lower-ranking deities.[88]

Another factor to play a role in the choice of deities is the profession of the worshipper. Its influence on the choice of a god was presumably limited, however, since there is only one group in Babylonian society for which a link between profession and devotion can be established, viz. those who had mastered the art of writing. Scribes tended to worship either Nissaba or Nabium as their god, also when there is no evidence that these gods had a temple nearby.[89] Nissaba and Nabium were both known as gods of writing; in the universe of the myth they are the secretaries of the gods. Because of the mythological role of these gods, part of their divine identity, scribes felt an affinity with them. As a scribe, it made sense to honour Nabium, who was after all the 'lord of the reed stylus' (*bēl qan ṭuppi*).[90] Thus Nabium-

---

[84] See Groneberg 1986.

[85] AbB 13, 164.

[86] AbB 12, 99:1-2.

[87] AbB 9, 141:8-9.

[88] The suggestion might be ventured that the occurrence of kings in the capacity of family gods on the Old Babylonian seals is to be explained in part by reference to the role of these kings as intermediaries between their subjects and the gods.

[89] Charpin 1990a:74-75. Cf. the wish of the teacher for his student: 'May Nidaba, Lady of guardian angels, be your guardian angel' (Kramer 1949:204, line 74 ^{d}n i d a b a n i n - ^{d}l a m a - r a ^{d}l a m a - z u ḫ é - a, var. ḫ é - à m).

[90] *CAD* Q 80 s.v. *qan ṭuppi*.

mālik, a scribe living in Lagaba (where Nabium was certainly not a main god), is referred to as 'servant of Nabium' on his seal. A flattering reference to his profession and his god is found in a letter in which he is described as 'a fine gentleman, whose reed stylus is directed by Marduk and Nabium.'[91]

The mention of Marduk *and* Nabium as those who endowed the scribe with his skill is representative of the religion of scribes in the sense that they very often worshipped two gods. Private devotion to a pair of gods was comparatively rare in Old Babylonian times. It occurred in three constellations: the two gods were each other's consort; one of the two gods was typically Amorite (Amurrum, Sîn, Adad, or Dagan); or one of the two gods was a patron of the art of writing (Nissaba or Nabium). When a seal mentions god X or goddess Y plus Nissaba or Nabium, we can be sure that the owner of the seal was a scribe.[92] Do these cases of devotion to Nissaba and Nabium imply that the gods of writing were present in the scriptorium in the guise of an image or a symbol? The possibility should not be excluded, seeing that Nabium is also 'the lord of the tablet house' (*bēl bīt ṭuppi*);[93] such patronage is likely to have been visualized in some form.

Of far greater importance than the first two considerations is the third and usually decisive factor of choice, viz. topographical proximity. The god Babylonian citizens elected to be theirs had to be near. In theory, this nearness meant physical proximity. Few gods being omnipresent, it was of little avail to have a mighty god as one's helper if he had his temple miles away. People wanted to worship a god within reach. When the god they worshipped belonged to the lower echelons of the divine hierarchy, there is a fair degree of probability that the god in question had a temple or a shrine in the neighbourhood. A few examples may be given in illustration.

About 25 km south of Babylon, on the Araḫtum Canal, lay the city of Dilbat (modern Tell Daillam). Shreds of information on the city and its

---

91 AbB 3, 33 2 *awīlim damqim ša* ^{d}*Marduk* 3 *u* ^{d}*Nabium qan ṭuppišu* (g i - d u b - b a -*šu*) 4 *ušeššerū*. For Nabium-mālik see Frankena 1978:103.

92 See, e.g., TLB 1, 5 *warad* ^{d}*Amurrum u* ^{d}*Nissaba*, said of a scribe; Charpin 1980:286 no. 71 *warad* ^{d}*Ninsianna u* ^{d}*Nissaba*, said of a scribe; CT 6, 35 seal impression (collated by K. Van Lerberghe): 'Sîn-iddinam, scribe, son of Apil-ilišu, servant of Išum, and Nabium'; VAS 22, 14: 'Sîn-iddinam, scribe, son of Muzuku, servant of Ninšubur, and Nabium'; Wilcke 1982:432 seal impression I: 'Sîn-nādin-šumī, son of Ibni-Sîn, servant of Sîn and Nabium,' said of a man who was an apprentice scribe (d u m u - é - d u b - b a - a); Van Lerberghe & Voet 1991:150 seal 5: *Awīl-*^{d}*[Adad], mār* (⌜d u m u ⌝) ^{d}*Ninkarrak*-[...], *warad* (⌜ì r ⌝) ^{d}*Sîn,* ⌜*u*⌝ ^{d}*Nabi[um]*, we know Awīl-Adad was a scribe at Sippar; VAS 22, 10 seal 3: *Lu-*^{d}*Iškurra, mār* (d u m u) *Inbuša, warad* (ì r) ^{d}*Amurrum, u* ^{d}*Nabium*. Only exceptionally do we find mention of Nissaba *and* Nabium, see TIM 3, 135 seal impression 'Ašnan-tayyār, son of Sîn-šeme, servant of Nissaba, Ašnan, and Nabium.'

93 RSOu 7, 36:8.

inhabitants have been recovered from several tablet finds.[94] One of the deities worshipped at Dilbat as personal god was Lāgamāl, an underworld deity whose name means 'No mercy'. We have the seal of Ḫuzalum, the son of Nâḫ-ili, who was a 'servant of Lāgamāl'.[95] In the family of Iddin-Lāgamāl the devotion to Lāgamāl is attested for several generations.[96] In Mesopotamian religion, the role of Lāgamāl is small. This family honoured him as its god because Lāgamāl, being the son of the city god Uraš, had a sanctuary at Dilbat.[97]

Another little-known deity is Nimintabba.[98] This goddess had a small temple in the city of Ur, built on the orders of king Šulgi. It can be shown that the people that lived in the vicinity of this building tended to have a particular devotion to the goddess.[99] The evidence is cumulative: a grave in the area contained a seal with the inscription 'Nimintabba'; a tablet found in the city quarter had a seal impression reading 'Nimintabba, who holds all the offices (m e), who loves hands that are pure.' More telling than these finds are the legends of several cylinder seals found near the temple. In their inscriptions, one Etel-pî-Sîn, son of Šamaš-nāṣir, is qualified as 'servant of Nimintabba'; so is his brother, Waqrum. Other 'servants of Nimintabba' from the neighbourhood were Nannasaga, a scribe and the son of Nanna-kuzu, and Šūmi-aḫiya, son of Ilī-awīlī.[100] Obviously, Nimintabba was a goddess of local importance. Those who lived near her sanctuary had a special veneration for her, and inclined to inculcate this veneration in their children.

The evidence from seals and prosopography is consonant, in some measure, with the impression conveyed by more literary texts. They suggest that, as a rule, people lived in topographical proximity to their gods. This fact explains why someone abroad, faced with sudden disaster, must first return home before he can ask his god to help him. A case in point is that of Yasîm-El, an official of king Zimrī-Līm stationed in Andarig. Having fallen ill he requests that he be released from his duties so that he might go home to sacrifice to his gods.

> Since the beginning of the year I am suffering from a severe illness. Two servants of my lord have already died. Now my illness is getting worse. I have consulted the diviner about my illness a number of times: the signs are

---

94 See Unger 1938; Klengel 1976a; Koshurnikov & Yoffee 1986.
95 VAS 7, 21; Gautier, J.-E. 1908, 59; Szlechter 1958:31, MAH 16370.
96 Klengel 1976a:67.
97 Unger 1938:222 § 11. On Lāgamāl see also Lambert 1983.
98 For this goddess see Lambert 1985:199-201.
99 Assyriologists owe this knowledge to the analysis of Charpin 1986:144-147.
100 For references and discussion see Charpin 1986:146-147.

> inauspicious. This is what he said: 'Go, kiss the foot of your gods and strengthen your body.' However, should my lord wish that I stay in Andarig, I will stay. Let my lord send Ḫaššum ... that I may go and kiss the foot of my lord and bring sacrifice to my gods. At the end of the fifth day I can return to Andarig. If not, it is to be feared that my illness gets worse and that I fall out of the hand of my lord (forever).[101]

If the circumstances do not allow you to go home to visit your god, the best thing to do is to write him. Several letters to gods have been discovered.[102] The practice itself is described in an Old Babylonian letter:

> [I am] lying in the morass. [I have] wasted away through tears and weeping. This (evil thing) has blown me down. [On] my journey [I sent] my letter to Ištar [my L]ady. (. . . .) May they read [my letter] to my Lady. Let it be deposited [in] the sanctuary before Ištar in order that [the help] of my Lady reach me and I may sing [her praises].[103]

The writer is experiencing great difficulty (to which he refers with the traditional image of the morass); since he is away from home (*ina alākiya*), he must write to his goddess Ištar.[104] Once his message has been deposited in the sanctuary, he hopes, the goddess of the sanctuary will read it and send her help.[105] Her range of action extends beyond her own city, apparently, though her worshipper, far from home, has to send a message to the temple in his home town.

A humorous text from the first millennium, dealing with the difficulties of

---

101 AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 403 3 *ištu rēš šattim murṣam* 4 *dannam marṣāku u kiˀllalānˀ* 5 ì r - m e š *ša bēliya imū[tū]* 6 *inanna murṣī ka[bātumma]* 7 *ikabbita[m]* 8 *u ištiššu šaniššu aššum [murṣiya]* 9 *têrtam bārâm* (l ú - m á s - š u - s u $_{13}$ - s u $_{13}$) 10 *ušēpiš[ma]* 11 *tērētūya dan[nā]* 12 *ummami ali[kma]* 13 g ì r d i n g i r - m e š-*ka i[š]i[q]* 14 *u pagarka kuṣ[ram]* 15 *šumma libbi bēli[ya]* 16 *ina libbi An[dar]i[g^{ki}]* 17 *w[aš]ābī uš[šab Ḫašša[m]* 18 *bēlī lišp[uramma]* (...) 20 *[lullik]ma* g ì r *bēliya* 21 [*luššiqma* s i s] k u r $_2$ - r e *ana* d i n g i r [- m e š-y]*a* 22 *[luqqīma] ana* u $_4$ - 5 - k a m 23 [b a - z a ḫ-*ma ana] Andarig*^{ki} *lutū[r]am* 24 *[ul]āš[uma] assurima* 25 *murṣī ikabbatamma* 26 *ina qāt bēliya uṣṣi.*

102 See the section 'Letters to the Gods' in Chapter Six.

103 AbB 6, 135 r.4' *[...] ina nāriṭim nadi[āku]* 5' *[u in]a dīmātim u bikītim* 6' *[at]ašuš* 7' *[... ann]ītum iddipamma* 8' *[ina] alākiya ṭuppī ana* ^{d}*Ištar* (^{d}i n a n n a) *bē[ltiya]* 9' *[ašpur]* (...) 16' *[ṭuppī] bēltī lišašmû* 17' *[u ina s]imakkim maḫar* ^{d}*Ištar* (^{d}i n a n n a) 18' *[l]iššakinma* 19' *[naḫrā]r bēltiya likšudannima* 20' *[dalīliša] ludlul*. For the restorations cf. Albertz 1978:131-132. Unfortunately, the reverse of the tablet is in poor condition, which entails considerable difficulties for the interpretation. With Frankena (in AbB 6) I prefer to read ^{d}i n a n n a rather than ^{d}t i š p a k. It follows that the plea *ni-ra-am pu-uṭ-t[e$_4$-]er* in line 15', 'Loosen the yoke', is not addressed to the goddess.

104 In view of the fact that Ištar is never mentioned as a family goddess on the seals, the letter might have been addressed to the goddess through an intermediary. Note that the god of the father seems to be male (cf. line 7)—though Ištar can on occasion be referred to as an *ilum*.

105 For the practice of depositing letters in the sanctuary see also Hallo 1968:79; Ellis 1987:238 and n. 22.

the Sumerian language, offers a further illustration of the local nature of the cult of the personal god. A citizen from Nippur afflicted by a wound goes to the city of Isin to be healed. After his recovery, he invites the priest who cured him to visit him in Nippur. When the priest accepts the invitation and arrives in Nippur, he does not find his former patient at home.

> 'My lord, he is not at home.' 'Where did he go?'
> 'He has gone to the temple of his god, Šuzianna,
> to bring an offering of thanksgiving.' [106]

The reason which prompted the subject to visit the temple was the recovery from his wound. Though healed in Isin by a priest of the goddess Gula, the man from Nippur visits the sanctuary of his god in his own town to express his gratitude. This text, as well as the letter previously quoted, shows that the cult of the personal god was normally conducted near (but not in) the house where one lived.

Assuming that topographical proximity is a dominant factor in the choice, and afterwards veneration, of a personal god, it is to be expected that in a number of cases the personal god and the city god would coincide. We know this to have been the rule in ancient Egypt in the period of the New Kingdom.[107] In Egypt the god of the city is conceived as the creator of its inhabitants. As such, he is entitled to daily prayers and material signs of reverence on the part of his subjects. Such regular worship is greatly facilitated, of course, by the presence of the god's temple. It is true that the ordinary Egyptian had very little access, if any, to the temple. Yet the temple's outer walls and its courts often served as centres of attraction for lay worshippers. People felt themselves to be closer to the deity here than elsewhere. For theological and practical reasons, then, one regarded the god of the city in which one was born as one's personal god.

As for ancient Babylonia, there is little evidence of the city god being the personal deity of private citizens. A record of a legal process from the city of Isin registers the fact that the judges have sent one of the litigants 'to his gods, to Šamaš and Gula, for an oath.'[108] We know that the divine pair Šamaš and Gula were the city gods of Old Babylonian Isin, but we cannot be sure that the personal suffix ('his gods') implies that the gods were the juror's personal gods. A letter to the Assyrian merchant Innāya refers, in one

---

106 Cavigneaux 1979:115, lines 30-32: é-dingir-bi ^{d}Šu-zi-an-na siskur gaba-ri mu-un-bala//[é *il*]*išu* ^{d}*Šuzianna niq meḫrim* (gaba-ri) *inaqqi*. For gaba-ri = *meḫrum* see *CAD* M/2 59 s.v. *miḫru*.

107 See Assmann 1984:26-35, with references to further literature. Add Vernus 1977.

108 AO 11127:10-11, *ana ilīšu* ^{d}*Šamaš* (^{d}utu) *u* ^{d}*Gula ana m[a]m[īti]m*, quoted by Charpin 1990a:76 n. 114.

breath, to both Aššur and Amurrum as 'your god',[109] which shows that the city god (Aššur), as distinct from the personal god (Amurrum), can nevertheless be called 'my/your/his god'. If I call a god mine, then, he need not be my personal god. In an asseveration of his reliability, a letter writer can say: 'Is not Marduk the god of my city? Is not Šamaš our (common) god?'[110] The fact that Šamaš is referred to as 'our (common) god' in this rhetorical question does not mean that he is the personal god of either one of the correspondents: as the sun god, Šamaš is universal and the god of every man and woman.

In spite of the ambiguity of the personal suffix, there are a few cases in which the personal deity of a given individual is undoubtedly identical with his city god or goddess. A certain Lulu-bani, inhabitant of the city of Marad between Babylon and Kiš, was a 'servant' of Lugal-Marada ('King of Marad'), according to his seal.[111] Lugal-Marada was the city god of Marad.[112] Another case is that of Ḫatnu-rabi, the ruler of Qaṭṭarā (Tell Rimaḫ). In a letter addressed to him, the goddess Ištar, the 'Lady of the Enclosure' (*bēlet-tarbaṣim*), is specifically designated as the ruler's personal goddess (*ilkāma šî*, 'she is your god indeed').[113] From other evidence we know that Ištar was the 'Lady of Qaṭṭarā' (*bēlti Qaṭṭarā*^{ki}).[114] It is possible that Ḫatnu-rabi's devotion to her hinged upon his role as king, however. Thus Hammurabi of Babylon could call Marduk 'his god', though the sources show that Sîn was his family deity.[115]

The second millennium evidence for the worship of the city god as one's personal god is extremely scant. The available data leave the impression that people chose to worship as their personal god a god in their vicinity, yet different from the divine city patron. Though the conclusion must be tentative, it is in line with the observation that there is often a difference between the gods invoked in official oaths (exculpatory and other) and the gods privately worshipped. The matter has been systematically studied for the little town of Kutalla, about 15 km east of Larsa. Its inhabitants appeal to Sîn and Šamaš in their oaths, but address their devotion to other gods.[116] Inspection

---

109 Donbaz 1989, 52:13-15 = Michel, C. 1991.2, 65:13-15.

110 AbB 10, 178 ^{4} *ul* ^{d}*Marduk ili āliya* ^{5} *ul* ^{d}*Šamaš ilum* (d i n g i r) *nûm.*

111 Langdon 1912 (*Lulu-bani mār* [d u m u] *Buqaqum warad* [ì r] ^{d}*Lugal-Marada*).

112 Stol 1987.

113 *OBRT* 16 ^{8} *ana* ^{d}*Ištar bēlet* ^{r}*tarbaṣim*$^{\neg}$ ^{9} *u* ^{d}*iltum annītum* ^{10} *ilkāma šî.*

114 *OBRT* 154:4, cf. 200:9.

115 The situation of a king is exceptional in more than one respect. The king being the ruler of the nation, all the national gods are in a way 'his' gods. That is why Zimrī-Līm, king of Mari, can also call the river god Id 'my god' (AEM 1/1 [ARM 26], 191). Dagan is referred to as his god as well (AEM 1/1 [ARM 26], 232:7).

116 Charpin 1980:288-289, cf. 185-187.

of local archives leads to similar conclusions. It is striking, for example, that among the various deeds and documents from Dilbat, there is not a single reference to Uraš, Dilbat's city god, as the personal god of one of the citizens.[117] The inhabitants apparently felt a greater sense of solidarity with their neighbourhood than with their city. Their identity is rather narrowly localized.

One of the reasons why families tended to worship a god of the neighbourhood concerns the connection between the family god and the family land. An Old Babylonian record of a judicial procedure in Dilbat conveys an idea of the role of the local god in disagreements over a house plot.[118] The procedure has been initiated by Marduk-kašid. This man made a statement under oath (by Ammi-ditāna, under whose rule the dispute arose) to the effect that the house sold by the sons of Zababa-nāṣir had never been theirs, but was his. The official who had taken his statement reported it to the king; the latter issued an order to the judges to investigate the matter. At the suggestion of Marduk-kašid they decided that the sons of Zababa-nāṣir must go to the temple of Marduk to prove their ownership of the house and the legitimacy of its sale. The parties complied and the sons of Zababa-nāṣir were able to produce the necessary evidence; a record of sale was kept in the central temple.

Dissatisfied with the turn things had taken, Marduk-kašid insisted that the matter could not be settled this way. Though he was forced to concede that the sons of Zababa-nāṣir had a title to the property, he contested their definition of its borders. To determine the exact boundaries of the property the parties had to go to the city district where it was situated.[119] Zababa was the god of this part of the city; he had a temple there, and the sellers, to judge by their patronymic, worshipped Zababa as their family god. With the help of the weapon of Zababa, called 'Binder-of-those-who-swear-by-it' (*^{d}Kāmi-tāmīšu*), the authorities established that the sons of Zababa-nāṣir stood in their right. Various neighbours, among whom the administrator of the Zababa temple, took an oath by Zababa (presumably by touching his weapon) in corroboration of the claim of the sons of Zababa-nāṣir. Neighbourhood solidarity, validated by the god of the neighbourhood, proved decisive in the enforcement of the rights of the Zababa-nāṣir family.

---

117 For literature on Dilbat see n. 94.
118 VAS 22, 28, studied by Klengel 1983:28-30.
119 BUR.ZI.BI.ŠUR^{ki} is unidentified.

Amorite Family Gods

Not all family gods were gods of the neighbourhood. Certain sections of the Mesopotamian population were devoted to ancestral gods that had their sanctuaries in distant settlements of little demographic importance. These people did not see the city and its neighbourhood as determining their identity; they were far more sensitive to the clan they belonged to and the land of their ancestors. Their religious culture, manifesting itself also in the factors determining the choice of the personal god, can be described as Amorite. Between the Akkadian population in south and central Mesopotamia and the Amorites in the West (but increasingly present in the Mesopotamian heartland as well), there was a difference in lifestyle that did not leave the realm of family religion unaffected.[120]

Amorite family religion is rooted in a tradition of pastoral nomadism. Owing to the migratory nature of their lives, the early Amorites rarely worshipped as their personal deities gods that had their temple in the vicinity of their settlement. Since their settlements used to be temporary, their religious allegiance was not governed by topographical reasons. The social constraints that commanded their devotion allowed them to choose from a small group of deities whom they traditionally considered as their native gods. Their gods were not themselves migratory, as their worshippers were, but had their own fixed sanctuaries. The shrines were often confederal in the sense that they were used by a number of Amorite groups. Though politically speaking minor or insignificant, the towns where the sanctuaries were located continued to play an unmistakable role in the religious life of the Amorites. They were to be found, for the most part, in the areas which the Amorites considered to be the traditional land of their ancestors.

In the Old Babylonian period we find many Amorites in the Mesopotamian cities, also in positions of high command. Such urban Amorites often continued to honour their native traditions. As a matter of consequence, many of them distinguish between city god and personal god. Yarīm-Līm, the Amorite king of Aleppo, speaks of Adad as 'the god of my city' and of Sîn as 'my personal god'. In a letter addressed to his son and successor Hammurabi (not to be confused with Hammurabi of Babylon), the same distinction is made: 'in the name of Adad, the god of Aleppo, and in the name of the god of your father.'[121] Though the identity of this god is not specified,

---

[120] On the Amorites and their differences with the 'Akkadians', see 'Outside the City' in Chapter Two.

[121] ARM 10, 156:10-11 (the word *aššum* introduces a conditional curse, comparable to the *aššum Šamaš* formula).

there can be no doubt about the fact that the moon god Sîn is meant. In Assyria proper, the Amorite ruler Samsī-Addu also venerates Sîn as 'the god of [his] head',[122] that is, his personal god. By virtue of his political function, however, he can also refer to himself as 'beloved of Aššur'.[123] Since he reigned from Ekallātum, both Sîn and Aššur were distinct from his city god, viz. Adad.[124] What we see with these Amorite rulers, then, is an alliance of their native religious loyalties with the religious responsibilities and duties which their political office entails.

There is no evidence to support the hypothesis that Sîn owed his position as personal god of the kings in Aleppo and Ekallātum to the fact that he had a shrine or a small temple in these cities. In fact, the veneration of Sîn seems characteristically Amorite. It is hardly coincidental that also other kings of Amorite descent cultivated a devotion to Sîn. Sumu-abum, the Amorite founder of the first dynasty of Babylon, chiefly honoured Sîn in his year-names. His successors Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballiṭ (note the names!) are associated in oaths primarily with Sîn, and only secondarily with Marduk. The special position of Sîn in this Amorite dynasty is also reflected in the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi. Hammurabi states that he is the seed of a dynasty created by Sîn[125]; he hails Sîn as his personal creator (*ilum bānī*),[126] and so does his son Samsu-ilūna.[127] Preceding the devotion to Marduk as the city god of Babylon, then, Hammurabi and his predecessors honoured Sîn as their personal god. Likewise, the so-called Manana dynasty at Kiš, also Amorite, had Sîn as its patron deity.[128] The particular devotion to the moon god, then, would seem to be specifically Amorite: it is the worship of Sîn-Amurrum, the 'Amorite moon god'.[129]

Other evidence for Sîn as a deity specifically of Amorites is found in the Mari letters. The temple of Sîn in Ḫarrān, situated in an area known as Zalmaqqum, was a religious centre for the Yaminite groups which inhabited the region. As the confederate chiefs of these various tribes made a pact to capture the city of Dēr, they came together in the Ḫarrān temple for a covenant ceremony in the presence of Sîn.[130] The Amorite devotion to the moon

---

122 Grayson 1987:51 line 132.
123 Charpin 1984:51.
124 Charpin, *NABU* 1987, 1.
125 CḪ ii 13 *zēr* (n u m u n) *šarrūtim* 14 *ša* ^{d}*Sîn* 15 *ibniušu*.
126 CḪ r. xxvii 41-42.
127 Frayne 1990:381 lines 41-42 (Sumerian) // 39 (Akkadian): ^{d}n a n n a d i n g i r - s a g - d u - m u - š è // *ana* ^{d}*Sîn ili bāniya*.
128 Yuhong & Dalley 1990:159.
129 AbB 2, 82:10, 30.
130 AEM 1/1 (ARM 26), 24:10-15. The ceremony is referred to as the 'killing of the foals' (*ḫayarī qaṭālu*), for the significance of which see Finet 1993.

god proved to have a long life. In much later times the Assyrian kings still claimed to have been created by Sîn.[131] Also the fervour for the cult of Sîn on the part of the first millennium Babylonian king Nabonidus, denounced as an aberration in Mesopotamian texts and still remembered in later Jewish tradition, is to be understood against the background of the ancient Amorite religious culture.[132]

Sîn (or his Amorite equivalent Eraḫ) was not the only deity receiving special veneration among the Amorites. As could be expected, the god Amurrum (^{d}m a r - t u) or El-Amurrum (^{d}a n - m a r - t u) is the Amorite variant of the West-Semitic god El, just as Sîn-Amurrum is the Amorite variant of the Mesopotamian moon god.[133] Amurrum is a very frequent element in theophoric personal names among the Amorites. In many cases, the people who bore such names worshipped Amurrum as their family god. Specifically Amorite, too, is the joint mention of Sîn and Amurrum (or El-Amurrum) as personal gods on seals. It is particularly noticeable among Amorites in northern Mesopotamian cities, such as Kiš, Dilbat, Babylon and Sippar.[134] Though many of them carry good Babylonian names (such as Ibni-Zababa, Iddin-Marduk, and Uraš-nāṣir), their continued devotion to the two Amorite gods Eraḫ (Sîn) and El (Amurrum) is proof of their loyalty to their ancestral traditions.[135]

Another god who was popular among the Amorites, mostly among their Yaminite branches in Western Mesopotamia, is Dagan from Terqa. Such rebel Yaminite rulers as Yaggiḫ-Addu and Dādī-Ḫadun felt obliged to do obeisance to Dagan in his temple at Terqa, even when the city was occupied by royal troops from Mari.[136] Owing to the position of this god in Yaminite piety, it was of vital importance to the king of Mari to win the support of the clergy of the Dagan temple at Terqa. According to a prophecy from Terqa, Dagan would have been able to make the Yaminite leaders submit to Zimrī-Līm if only the king had acted so as to please the god.[137] Allegiance to

---

131 See, conveniently, *CAD* B 87b.

132 See Lewy 1946:453-461; Landsberger 1948:46 n. 114.

133 For the identification of Amurrum as a form of El see de Vaux 1971:264 and Cross 1973:57.

134 I have noted the following instances: YOS 13, seal inscriptions on texts 74, 203 (3 seal impressions), 226, 271 B, 292, 349 B, 369, 371 B, 379 B, 380 A, 386 A, 386 B, 396, 408 A, 496, 532 (3 seal impressions); Wilcke 1982:429 K; VAS 22, 15 A and C; BIN 7, 208 (2 seal impressions); CT 47, 56 seal 11; CT 48, 106; CBS 1545; Szlecher 1963, Pl. 14 H 4 + YOS 13, 91 (2 seal impressions).

135 Note also the combinations of Amurrum with Ninsianna (TIM 4, 5 seal); *Nin-in-si-na* (= Ninsianna?, BIN 7, 212); Geštinanna (YOS 8, 9 seal; YOS 5, 126 seal; cf. *RLA* 3:301b); Enlil (VAS 9, 38); Enki (Charpin 1980:283 no. 24).

136 Charpin & Durand 1986:147.

137 Dossin 1948:131, lines 29-31.

Dagan as a personal god is also found with the Amorite king Gugunum from Larsa.[138] Like other Amorite deities, Dagan can be mentioned in conjunction with a second god as personal deity on seals.[139]

One of the principal gods worshipped by the Sim'alite branches of the Amorites is the storm god Adad (or Addu) of Aleppo. In a prophecy addressed to Zimrī-Līm, the Sim'alite king of Mari, Adad claims to have raised the ruler in his lap, conferring on him the kingship when he had come of age.[140] Since it was not the king of Aleppo who brought Zimrī-Līm to the throne, Adad's claim must be explained in the light of his role as major god of the Sim'alite Amorites.[141] The devotion to Adad of Aleppo was widespread in the region between the Mediterranean and Mari. King Idrimi of Alalaḫ, born and raised in Aleppo, was a 'servant of the storm god' according to his seal.[142] The traditional allegiance to Adad could override the loyalty to the god of one's city, as is shown by the case of the family of Aqba-aḫum. Though dwelling in Terqa, the city of Dagan, the family was devoted to Adad as its personal god.[143] In some seal inscriptions, Adad is mentioned in conjunction with yet other gods.[144]

In the realm of personal or family religion, the Amorites differed from the Akkadian segment of the population mainly in that their gods were tribal rather than local. The adjective 'tribal' should not be confused with such pejoratives as 'primitive' or 'inferior'. The gods whom the Amorites worshipped were ascribed the same characteristics as the usual Mesopotamian deities. They can be said tribal on account of the mechanism by which their worship was perpetuated among the Amorites. Membership of a lineage or a descent group (here qualified as a 'tribe' in accordance with the terminology of the Amorites themselves) determined the religious loyalty. Whereas the city-dwellers of south and central Mesopotamia directed their devotion to gods from their city-quarter or neighbourhood, the Amorites venerated the gods they had inherited from their tribe. In their personal allegiance to tribal gods instead of city gods, there is a reflection of their nomadic past: the devotion of their nomadic ancestors was focused upon a god of supralocal importance, even if he had his sanctuary in a specific place.

---

138 Sollberger & Kupper 1971:183-184 IVB5b.

139 See Pinches 1917:65, no. 19 right-hand edge, nos. 1 and 2: the scribe Lipit-Ištar, son of Imgur-Sîn, servant of Dagan and Ninšubur.

140 Lafont 1984:9-10 15 *ša ina birit* 16 *paḫalliya urabbušuma* (...) 50 *ša ina ˹suḫātiya˺ urabbukama.*

141 Charpin & Durand 1986:174.

142 *AlT* 99.

143 Rouault 1984: no. 8E. For the family in question see Kelly-Buccellati 1986:140.

144 In Sippar we find Amorites devoted to 'Sîn and Adad' (Owen 1976:12, seal a; Wilcke 1982:467); in Kutalla an Amorite devoted to Adad and Enki (Charpin 1980:286 no. 70).

The religion of the Amorites compares, to some degree, with that of the much later Safaitic nomads.[145] The Safaitic nomads, at home in the arid land between the Euphrates and the Hauran, numbered over a hundred clans (*ʾāl*), most of them belonging to either the ʿAwīd or the Daif branch. Each tribe worshipped its particular god, who could be referred to by name or simply as 'the One of clan X' or 'the One of clan Y'. Though their worshippers were mostly itinerant, the tribal gods used to have a temple of their own. Once a year, the members of a given clan met in the sanctuary for a solemn offering ceremony. These annual meetings were occasions for social interaction of a variety of sorts; they certainly contributed to a sense of cohesion within the clan. The picture of Amorite religion that is beginning to emerge from the Mari texts shows resemblances to this Safaitic model.

In the secondary literature on the Amorites one may come across the idea that groups of kindred Amorites could be referred to as 'the sons of the people of my/your/his god'.[146] By implication, this expression would mean that each tribe or clan had its own god, and that its members were the 'people' of this god. A closer look at the evidence makes it clear that the texts have been misinterpreted. The Akkadian expressions *mārē* (d u m u - m e š) *ni-ši ilīšu* (d i n g i r-*šu*)[147] and *māri ni-iš iliya*[148] do not mean 'the sons of the people of his god' and 'a son of the people of my god', respectively, but 'those bound to him by oath' and 'one bound to me by oath'. The error lies in the interpretation of *ni-ši* or *ni-iš* as *nišūm*, 'people', instead of *nīšum*, 'oath'. The *nīš(i) ilim* is the 'oath by god', and the *mār(i) nīš(i) ilim* is 'the one bound by religious oath'.[149]

The only text that could be quoted in support of the idea that kinship groups might be referred to as 'sons' or 'daughters' of the tribal deity is a record from Sippar dating from the reign of king Ammi-Ṣadūqa.[150] The text speaks of the mission of certain officials to collect temple taxes (referred to as *aširtum*, 'tithe'), consisting of barley, among 'the sons of the god and the sons of the goddess who dwell in the open country'[151] and to bring it to Sippar. The interpretation of this text is debated. Various scholars (including Landsberger) interpret the expression 'sons of the god/goddess' as a designation of certain religious communities in the northern peripheral

---

145 See for the following Knauf 1985.
146 See, e.g., Renger 1973b.
147 AbB 2, 88:5 = AbB 13, 60:5.
148 AbB 6, 104:7.
149 See van Soldt in AbB 13:55 note b.
150 Szlechter 1958:122-124.
151 Szlechter 1958:122-124 [3] *ana mārē* (d u m u - m e š) *ili* [4] *u mārē* (d u m u - m e š) *ištar* [5] *ša ina libbi mātim wašbū*.

zones.[152] If this were its sense, the expression would be without a parallel. A more conservative interpretation takes the 'god' and the 'goddess' as references to Šamaš and Aya, the city gods of Sippar. The 'sons of the god' and 'the sons of the goddess' would then designate the rural population falling within the administrative realm of Sippar.[153] Considering the nature of the mission (viz. the collecting of temple taxes), the second interpretation seems the likelier of the two.

Conclusion

The existence of the Amorite model is a reminder of the cultural—and thus, by the same token, religious—diversity within Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian period. For all elements of the population it holds true that their private religion is a form of devotion to their origins. Through the cult of their ancestors, they asserted and maintained a historical identity. The Akkadian (or 'native') part of the population moreover asserted and maintained, through the worship of their personal gods, a local identity. In the case of the Amorites this local identity was mainly an identity of origins. The Akkadian devotion to their family god was a devotion to the settlement, the district, or the neighbourhood where the worshippers were born and raised, and usually still lived. The Amorite religion of the 'gods of the fathers', on the other hand, was a loyalty to tradition and a sign of solidarity with those of the same descent.

---

152 See Renger 1973b:103 (with reference to Landsberger); Kraus 1973:68.
153 See Harris 1975:205 and n. 267.

CHAPTER FIVE

FAMILY RELIGION AND THE INDIVIDUAL: THEOLOGY AND ETHICS

The preceding chapters have described the cult of the ancestors and the devotion to a local patron deity as the two constituent parts of Old Babylonian family religion. Both aspects of family religion are group phenomena. Therefore, when family religion is said to foster a sense of identity we are speaking first of all about a collective identity. Through the cult of the ancestors and the devotion to the 'god of the father', the Babylonians shared in a group identity. By following the religion of their family and their neighbourhood, they identified on the one hand with their kin group and its past, and on the other with their neighbourhood and its gods. In so doing, they received a social identity with a historical and a local dimension. It was both collective and devolved, not based on individual distinction nor obtained by personal merit.

When trying to assess the significance of Babylonian family religion, however, we should not ignore its role in the life of the individual. Although it can be plausibly argued that personal religion in the modern sense of the word did not exist in early Mesopotamia, individuals were personally involved in the religion of the community. They constructed their personal identity in large measure upon the beliefs and values of that religion. Family religion provided, in addition to a corporate identity, the elements of an individual identity by offering the Babylonian a religious interpretation of biographical data and by holding out a certain code of behaviour. One might refer to these facets of family religion in traditional terms as its theology and its ethics: Babylonian family religion was indeed sustained by certain beliefs and supposed to validate certain moral values. Rooted in the milieu of the family, these beliefs and values provided meaning and orientation for the individual and allowed him to conceptualize a personal identity.

The use of the terms 'theology' and 'ethics' requires a word of caution. The Old Babylonian civilization never produced a system of abstract metaphysical propositions or a manual on morality. The beliefs and values of family religion are never formulated in separation from the social reality in which they function; when expressed, they are always found in context: people speak of their god as their creator or refer to an act of kindness as pleasing to their god. The fact that the tenets of family religion always

assume the form of a valuation of social realities gives fuel to the idea that they were conceived as a response to those realities. We may go one step further and affirm that the notions and concepts of family religion usually had the effect of legitimizing and consolidating the existing social order. The world was essentially as it should be because the gods had so wished it, which in terms of the individual meant that he owed his life and social position to his god. Accordingly, he had to conduct his life in such a way as to keep the social order intact.

Because the theology and ethics of Babylonian family religion are always related to human realities, they can be presented in the form of a biographical description. Neither the description nor the underlying ideology is an unbiased representation of the Babylonian reality. Since nearly all our texts emanate from the upper strata of the Babylonian society, the ideas and values they convey are basically those of the *awīlum* ('gentleman'). Among the Babylonian aristocracy, family religion served to underpin the position of the upper class by explaining their privileges as divinely endorsed. By legitimizing the status quo family religion justified the existence of social inequality as well. Yet despite their origin in the aristocracy, the beliefs and values of the *awīlum* seem to have functioned as a frame of reference for many ordinary people as well. It is only rarely that we catch a glimpse of religiously inspired or legitimized opposition against the privileges of the gentry. Most Babylonians, it seems, cherished religious notions and ideas very similar to those held by the class of the *awīlū*. Though not *awīlū* themselves, they tended to interpret their lives in analogy with the lives of the upper class.

Biography as Theology

The narrative which sums up the beliefs of a Babylonian gentleman is concerned with such basic biographical facts as birth, education, career, social standing, and death. These data are not presented as bare facts, however, but as religious events involving the personal—or family—god. A Babylonian from the early second millennium BC would find his identity not in the mere fact of his birth, but in the belief that his god has brought him to life. Other central moments of one's life are also perceived as interventions of the personal god. In this sense, the biographical narrative that is to furnish the answer to the question of personal identity is a personal creed.

A human life begins with conception: this formative event is ascribed to the initiative of the personal god. A name such as Ilī-bānî, 'My-God-is-my-Creator', captures the belief that the individual owes his life, from its remotest beginnings, to his god. Such names are miniature confessions illuminating the conceptual universe of family religion. Parents who called their son

Iddin-Enlil ('Enlil-has-given') or Iddin-Lāgamāl ('Lāgamāl-has-given') honoured Enlil respectively Lāgamāl as their family god, just as their son would do after them.[1] The belief in the involvement of the family god in conception and birth underlies one of the standard epithets given to the personal god. When addressing another person, one refers to his god as his 'creator' or 'begetter'.[2]

The theme of conception and birth also occurs in letters written to the personal god[3] and in compositions of edification such as *Man and his God*.[4] In these textual genres it is closely associated with the entry into human society.

> You have created me among men,
> and you have made me walk along the street.[5]

To 'walk along the street' (*sūqam etēqu*) is a consecrated expression denoting participation in public life. As the protagonist of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* has recovered from his illness, the narrator asks 'Who would have thought that he would see the sun? Who imagined that he would walk along the street?'[6] An Old Babylonian prayer to Ištar, known from two 13th century versions from Boghazköy (Turkey) and one Neo-Babylonian copy,[7] asks the goddess to restore the suppliant 'so that [he], with beaming appearance like a prince, may walk the street in the company of the living.'[8] Human life, according to these phrases, is more than a mere biological existence: it is always life in society; hence the importance of being able to conduct oneself 'like a prince'. The implication of social superiority only confirms the observation that such statements come from an élitist milieu.

Much about the role that the Babylonian will play on the human stage is thought to have been decided even before his entry into the world. Personal identity, from the Babylonian perspective, is not something chosen but bestowed. It is a topos in Assyrian royal inscriptions that the gods have looked upon the king with favour while he was still in the womb of his mother.[9]

---

[1] See the seal inscriptions of Iddin-Enlil (YOS 8, 113) and Iddin-Lāgamāl (TLB 1, 238). For a collection of Iddin-DN names from the third millennium see DiVito 1993:128, 131, 139, 160.

[2] E.g. TCL 17, 37 [1] *ana abiya ša ilšu bānīšu* [2] *lamassam darītam iddinušum*, 'To my father, whose personal god, his creator, gave him an everlasting *lamassum*.' For other examples see *CAD* B 94; Albertz 1978:102-104.

[3] See the section on Letters to the Gods in Chapter Six.

[4] See Lambert 1987b.

[5] AbB 12, 99 [5] *it<ti> amīlī tabnânnima sūqam* [6] *tušēteqanni*.

[6] *BWL* 58:31-32. Both *amār* [d]*šamša* and *etēq sūqa* are conventional compounds. The personal suffix, then, refers back to the expression as a whole. The translations 'his Sun' and 'his street' of *BWL* are to be corrected accordingly.

[7] See Reiner & Güterbock 1967.

[8] *STC* II, Pl. 82 [84] *namriš eṭelliš itti balṭūti lubā'i sūqa*.

[9] OIP 2, 117:3; Borger 1956:115 § 82:8; 119 § 101:13; *KAH* 2, 91:9. See also Schramm

Such divine involvement before birth is not limited to princes and kings. A formulary prayer of the first millennium, to be used on a variety of occasions, says that the goddess Ištar assigns poverty and wealth to all humankind when they are still in the womb.[10] One's place in society, according to this view, is preordained by the gods—a comforting thought especially to those belonging to the upper class. The idea is not the product of later times. An Old Babylonian letter to a king mentions the 'good destiny' (*šīmtum ṭābtum*) decreed for him even before his birth (*ištu šassūrišu*, 'when still in the womb').[11] Human destiny has been predetermined by higher powers.

The idea of a social destiny imposed by the gods can be connected with a ritual performed on babies shortly after birth.[12] The Sumerian text of these rituals says that a newborn boy must be made to hold a 'baton' or 'weapon' (t u k u l) and an 'axe' (ḫ a - z i - i n). A girl, on the other hand, has to be touched with a 'spindle' (b a l a, Akkadian *pilakkum*, cf. Hebrew פלך) and a hair clasp (k i r i d). These objects were regarded as symbols of manhood and womanhood. The significance of the rite, which has been characterized as a consecration, lies in its stress on the importance of being male or female. No ambiguity is tolerated on this issue. That is why the biological gender of the child had to be ritually confirmed so as to make certain that boys and girls would also adopt the appropriate social roles. The variants of this ritual, known from Old Babylonian and even Hittite sources, do not alter its fundamental meaning: gender identity, including the ensuing gender roles, is accepted and celebrated as a divinely ordained fact of life; the relevant ritual serves as its religious validation.

Conception and birth are the beginnings of a lifelong relationship between the individual and his personal god. Once the god has put you on the track of life, he will also 'straighten your path'.[13] When it comes to ordinary people, there are hardly any references in the texts to divine protection in early youth. The Old Babylonian *Man and his God* contains an allusion, though, when it says

> You have caused me to be born (...)
> From the time I was young until my maturity (...)
> I have not forgotten all the kindness you have done to me.[14]

1973:10.

10 *BMS* 8:13 // *KAR* 250:8 *ina šassūr nišī lupna išdiḫa tukanni*. See Veenhof 1985.

11 Kraus 1983:205, lines 9-10.

12 For a more detailed description of what follows, including references to the primary sources, see van der Toorn 1994a:20-22.

13 See *STC* II, Pl. 82 [84] *šutēširi kibsī*.

14 Lambert 1987b:190 [21b] *[tu]llidanni* ... (...) [25a] *[ištu ṣ]eḫrēku adi rabiyāk* ... [26a] ... *mala tudammiqannima* [26b] .... *la amši*.

Personal names often contain the wish that the personal god who has created the name-bearer keep him healthy and strong. Such Old Babylonian names as Šamaš-libluṭ, 'Šamaš-may-he-be-healthy'[15] (note the Assyrian variant Pāliḫka-libluṭ, 'May-your-worshipper-be-healthy,' suggesting that it is the personal god who is addressed in the name), and Ilī-tabni-šuklil, 'My-god-you-have-created-make-it-perfect,'[16] attest to the belief in the enduring concern of the personal god for the well-being of his creature.

On occasion, the image of the personal god fostering his human child is found in connection with kings of the Old Babylonian period. In a prophecy spoken in the name of Adad of Kalassu, the god reminds Zimrī-Līm from Mari that he has reared him 'between my loins'; in another address Adad of Aleppo tells the king that he has reared him 'on my lap'.[17] The topos of divine nurture goes back to the third millennium. Thus, in a laudatory song on Šulgi from the third dynasty of Ur, the goddess Ninsun is said to have raised the king 'upon [her] own pure lap'.[18] The theme never wholly disappears and enjoys a distinct popularity in royal hymns, inscriptions, and prophecies of Neo-Assyrian times (e.g., 'I knew no father or mother, I grew up in the lap of my goddesses. As a child the great gods guided me, going with me on the right and the left'[19]). Though here applied to kings, the idea of divine parentage was widely held: it was thought to hold true for other people as well. Its overtones of legitimation, particularly noticeable in connection with kings, are always present in some degree: the solicitude of one's god legitimizes one's existence as a member of the élite.[20]

References to the care of the personal god are frequently found in formulae of greetings in Old Babylonian letters. Alongside the epithet *bānīka*, 'your creator', the personal god is often called *nāṣirka*, 'your protector'.[21] As protectors, the personal gods were responsible for the 'well-being' (*šulmum*) of their devotees; letter writers wish their correspondents eternal (*lū dari*) well-being 'before' (*maḫar*) their gods.[22] They may also express the wish that the god of the addressee not be careless (*egû*) in his protection.[23]

---

15 Stamm 1939:154.

16 YOS 13, 191:21; cf. Sîn-tabni-šuklil, PBS 1/2, 22:25.

17 Lafont 1984:9-10 [14] *ul anāku* [15] *⌜^{d}Adad⌝ bēl Kalassu^{ki} ša ina birīt* [16] *paḫalliya urabbušuma* (...) [49] *^{d}Adad bēl Ḫalab^{ki} u⌜l⌝ anāku* [50] *ša ina ⌜suḫātiya⌝ urabbukama*.

18 Šulgi P, section b, 24, see Klein 1981:36-37.

19 SAA 3, 3:13-15.

20 In this respect, the apologetic nature of many royal autobiographies of Neo-Assyrian times (see Tadmor 1984) is an accentuated form of all Mesopotamian autobiography. Or is the autobiographical genre by definition apologetic?

21 Cf. Salonen, E. 1967:21.

22 For examples see Salonen, E. 1967:31-32.

23 AbB 3, 50 [5] *ana šulmika ša ^{d}Marduk zākir šumika* [6] *ana naṣārika la igû ašpuram //*

To emphasize its extent, one can add that this protection is to surround its beneficiary 'on the right and on the left'.[24] The personal gods extend their care to their devotees either directly or indirectly. As major deities, they have power over lower-ranking spirits whom they can assign to their protégés. The usual name for such a beneficial spirit is *lamassum*, 'guardian angel'.[25] One neither prayed to such angels nor worshipped them; their invisible presence was witness to the involvement of a higher power.

In a poetic turn of phrase, the gods of a *nadītum*-woman can be asked to protect her 'like the purse of their hands'.[26] The image is that of the leather bag in which the merchant keeps his silver. By implication, the individual is likened to the most valuable possession of his or her god(s).[27] The mood on the part of the personal god is indeed presumed to be love and affection. The galamaḫḫum-priest Ur-Utu describes his personal goddess as *rāʾimat napišti*, 'caring for the living'.[28] Normally, a personal god is indeed not indifferent to his devotees;[29] is not *rāʾimka*, 'the one who loves you,' a standard epithet of the personal god?[30] The worshipper feels secure in the knowledge that he has unique value to his god; no one will be able to replace him.[31]

The immovable property of the *awīlum* might be viewed as a concrete token of the solicitude of his god. The personal god, say Sumerian texts, is 'a shepherd (s i p a) seeking pasture for the man.'[32] This is the Babylonian conception, too: people have the conviction that the land where they live is their share by divine decree. A passage from an Old Babylonian letter illustrates this view. Though generally positively valued, the involvement of the personal god can seem subversive to outsiders:

AbB 8, 148:5-7. Cf. AEM I/1 (ARM 26), 191 [11] *u ana naṣār napi[štiya]* [12] *bēlī ay ig[i]*, letter of Zimrī-Līm to the river god Id.

[24] AbB 11, 106 [5'] *imittam* [6'] *u šumēlam bēlī u bēltī* [7'] *ana naṣārika ay igû*.

[25] Cf. TCL 17, 37:1-2, see n. 2.

[26] AbB 6, 1 [11] *bēlki u bēletki kima kīsi ša qātīšunu* [12] *liṣṣurūki*.

[27] The parallel with the צרור החיים, 'the bundle of the living' (1 Samuel 24:29), adduced by Röllig 1972:46, is not entirely appropriate because the Hebrew term refers not to a purse but to a bag or pouch containing a number of stones corresponding to the number of sheep entrusted to the shepherd.

[28] de Meyer 1989:41, lines 6', 15'.

[29] Hence the bewildered question 'Why have you become indifferent to me?' (*ammīni tuštaḫḫiʾam*), in the letter prayer AbB 9, 141:4.

[30] Cf. Salonen, E. 1967:48 and see AbB 1, 105 [1] *[d]Marduk rāʾimk[a]* [2] *ša ibnūka*. It should be noted, however, that the epithet is not applied exclusively to the personal god: in AbB 11, 119:27-30 the personal god is called *bānīka* while another god is said to be *rāʾimka*.

[31] AbB 9, 141 [5] *ša kima yāti* [6] *ana kāšîm* [7] *mannum li[dd]in*, 'Who will give you (again) someone like me?'

[32] Geller 1985:40, line 375 [d i n g i r l ú - ù l u s i p a ú] ⌜k i n⌝ - k i n - ⌜g á⌝ l ú - ù l u; cf. Falkowitz 1980:224-225.

> You and your brother there—who has released you that you can live there? You have ruined the land (first) entrusted to your care (lit.: the *ilku*-land) and now you sit there! I shall never forgive your crime, ever! (. . .) Have you no fear about sitting there? Perish the name of your god and your supporter,[33] who made you and your brother sit there![34]

The vehement tone of the letter suggests that the writer (Adad-šarrum) himself had assigned Lipit-Ea and his brother (the addressees) to the land where they were to perform their service (the *ilkum*). Apparently the brothers had ruined the land where they first worked, and were punished for their behaviour with forced labour. At the time the letter was written, however, they had been released and had settled elsewhere. Adad-šarrum ascribes their impertinence to their god, without whose consent they could never have settled in their new place. Yet the god that he regarded as their evil genius was probably considered a benevolent protector by the two brothers.

The support of the personal gods is especially vital when a human being is pushed beyond the normal confines of his existence. As a literary illustration of the phenomenon, Gilgameš is a case in point. According to the Old Babylonian version of the epic, the hero does not allow himself to be dissuaded from his plan to go to the Cedar Forest and fight Ḫuwawa, because he is certain that his god Šamaš will place his 'protection' (*ṣillum*, lit. 'shadow') over him.[35] In the same connection, Gilgameš discusses one of his dreams with his friend Enkidu.[36] Strange things have happened in his dream. Enkidu explains their significance.

> The ... whom you saw is Šamaš the protector:
> In difficult circumstances he will take our hand.
> The one who gave you water to drink from his water-skin
> is your god Lugalbanda, who honours you.[37]

---

[33] The epithet *mutakkilum*, 'supporter', applied to the personal god, occurs once more in an Old Babylonian dialogue, see Held 1961:6 i 29 the goddess *mutakkiltaki*, 'your (fem.) supporter'.

[34] TCL 1, 40 [4] *kata u aḫuku ašariš* [5] *mannum uwaššerkunūtima ašariš* [6] *wašbātunu ilkī tuḫalliqāma* [7] *u ašariš tattašbā* [8] *šēretka ana ūmī* (u$_4$ - m e š) *kālišu<nu>* [9] *ul ubbak* (...) [20] *ana ašariš wa-ša* (text: *áš*)*-bi-im* [21] *ul tapallaḫ* [22] *šumi ilika u mutakkilika* [23] *ša kata u aḫaka ašariš* [24] *ušēšibu* [25] *iblī*. Cf. Ungnad 1914, 186; Landsberger 1915:523.

[35] OB Gilg. Y v 40, cf. YOS 10, 24 [20] *ṣilli ilim eli awēlim ibašši*.

[36] TIM 9, 43 [3] *ibrī šuttam aṭṭul* ..., 'My friend, I saw a dream ...'. For a study of the passage, known only from an Old Babylonian tablet from Tell Harmal (IM 52615), see von Soden 1959:215-219.

[37] TIM 9, 43 [13] ... *ša tāmuru* [d]*Šamaš nāṣirum* (text has *naṣrum*) [14] *ina dannatim iṣabbat qātni* [15] *ša mê nādišu išquka* [16] *ilka* (d i n g i r-*ka*) *mukabbit qaqqadika* [17] *Lugalbanda* ... Note that the image of Lugalbanda giving Gilgameš water to drink is a reversal of the normal situation in which the son quenches the thirst of his father's ghost. For the personal god as 'honouring' his protégé see also *OBRT* 118:12; 119:6. The construction with *qaqqadum* is also used in *qaqqadam naṣāru*, see TCL 17, 6 [11] [d]*Enki šû*

In the interpretation of the dream, Šamaš and Lugalbanda, the one the divine patron and the other the god and ancestor of Gilgameš, are pictured as his powerful companions. The image of the personal god as a 'friend'[38] and 'helper'[39] taking you by the hand is also found in other texts. Recovery from a severe illness is interpreted in this way in an Old Assyrian letter: 'Have no worry because of the fact that I fell ill: Aššur and your god have taken me by the hand and I have recovered.'[40]

The adventure of Gilgameš and Enkidu is experienced on a different scale by soldiers on campaign. In any war effort, the personal gods of the king, leader of the army, must lend their assistance. Some examples from the epistolary archives of Mari illustrate the point. As the armies of Zimrī-Līm of Mari and Ḫammurabi of Babylon have joined to take the city of Isin, one of the generals writes to Zimrī-Līm wishing for the help of the personal god of the king. 'May the [god] of [our] lord come [to our aid], so that the name of our lord be remembered in victory.'[41] The successful capture of the city of Larsa is announced in comparable terms. 'Today the god of my lord has gone ahead of the troops of my lord and the spear of the evil one and the enemy has been broken; the city of Larsa has been taken.'[42] This is the ideology of what has been inappropriately described as the 'holy war'.[43] It is, in fact, an application to the king of the concept of the personal god as a helper in distress.

Most Babylonians were neither explorers like Gilgameš nor warriors like Zimrī-Līm. Even if they did not expect to perform heroic feats or military triumphs, however, they aspired to success and prestige. They looked to their family god as to the one who could fulfil their wishes; devotion was motivated in part by desire. It was the hunger for social esteem which explains the intensity of the devotion of princess Kirûm to the god of her father Zimrī-Līm. Kirûm was married to Ḫaya-Sumu of Ilān-ṣūrā, a city in north Syria. Her life there was hardly enviable since she had to compete with

---

mādiš ūmī [12] *qaqqadka liṣṣur*, 'May Enki protect you for many days to come.'

[38] Cf. the opening line of the Babylonian *Man and his God*, Lambert 1987b:188-189, *eṭlum ruʾiš ana ilišu ibakki*, 'A man weeps to his god like a friend.'

[39] So Hallo 1985:59 [11] dinanna igištu-mu ḫé-àm [12] dingir-mu á-daḫ-mu ḫa-àm [13] egir-mà ḫa-gin, 'May the goddess be my vanguard, may my god be my helper, may he walk behind me.'

[40] CCT 4, 14b = Michel, C. 1991.2, 89 [6] *ana ša amruṣuni mimma* [7] *ina libbika la tašakkan* [8] *Aššur u ilka qātī* [9] *iṣṣabtūma aštilim*. For other examples of the idiom see *CAD* Ṣ 31-32.

[41] AEM I/2 (ARM 26), 379 [22] *[ilum] ša bēl[ini tappûtni]* [23] *lil[likam]* [24] *šum bēlini [ina līt]imma* [25] *liḫḫasisma*.

[42] AEM I/2 (ARM 26), 386 r. [6'] *ūmam ilum* (dingir-*lum*) *ša bēliya* [7'] *ina pān ummānāt bēliya* [8'] *i[lli]kma šakurri ⌜lemʾnim* [9'] *u ayyābim ittešbir* [10'] *ālum Larsāki ṣabi[t]*.

[43] Cf. Weippert, M. 1972.

her sister, married to the same man, for the position of queen. The surest way to victory was motherhood: one reason why the king of Mari had given Ḫaya-sumu his second daughter was that the first one was still without children—though the marriage with Kirûm had also political significance.[44] When the outcome of the battle was still uncertain, Kirûm expressed the wish to go to Mari. Her husband did not allow her to travel with him when he went there. On the eve of his return from Mari, Kirûm wrote to her father:

> Now when Ḫaya-Sumu returns to Idamaraṣ, may my lord send with him a chariot and a wagon, that I may go to my father and my lord. I want to bring sacrifice to the gods of my father and be successful over there.[45]

There is no indication in our texts of anything which would lead us to suspect that Kirûm is ill; the verb *šalāmu*, in consequence, cannot be understood as a reference to her recovery. Kirûm wants 'to be successful' and 'sit on the throne of the queen.'[46] When she situates her prospective success 'over there' (*ašrānum*) she is referring to Ilān-ṣūrā; as she writes she is in spirit already—or still—in Mari. For her success in Ilān-ṣūrā she feels dependent upon the intervention of the gods of her father; the gods of her husband she does not feel to be truly hers. In her other letters as well, Kirûm strikes one as a religious woman;[47] her desire to honour the gods she knows from her early youth seems authentic. The success she hoped for, presumably, was pregnancy and the delivery of a male child.[48]

The personal god is to make his worshipper walk 'with beaming face like a prince' among his fellow men.[49] He is to secure his good reputation. We can hardly overrate the importance attached to one's fame in a society where nearly everything took place in the public domain; esteem and respect were of essential importance. A 'good name' (*šumum damqum*), moreover, is an echo of social rank. It is in this sense that we have to understand the epistolary greetings wishing that the gods grant the addressee a 'good name'.[50]

---

[44] Durand 1984, but cf. Charpin in AEM I/1:43-46.

[45] ARM 10, 113 [13] *inanna ū[m]* [14] *ᴵḪaya-Su[mu]* [15] *ana māt Idāma[raṣ]* [16] *ittūra[mma]* [17] *ištēn narkabtam* (giš-gigir$_2$) *u* ^{giš}*maya[lt]am* [18] *ittišu bēlī liṭrudamma* [19] *ana ṣēr abiya u bēliya* [20] *lullikama* [21] *ana ilāni* (dingir-meš) *ša abiya* [22] *ni[q]êm luqqi* [23] *u ašrānumma lušlim*. For this text see Durand 1984:164.

[46] ARM 10, 34 r. 8'-10', see Durand 1984:164.

[47] Cf. ARM 10, 31 r. 9'-10', see Durand 1984:165; ARM 10, 32:11, r. 5, see Durand 1984:168.

[48] One might even speculate that this desire is hinted at with the verb *šalāmu*, since it is also used in the language of Mari for the delivery of children, see Charpin, *NABU* 1990, 138.

[49] *STC* II, Pl. 82 [84] *namriš eṭelliš itti balṭūti lubāʾ sūqa.*

[50] See, e.g., TCL 18, 150 [2] *ša DN$_1$ u DN$_2$ šumšu udamm[iqū]*; AbB 11, 84 [1] *ᵈMarduk rāʾimka* [2] *šumam damqam ša tarammu* [3] *aššumiya lišrukakkum*.

And since a society which so much values prestige is asymmetrical, social status is closely linked to the fact that your god has established you in a 'superior position' (*ina līt̄im šuzuzzum*).[51] Especially in places where competition is fierce, such superiority is looked upon as a precious good. To a courtier one wishes that his guardian angels (*lamassū*) grant him long life 'in a superior position and in good reputation in the palace where you come and go.'[52] Such a wish could be further specified: 'May during the rule of Samsu-ilūna prompt acceptance of your requests be destined for you.'[53] In the royal administration a good reputation and a safe position go together; both are a gift of the personal god.[54]

Social eminence, which percolates down under the guise of a 'good name' among one's fellow men, can be achieved in different ways. The accumulation of capital, usually by husbandry, is a major means. A paterfamilias prays that his cattle pen expand and that his fold become wide.[55] Wealth was indeed taken to be a sign of divine favour, witness a passage from an Old Babylonian letter.

> Because the god has accepted your prayers, you are now gentlemen and men of property; all your affairs have prospered.[56]

The unnamed deity is the god of the family to which these men of eminence belong; their riches were his blessing. The same conviction underlies the clause of an Old Babylonian land tenure contract which specifies that the lessor can redeem his field with 'the money his god will bring'.[57] Divine support in financial matters could on occasion materialize in the form of a charitable loan. The case of Irra-Gašer, who took a loan from the temple of his god Išar-padān, is a case in point.[58]

Another road to social success was the appointment to a position of

---

[51] AbB 3, 47 [6] *[DN] ... ša ina līt̄im ušzi[zzu]kunū[t]i* [7] *[l]išnīma qaqqadkunu likabbit*, 'May [DN], who has put you in a superior position, honour you again.'

[52] AbB 1, 15 [1] *lamassū ša biyatiya* [2] *ina līt̄im u šumi damqim* [3] *ina ekallim* (é - g a l) *tattanallaku* [4] *abī kata lilabbirū*. Cf. AbB 7, 168:1-2.

[53] TCL 17, 37 [7] *ina palêm ša Samsu-ilūna* [8] *qabûm u magārum* [9] *lū šīmatuka*.

[54] Cf. AbB 11, 122 [1] *[d]Marduk rā'imka* [2] *ina šumi damqi u piḫāti* [3] *šalimti* [4] *aššumiya lilabbirka*, 'May Marduk who loves you allow you to grow old in good reputation and a safe position for my sake.'

[55] *STC* II, Pl. 82 [90] *tarbaṣu lirpiš lilštamdilu supūrī*.

[56] AbB 3, 52 [19] *aššum ilum* (d i n g i r-*lum*) *unnēnīkunu ilqûma* [20] *awīlū attunuma rašiātunu* [21] *mimmûkunu ana pānīšu ittalak*. See also Frankena 1978:166.

[57] IM 54685 [11] *kaspam* (k ù - b a b b a r) *ilīšu* [12] *ubbalamma* [13] *eqelšu* (a - š à-*šú*) *ipaṭṭar*, see Suleiman 1966:364. Cf. also UET 6, 262 [1] n í g - t u k [2] n í g - a l - d i [3] n í g - g i g [4] d i n g i r - r a - a m, 'wealth, desire, matters of importance are from the god'.

[58] See Scheil 1909.

political power. Since many of the prestigious offices were neither full-time nor remunerated, a solid financial situation was often a prerequisite. In these cases, an appointment as an official added honour to wealth. Though the nomination to office was a royal prerogative, one's personal god was assumed to be the true nominator. The belief is reflected in the congratulations sent to men in high office shortly after their appointment:

> When Marduk mentioned your name (*scil.* and you were appointed governor) I was very pleased, thinking: It is a gentleman who knows me, whose name has been mentioned; he will do for me what I want.[59]

The construction *šumam zakāru* is used here and in many other texts as a standing expression for 'to promote, to elevate in rank'.[60] It is also used for the promotion to kingship, as can be seen from a letter written to Iltāni shortly after her accession to the throne.

> I was very pleased to hear that the god has mentioned your name and has not withdrawn his protection (lit.: arm) from you. The god who knows your father's house has just honoured you.[61]

It is evident from this string of expressions that the letter writer gives a religious interpretation to Iltāni's career: her god (that is: the god of her father) does not forget her ('mentioning the name' is also the usual idiom for remembering); his attention is focused upon her; he knows her and grants her eminence.

The elevation to kingship can be viewed as the access to the highest level of the social hierarchy. The letter to Queen Iltāni from Qaṭṭarā (Tell Rimaḫ) shows that also this career was ascribed to the intervention of the personal god. The religious legitimation of political power was a matter of particular concern to usurpers of the throne, since they could not boast royal descent to support their claim to supremacy. An example in point is that of the man who adopted the illustrious name of Rīm-Sîn (after Rīm-Sîn I, the last king of the Larsa dynasty, 1822-1763).[62] Though Larsa was the seat of his kingship,[63] the reign of Rīm-Sîn II had begun in the city of Keš, according to a letter he wrote:

---

[59] AbB 10, 1 [7] *inūma* [d]*Marduk šumka izkuru* [8] *mādiš aḫdu* [9] *umma anākuma* [10] *awīlum ša idiani* [11] *šumšu ittazkar* [12] *[ṣ]abiātiya ippuš*. See also the translation by Oppenheim 1967b:78-79.

[60] See *CAD* Z 18-19, but cf. Frankena 1978:158-159.

[61] *OBRT* 118 [7] *kīma ilum* (d i n g i r) *šumki izkuruma* [8] *aḫšu eliki* [9] *[lā] iddû* [10] ʿeš³*mema aḫdu* [11] *ilum* (d i n g i r) *ša bit abiki* ʿi³*dû* [12] ʿ*qa*³*qqadki uktabit*.

[62] For Rīm-Sîn II see Stol 1976:44-58.

[63] According to a bilingual Samsu-ilūna inscription, see Frayne 1990:387, lines 92-100.

> Thus says the divine Rīm-Sîn: In order to bring light to Yamūt-Bālum, and to gather its dispersed people, the great gods established the foundation of my throne in Keš, the city of my creatrix.[64]

The unnamed 'creatrix' of Rīm-Sîn II was the goddess Ninmaḫ. The first year-name of the king commemorates his rise to kingship by saying that it was the year 'Ninmaḫ elevated Rīm-Sîn to kingship over all the countries in the Keš temple, the temenos of heaven and earth.'[65] This is a case, then, where personal god and city god coincide. Having begun as a local ruler in Keš, with the endorsement of the city goddess, Rīm-Sîn soon extended his reign over the territory of Yamūt-Bālum, of which also Larsa was part.

The many facets of the care of the personal god can be summarized in the phrase that the god wishes to give his human servant life in abundance. That is why the most frequent formula for greeting in letters, saying that the gods are to keep the addressee in good health, uses a verb meaning 'to grant life' (*bulluṭum,* from *balāṭu*, 'to live').[66] The idea of plenitude is expressed in various ways. The god may be asked to 'sate' a human being with 'fullness of life'.[67] This 'fullness of life' (*lalē balāṭim*) includes old age (*šībūtum*), as a variant of the formula shows.[68] The personal god makes his protégés 'grow old' (*labāru*)[69] so that they can enjoy life for 'many days'.[70] With characteristic overstatement, these 'many days' are said to amount to as many as 3600 years ('May Šamaš keep you healthy for 3600 years'[71])—3600 being the number of plenitude, based on the multiplication of 60 by 60. The wish that people be 'eternal like the heaven and the earth'[72] can be seen as a variant: the love of the personal god is to manifest itself in the fact that his devotees have their fill of life.

Eventually, however, all people have to die. Death is 'the lord of the people',[73] and to die is the 'destiny' (*šīmtum*) of all humanity. The dying day is the 'day of destiny' (*ūm šīmtim*), on which one 'goes to one's destiny' (*ana šīmtim alāku*). Death being inevitable, the most one can hope for is to

---

64 AbB 13, 53 3 *umma* ^{d}*Rīm-Sînma* 4 *ana namerti Yamūt-Bālum*^{ki} 5 *šakānim u nišīšu* 6 *sapḫātim puḫḫurim* 7 *ilū rabbûtu* (d i n g i r - g a l - g a l - e - n e) *ina Keš* 8 *āl* (u r u^{ki}) *bānītiya išdī kussîya* (g u - z a-*ya*) 9 *ukinnū*.

65 m u ^{d}*Rīm-Sîn* l u g a l ^{d}N i n - m a ḫ - e é - k è š^{ki} t e m e n - a n - k i - b i - d a - t a n a m - l u g a l - k a l a m - k i š i - g á l - l a - š è g a l - b i - t a b a - a n - í l - l a, see Stol 1976:54.

66 See the numerous examples collected by Salonen, E. 1967:22-44.

67 E.g., AbB 2, 89 14 *lalē balāṭ[im]* ^{d}*Ša[maš]* 15 *lišebbika*.

68 AbB 1, 105 1 ^{d}*Marduk rā'imk[a]* 2 *ša ibnūka lalē b[alāṭim]* 3 *u šībūtim lišebbika*.

69 See, e.g., Salonen, E. 1967:48.

70 E.g., AbB 9, 39 4 *mādiš ūmī*.

71 So, e.g., TCL 18, 90:5.

72 AbB 13, 169 4' *kīma šamû u erṣetum darû* 5' *atti u rā'imki lū dariātunu*.

73 TCL 17, 29 17 *mūtum bēli nišī*.

die in good time and not before one's proper day (*ina ūm lā šīmtim*). The mere possibility of premature death shows that the destiny laid down by the gods is not immutable. The very prayer that says that Ištar assigns poverty and wealth in men's womb, also claims that she is able to 'reverse the destiny'.[74] The power to extend life beyond the appointed time, which Apuleius ascribes to the goddess Isis,[75] is also available to the Babylonian gods. Nevertheless, the day will come when the ancestors will call (*qerû*) their offspring to join them.[76] The euphemism (which refers to the ancestors as 'gods') implies that death does not mean annihilation but transition. At the end of his lifetime a man is gathered to his fathers, to be remembered and honoured by his own children and grandchildren.

The biographical pattern here described echoes the ideals of the *awīlum* class: birth is viewed not as a mere biological fact, but as the entry into a social world where the individual enjoys dignity and respect (he walks around 'like a prince', *etelliš*); the 'good name' his god has given him is the effect of his social rank; owing to his god's blessing he is a man of means (*rašû*) and an *awīlum*; because his god 'remembers' him (*šumam zakāru*) he has attained a position of honour and responsibility in the administration (such as the judiciary); his prosperity, materializing in fields and flocks, is likewise due to divine kindness; even old age and numerous offspring may be interpreted as characteristics of the social élite: to reach an age where one sees one's grandchildren is a realization of *awīlūtum*, according to the Old Babylonian omen literature.[77] The biographical pattern which emerges from the Old Babylonian letters, prayers, and didactic literature, then, is that of the prototypical *awīlum*, the aristocrat.

Family Religion and Moral Behaviour

Religion, in Babylonian parlance, is 'fear of the god' (*palāḫ ilim*). This term is not concerned with the acceptance of a set of propositions relating to metaphysical realities, but with proper religious and social behaviour. 'Fear of the god' is tangible in acts of human kindness and in dutiful observance of the cultic worship of the gods. It is the safeguard of social decency: as soon as people forget their gods they start using uncivilized language.[78] 'Fear of the

---

[74] *BMS* 8:14 // *KAR* 250:9 *tuštepelli šīmatamma*. See Veenhof 1985:95.

[75] *Metamorphoses* XI 6: *scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia vitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere*, 'Know that I alone have power to prolong your life beyond the span determined by your destiny.'

[76] See *CAD* Q 242-243. There is in fact not one text in which the verb *qerû* would unambiguously mean 'to take away, along, to lead away', *pace CAD*.

[77] YOS 10, 44 [70] *awīlum awīlūtam illak mār mārīšu immar*.

[78] Cf. *Erra* III 11-12: 'I shall make their words wicked; they will forget their god (*ilšin*),

god' is not belief (belief being tacitly taken for granted) but the manifestation of an attitude of reverence for the gods and love of one's fellow human beings. In the Babylonian view, religion must be regarded as the proper human response to the divine creation and providence.

In Babylonian family religion, the relationship between a human being and the god is supposed to be mutual: whereas the human is to benefit from the lasting assistance and support of the personal god (as reflected in the frequent epistolary blessing 'may your god attend to your wishes'[79]), the latter is to have his wishes fulfilled by his human servant ('May your god have no wish left'[80]). The conclusion of the Old Babylonian *Man and his God* epitomizes the reciprocity of the relationship more poetically. As the sufferer has recovered he is enjoined to henceforth return the generosity of his god.

> In future days you must not forget your god
> your creator, now that you are happy again.
> 'I am your god, your creator, and your comfort.
> I assigned alert watchmen to you, they are strong.
> The field will open up [for you] its vegetation,
> I will provide you with life forever.
> As for you, do not tarry to anoint the parched one,
> Feed the hungry one, give the thirsty one water to drink;
> may he who sits down with feverish eyes
> see your food, suckle, receive it and be pleased with you.
> The gate of peace and prosperity is open for you:
> (...) , go out, go in, you will be secure.'[81]

This didactic poem illustrates the transition from biographical description to ethical prescription. The experience of the kindness of his god (which is, after all, an interpretation of a set of biographical elements) is to lead the healed sufferer to display a comparable kindness to his fellow humans. His philanthropy will be a manifestation of his gratitude; it is in this way that he does not 'forget his god'.

The social ethics of the Old Babylonian *Man and his God* are the ethics

---

and to their goddess (*ištaršina*) they will utter the most blasphemous language.'

79 This is a tentative translation of the idiom *ilka rēška ana damiqtim likīl* and its variant *ilka rēš damiqtika likīl*, see *CAD* K 517 s.v. *kullu* 5f 2'a'.

80 The expression runs *ilka ṣibûtam ay irši*, see Salonen, E. 1967:46-47 and Röllig 1972:46.

81 Lambert 1987b:192 [56] *aḫrētiš ūmī la tamaššû il[ka]* [57] *bānika kî tadammiqunim attā* [58] *anā ilka bānūk tukultuk* [59] *erûkum maṣṣarūya u dammūku[m]* [60] *eqlum* (a - š à) *marqi'ūssu ippetti[kum]* [61] *apallaškumma dāriš balaṭ[am]* [62] *u attā e tepṣi ubbulam pušu[š]* [63] *emṣa šūkil šiqi ṣamiya māmī* [64] *u ša ušbuma išrabbuba i[nāšu]* [65] *liṭṭul akliška liṣṣub liḫḫur u liḫ[duka]* [66] *patîyetku abul šulmim u balaṭim* [67] *mumma qerbuš erub ṣī lu šalmāt*. Cf. von Soden 1990; Foster 1993.1:75-77.

of family religion. Also later texts know that the personal god 'is pleased' (*ḫadû*) when his servant 'gives food to eat, beer to drink, grants what is asked, provides for and honours.'[82] Such conduct, which the Babylonians called 'charity' (*usātum*),[83] was incumbent upon the social upper class. The following plea, concluding an Old Babylonian letter, is fairly characteristic.

> If you are really my brother and you worry about me, buy two shekel silver worth of barley from Ṣillī-Šamaš, whatever he charges you, and send it to me together with your own barley. Provide this charity for me! You are not unaware of my mood, my situation, and my poverty, are you? You are a notable. Come to my rescue![84]

The letter writer defines his own position as that of a *muškēnum*, which term has unmistakable economic overtones here: it refers to his lack of means. The appeal to fraternal sentiments ('If you are really my brother ...') shows that the writer construes his relationship with the addressee as though they belonged to the same family or clan; it is possible they actually did. On the evidence of their names, both Sîn-uselli (who wrote the letter) and Sîn-bēl-ilī (who received it) honoured the moon god as their deity. Yet in contrast with his 'brother', Sîn-bēl-ilī is a 'notable' (*wēdûm*). He owes it to his rank to show kindness. This is a case, it would seem, where two people from a partly common background are individually different on account of the social-economic classes to which they belong.

The social superiority of the wealthy was both legitimized and kept in check by the religion of the day. Economic disparity could be a source of conflicts, especially if the well-to-do took an attitude of contempt toward their inferiors. Those who suffered from the behaviour of the rich could remind them of their accountability to their god, as the following letter shows:

> Because the god has accepted your prayers you are now gentlemen and men of property. All your affairs have prospered. The land (lit. boundaries) of our family you have ruined. Under whose protection are you ruining us small ones? Fear (your god) and leave us small ones alone![85]

---

[82] *BWL* 102 [61] *šūkil akalu šiqi kuru[nn]u* [62] *erišti qīši epir u kubbit* [63] *ana annimma ilšu ḫadiš.*

[83] See, e.g., *BWL* 102:64.

[84] AbB 1, 89 [19] *šumma ina kittim* [20] *aḫī attā u tamarraṣa* [21] *še'am ša* 2 gín kubabbar [22] *ša qāti Ṣillī-^{d}Šamaš* [23] *ana mali inaddinakku* [24] *liqi'amma* [25] *itti šêka bila* [26] *usātam annītam* [27] *eliya riši* [28] *ṭēmī u alaktī* [29] *u muškēnūtī* [30] *ul tide* [31] *u* 1 ú *wēdâta pidi alkam.*

[85] AbB 3, 52 [19] *aššum ilum* (d i n g i r-*lum*) *unnēnīkunu ilqûma* [20] *awīlū attunuma rašiātunu* [21] *mimmûkunu ana pānīšu ittalak* [22] *itê* (d a-*te-e*) *ša bīt abini tuḫtalliqā* [23] *ana tarān mannim niāti ṣeḫḫerūtim* [24] *tuḫallaqāniāti attā lū palḫātama* [25] *itaḫlal niāti ṣeḫḫerūtim.*

The letter writer accepts the fact that some of his fellow citizens enjoy a prosperity that his family has not. Yet he feels free to appeal to their notion of religion and morality to induce them to change their behaviour. With a rhetorical question he warns them that they cannot act with impunity. Though their god has blessed them with riches, they are not immune from his punishment. They must 'fear god' (*palāḫu*) since also the 'small ones' enjoy divine protection.

The role of family religion in social conflicts is especially visible when people have to deal with conflicts that involve members of the same family. An important concern of the family god is the maintenance of peace and solidarity among parents and children, among brothers, and among relatives in general. That is why the god is often called upon to act as witness and referee in family conflicts. Writing his brother Innāya, the Assyrian Būr-Aššur asserts his innocence and good intentions by calling the punishment of the family god over himself in case he should speak falsely.[86] In disputes over the inheritance, the god of the father is to render verdict about the division of the family estate.[87] In this respect, the family god fulfils the same role as the spirits of the ancestors. The behaviour of the members of the family toward each other had to be 'pleasing' (*gamālu*) to the ancestors and the family god alike.[88] If people of the same kin group betrayed the loyalty they owed one another, the family god was called upon to intervene and redress the situation by punishing the perpetrator.

A quite spectacular demonstration of the role of the family god in punishing crimes perpetrated within the family can be reconstructed from the royal archives of Mari. The case concerns King Zimrī-Līm and his daughter Šīmatum. This Šīmatum was the half-sister of Kirûm, and lived in Ilān-ṣūrā (north Syria) as one of the wives of Ḫaya-sumu. It is clear from the epistolary evidence that the court of Ilān-ṣūrā was divided in a pro-Elamite and an anti-Elamite faction; Šīmatum belonged to the former, Kirûm to the latter. Zimrī-Līm's correspondent, stationed at the court of Ilān-ṣūrā to report to the king of Mari, sided with Kirûm and described the behaviour of Šīmatum in harshly negative terms.[89] According to one of his letters Šīmatum would

---

[86] BIN 6, 97:20-22 = Michel, C, 1991.2, 44:20-22.

[87] AbB 5, 39 [7] *[ya]tta u katta* [8] *[dN]inšubur ili abika* [9] *[liš]āḫiz*. The judicial significance of the terminology is evident from a comparison with Dossin 1956:66 [5] *dŠamaš yattam u kattam lišâl* [6] *u lišāḫiz*, 'May Šamaš investigate my case and your case and (then) render verdict.' The same expression occurs in YOS 15, 19 (fc., reference courtesy K. R. Veenhof). The abbreviated formula is found in AbB 8, 106:4-5 and Al-Zeebari 1964, 25 r. 18'-19'.

[88] BIN 4, 96 [18] ... *kima* [19] *ilam* (d i n g i r) *u eṭemmē* [20] *tagammiluma* [21] *la aḫalliqu* [22] *epuš*, 'Act so that you please the god and the spirits, and I do not perish!'

[89] See Charpin in AEM 1/2:45.

have sent her father 'bewitched herbs' (*šammī ša kišpī*).[90] Another letter reports that the god of Zimrī-Līm punished his daughter for her insolent behaviour.

> Something else: Šīmatum, who speaks contemptuously about my lord—and my lord turned to the god concerning her, and the god of my lord took hold of her and cut off her fingers[91]—she has repeated fits of epilepsy.[92]

Since the conflict is with his own daughter, the god whom Zimrī-Līm consults is presumably his personal god, and therefore also the god of all other members of his family. His identity is not stated. The accusation of witchcraft had apparently been confirmed, since Šīmatum had her fingers cut off by the god (that is, a human acting on the god's behalf). Zimrī-Līm's man of confidence at Ilān-ṣūrā was convinced that the illness from which Šīmatum suffered was a divine punishment as well. He interpreted it as an act of the family god, since Šīmatum's crime was an offence against family ethics.

The role of the family god as witness of disputes and settlements is prominent in cases which concern the inheritance of the family estate. Two aspects of the presumed involvement of the family god underlie this practice. There is, on the one hand, the traditional position of the god as patron and tutor of the family; but the god is also implicated because the land which the family owns is ultimately his: it is the portion he has given them. Since real estate property has both public and private aspects, inheritance records often mention two divine witnesses:

> Erra-kāmi-nišī, Rīš-Erra, and Būriya, the sons of Šu-Ištar, had a lawsuit concerning the heritage. They divided the inheritance in the temple of their city god and (the temple of) their god (follows a description of the division). They will bring the food offerings of their god and of Marduk together.[93]

---

[90] AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 314 [26] *šanītam aššum šammī ša kišpī* [27] *ša* ^{sal}*Šīmatum ana ṣēr bēliya* [28] *ušābilam awātum šî kīnat* [29] *ul sarrat*, 'Something else: concerning the bewitched herbs which Šīmatum sent to my lord: that report is true, it is not false.'

[91] The verb *kuṣṣuṣu* means 'to cut off'. The interpretation of Durand ('doigts estropiés à la suite d'une attaque de la maladie *bennum*,' AEM 1/1:583 n. f.) should be abandoned. The mutilation of the fingers is to be understood as an actually performed judgment in the name of the god. See also *Maqlû* I 117-119 where there is a similar sequence of *kašādu* (by the god) and *ubānāti kuṣṣuṣu*. *Maqlû* I 119 reads *kīma tirik abnē* (n a $_4$ - m e š) *ubānātišunu liktaṣṣiṣū*, 'May their fingers be cut off like chiseled stone' (reference as well as suggestion for the interpretation courtesy I. T. Abusch).

[92] AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 312 [36'] *šanītam* ^{sal}*Šīmatum ša ṭaplāt bēliya idabbubu* [37'] *u bēlī ilam* (d i n g i r-*lam*) *imḫuršima ilum* (d i n g i r-*lum*) *š[a] bēliya* [38'] *ikšussima ubānātiša u[kaṣ]ṣiss[im]* [39'] *u binnum eliša imtanaq[qut]*.

[93] CT 4, 9a [1] *ˡErra-˹kāmi˺-[niš]ī* [2] *ˡRīš-[Erra]* [3] *u Būriya* [4] *mārē* (d u m u - m e š) *Šu-Ištar* [5] *ana zittim* (ḫ a - l a) *igṭirūma* [6] *ina bīt* (é) *il* (d i n g i r) *ālišunu* (u r u^{ki}-*šunu*) *u ilišunu* [7] *zittam* (ḫ a - l a) *izūzūma* (...) [18] *akal* (n i n d a) *ilišunu* (d i n g i r-*šunu*) *u* ^{d}*Marduk* [19] *[m]itḫariš* [20] *[ubb]alu*. For transcriptions and studies see Kohler & Ungnad

The two gods involved in the legal settlement are the national god Marduk (also referred to in the text as their 'city god', the city being the city-state), and the unidentified personal god of the three brothers.[94] Though the text does not say explicitly that the division of the paternal estate was made in two temples, this seems to be the most likely assumption. Another Old Babylonian inheritance record is more specific by mentioning 'the chapel of their god' (*ina išertim ša ilišunu*) as the place where the oath concerning the division is to be taken.[95] It is interesting to observe that the division of the estate by the sons of Šu-Ištar leaves their joint responsibility for the periodical contribution to the food offerings of the state god (Marduk) and the family god (*ilišunu*) unaffected.

In the capital of Elam (Šušan, later Susa) there was a colony of people from Larsa and its vicinity. Their inheritance settlements are ratified by an oath by Šušinak, the national Elamite deity, and an oath by their personal god. Take the division of the inheritance by Larsatu, Rabiya, Erištum and Bēltani—all persons with good Babylonian names. We have found the personal copies of the inheritance document of Erištum, Rabiya and Bēltani; they betray minor variations. The tablet of Erištum concludes:

> Whoever transgresses (the rules of this agreement): his hand and his tongue shall be cut off; he has touched the sacred symbol of Šušinak: he will die. They have sworn and touched the head of their god.[96]

To judge by another inheritance text, detailing the division of 'everything the god has given to mankind', the oath by 'their god' is to be distinguished from the oath by Šušinak and the Elamite king; the name of 'their god' is Adad.[97] The text confirms the fact that the division of the family property was to be supervised and ratified by both the national deity and the family god—also on foreign soil.

1909, 57; Sommerfeld 1982:44. The reading ^{d}ŠU.KUR in line 18 (so Kohler & Ungnad and Sommerfeld) must be emendated to read d i n g i r-*šu-nu*.

94 In view of the names of the three brothers, there is a fair chance that their god is to be identified with Erra.

95 CT 8, 3a:24, see also Schorr 1913, 194. Note that the official division of the inheritance could also take place 'in the *išertum* of the house of their father' in the presence of the emblem of the family god, according to Spaey 1993:420, CBS 1513 [37] *ištu ina kakkim* (g i š t u k u l) *ša* ^{d}*Adad ilišu[nu ...]* [38] *ina* é [?] *išertim ša bīt* (é) *abišu[nu ...]* [39] *awīlum awīlam ubbi[bu]* (reference courtesy M. Smith, Philadelphia).

96 MDP 24, 337 [7] *ša ibbalakkatu* [8] *rittašu u lišānšu* [9] *innakkisū kidin* ^{d}*Šušinak* [10] *ilput imât* [11] *tamû qaqqad* [12] *ilišunu laptū*.

97 MDP 22, 11 [10] *ana* ^{d}*Adad ilišunu* (d i n g i r-*šunu*) *tamû*.

A Gentleman's Religion

The statements of personal identity in the extant corpus of Old Babylonian texts reflect an acute sense of class consciousness. The only identity that really counts is that of the *awīlum*; the *muškēnum* is a 'nobody' (*mār la mammanim*), as the expression goes in first millennium texts.[98] Personal identity, in the Old Babylonian texts, is tantamount to being an *awīlum*: other identities are not honorific and are therefore discarded. Old Babylonian extispicy texts list the *mār muškēnim* (member of the *muškēnum* class) alongside the *mār almattim* ('son of a widow', i.e., a bastard), the *lā ḫassum* ('fool'), the *nakrum* ('foreigner'), the *mār mātim* ('country dweller'), and the *ṭardum* ('one driven out of town') as potential usurpers of the throne: all these persons are similar in that they lack the status and dignity of an *awīlum*;[99] they could be negatively defined as *lā awīlum*.[100]

The rules that dictate the behaviour by which the Babylonian is expected to respond to the love of his god are also at home in the upper class. The code of conduct represents the moral ideals of the *awīlum*. Babylonian philanthropy is as much an expression of genuine human concern as an assertion of membership of a social élite. Munificence and generosity are essential to the behaviour known in Old Babylonian letters as *awīlūtum*, 'gentility'. The writer who expresses the desire to see a display of *awīlūtum* on the part of his correspondent indicates that he hopes for 'an act of kindness' (*gimillum*, which in more archaic English could be rendered as a 'gentle' act).[101] Someone responding to this wish thereby demonstrates his readiness to accept the moral consequences of his position as an *awīlum*. The recovery reported in the Old Babylonian *Man and his God* is not just physical: it is the return to an earlier social status. Philanthropy, though presented as a manifestation of gratitude, is also public proof of restored prestige.

If philanthropy is a duty of the *awīlum*—and, by the same token, a demonstration of the fact that he is one—so is religious behaviour in the more narrow sense of the term. Though charity and philanthropy are anchored in the will of the gods (since proper conduct is supposed to 'please' the god), they cannot take the place of devotion. Devotion must not be confused with fervour. A true gentleman avoids extremes. The first millennium copy of an etiquette cast in the form of omens says that the man

---

98 See *CAD* M/1 200-201.

99 See *CAD* Ṣ 27 s.v. *ṣabātu* 8, *kussû*.

100 Note the use of *lā awīlum* in Old Assyrian texts. For some examples see *CAD* A/2 57 *s.v. amīlu* in *la amīlu*.

101 Cf. BIN 6, 207 [15] *awīlūtam* [16] *tēpušma gimillam* [17] *[...] taškun*.

who is constantly visiting the god will be reduced to *muškēnūtum*; devotion must remain 'balanced' (*šitqul*).[102] A gentleman suffering such adversity that he feels he has become a *muškēnum* (*muškēnēkuma*) pleads with his god by referring to the sacrifice which he offers once a year—which is a frequency that can hardly be called excessive.[103] On the part of the human servant, the relationship with the god is one of mutual obligation. As long as he treats his god fairly, he expects to be fairly treated by the god.

Behavioural omens of the first millennium imply that the road to success ('obtaining a god', as the texts say literally) is religious in so far as a human must 'bless' his god.[104] The verb *karābu*, 'to bless', refers to an illocutionary act, which may be supported by gesture, proclaiming someone's qualities. To 'bless' one's benefactor, whether human or divine, is to speak highly of him in the presence of others; for the act to be truly effective, it must be witnessed by an audience. The 'blessing' of one's god is a daily duty, according to a first millennium wisdom counsel.[105] In real life only few people could live up to such ideals. There was, however, the possibility of substitution: instead of daily visiting the temple in person, one could dedicate a votive object to take one's place. Such objects frequently took the form of a statuette (*ṣalmum*) representing the individual in a pose of obeisance; the object was called a *kāribum* (fem. *kāribtum*). Archaeological excavations have yielded a number of such statues.[106]

The dedication of a *kāribum* image was more than just an act of piety. Indirectly, these statuettes sent out a message to other visitors to the temple and to society at large. Though formally addressing the gods, they were also enhancing the reputation of the dedicant with his fellow human beings. At times, the secret purpose is hardly hidden by the inscription on the statue. Let us take, for example, the text on a statuette from Larsa, presently kept in the Louvre (and hence known as 'L'Adorant du Louvre').

> For Amurrum his god: for the life of Hammurabi, King of Babylon, and for his own life, Lu-Nanna [...], the son of Sîn-le^{3}i, has fashioned a suppliant statue of copper, its face plated with gold, (and) dedicated (it) to him as his servant.[107]

---

[102] Kraus 1936:94 $^{69'}$ *šumma ana ili sadir muškēnūtam illak* $^{70'}$ *šumma ana ili šitqul šulum balāṭ ūmī akalšu inappuš.*

[103] AbB 12, 99 ^{7} *u šattišša niqi^{3}am* (u d u - s i s k u r - s i s k u r - r e) *alaqqekuma* ^{8} *ana ilūtika kabittim* ^{9} *ippuš.*

[104] Kraus 1936:94 $^{66'}$ *šumma ana ili ikarrab ila irašši.*

[105] *BWL* 104 ^{135} *ūmišamma ilka kitrab.*

[106] See Strommenger 1960; Barrelet 1968 (see the *répertoire iconographique* at the end of the book s.v. 'figure masculine levant une main; ... mains jointes'); Sollberger 1969; Canby 1974, no. 3; Muscarella 1974, no. 106; Walker & Collon 1980; Braun-Holzinger 1981.

[107] Sollberger 1969, see Frayne 1990:360 ^{1} ^{d}M a r - t u ^{2} d i n g i r - r a - n i - i r

The statuette which bore this inscription sent out a threefold signal: it proved the devotion of the dedicant to his personal god Amurrum; it showed his loyalty to the king; and, with its gold-plated face, it represented a public display of opulence. To say that the last two signals are side-effects, and that only the devotion of the worshipper matters, would be false. Reputation, respect and goodwill on the side of one's fellow human beings were hardly less important than the good graces of one's god.

In the Old Babylonian society the dedicatory worshipper statuettes were a culturally accepted means of creating a positive public image. It was, in a sense, a form of public relations. As regards their effects, these statues might be compared with the statues of honoured citizens which Greeks and Romans set up in their cities, or the portraits of wealthy benefactors which adorned the mediaeval churches. It is evident from references and allusions in the letters, that people were conscious of the social impact of such statues. Female votaries of Šamaš (the *nadītum* women), who interceded on behalf of their family, likened themselves to suppliant statuettes and took it to be their task to provide their family with a 'good reputation'.[108] Grateful people tell their benefactors that they wish to destroy their temple statues to personally take over the role of their *kāribum*;[109] they imply that they will henceforth make public their 'pleasant name' so as to put their adversaries to shame.[110] The prospective effect of a *kāribum*, whether a human intercessor or a statue, is to make the name and reputation of the dedicator 'enduring'.[111]

The religion of a gentleman, manifesting itself as philanthropy and devotion, was not devoid of self-interest. However noble the deeper motives of the *awīlum*, his religion was in effect a means of promoting his prestige.

---

[3] nam-ti [4] *Ḫammurabi* [5] lugal ká-dingir-ra^{ki}-šè [6] Lú-^{d}Nanna [...] [7] dumu^{d}EN+ZU-*le-i* [8] alam šà-ne-ša$_4$ urudu [9] mùš-me-[bi] guškin [gar]-ra [10] ⌜nam-ti-la-ni-šè⌝ [11] mu-na-an-dím [12] ìr-da-ni-šè [13] a mu-na-ru.

[108] See, e.g., ARM 10, 38 [9] *anāku ul šurinka* [10] *kāribum ša ina bīt birbirrim* [11] *igirrîka udammaqu*, 'Am I not your blessings-speaking emblem, who provides you with a good reputation in the Temple of Splendour?' See also ARM 10, 36:14-15; 37:7-8; 39:20. The *nadītum* can also be called a *kāribtum*, see ARM 10, 42:4; Durand 1985b:397 n. 68; AbB 1, 61:7; AbB 7, 139:3'.

[109] See AbB 2, 46 [19] *pānīki ina amāri<m>* [20] *[ṣ]alamki ina aḫīni* [21] *ī niqqur*, 'As soon as we see your face, we will destroy your image with our own hands'; cf. AbB 3, 22:9.

[110] Cf. AbB 13, 60 [72] *[kīma ana ^{d}]Šamaš u ^{d}Marduk rā'imika* [73] *[uzn]āni ana bēlini kâta ibaššiā* [74] *[šu]m bēlini bania ī nizkurma* [75] *bā'išu libâšanniāti* [76] *maḫar ^{d}Ša[maš] u ^{d}Marduk ana bēlini kâta ī ni[k]r[ub]*, 'As to Šamaš and Marduk who loves you, we are loyal to you, our lord. We will extol your pleasant name, so that whoever comes to shame will come to shame on our account. We will bless you before Šamaš and Marduk.'

[111] See AbB 2, 89 [11] *šumka u zikirka* [12] *ina Ebabbar ša tarâmu* [13] *lū dari*, 'May your name and reputation in the Ebabbar which you love be enduring.'

Philanthropy and devotion were investments with social and religious capital as their returns. Goodwill and reputation are hardly less valuable than material wealth. The analysis of the available data shows that a gentleman's religion served the construction and maintenance of his identity: it furnished the backbone of an aristocrat's biography, and offered him the means to present himself as an *awīlum* to the outer world.

Person and Role

In order to put the question concerning the relationship between family religion and the individual in a correct historical perspective, it is proper to conclude this chapter with some general reflections on the notion of personhood. It has been argued that the theology and ethics of family religion provided the Old Babylonian not only with a group identity but also with a personal identity. To support this statement, we have traced the biography of an imaginary Babylonian *awīlum* and shown how its central moments and elements were interpreted and validated with the help of the concepts of family religion. It might be objected, however, that the identity which the Babylonians thus constructed and legitimized is not truly personal because it consists of clichés applicable to one social class as a whole. Such an objection implies that identity can be personal only if it is distinct from that of all other members of society. This was not how Babylonians would view the matter, as an analysis of their ego-documents shows.

An appraisal of the Babylonian conception of the person should begin with the reminder that the notion of personhood it is not a universal and innate category. The modern concept of person is in fact a long way removed from the views of the ancients. We think of a human person as a unique individual with his own character and feelings; he is, to speak in metaphysical terms, a soul. Such a view of the human person, however, is the fruit of a complex historical process. The modern idea of the person as a subjective reality was preceded by a cultural perspective which put much greater emphasis on the social role of the individual.[112] We have to remind ourselves that *persona* was the word for 'mask' (Greek *prosōpon*) before it came to designate the human person. In ancient cultures, such as Mesopotamia, the human person is understood as a character or a role, rather than as a personality; the individual is not a *personne* (person) but a *personnage* (character),

---

112 See the fundamental essay on the subject called 'Une catégorie de l'esprit humain: la notion de personne celle de "moi"' by Mauss 1989[3]:331-362. Mauss's article, first published in 1938 by the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, served as the point of departure for Carrithers, Collins & Lukes 1985.

to borrow the terms used by Marcel Mauss. There is no separation of the individual from the social pattern; social role and social status are not distinguished from the individual who enacts them.[113]

The observation that the notion of person is a historical category does not imply that the Babylonians had no sense of individuality. Statements to that effect would be invalidated by their use of individual personal names and by the presence of the first person singular in their language. Yet the Babylonian perception of individuality and personhood differs fundamentally from the modern concepts. In order to assess the difference it is instructive to study the autobiographies which the Babylonian civilization has produced. Autobiographies, whether fictional or authentic, are by definition selective, since they define the subject as much by what they mention as by what they choose not to mention. Regardless of their intention, they are limited by the perspective of their culture; as products of their age, they follow the forms of their age. A comparison with modern (auto)biographies reveals the characteristics of the Babylonian ones.

The differences between modern autobiographies and autobiographies from the past are so vast, that the very existence of the genre in antiquity has been called into question. A quotation from a monograph on modern autobiographies is illustrative.

> Some ancients wrote of great deeds done (*res gestae*); some wrote on memorable events they had witnessed (*memoir*); some reported why and how they sought to become wise men (philosophers' Lives); but none opened up their souls in the inwardness of genuine autobiography.[114]

Indeed, when autobiography is defined as introspection ('inwardness'), the ancient Babylonians had no autobiography whatever. The earliest example of an ego document in which the soul plays a prominent part are Augustine's *Confessions*. There are, however, a fair number of Babylonian compositions written in the first person dealing with reminiscences of the past life of the narrator which, if the rather modern definition of autobiography as an opening up of the soul is abandoned, can be seen as specimens of the autobiographical genre.[115]

The denial of the existence of autobiography in early Mesopotamia is best taken as an apposite comment on a characteristic trait of the autobiographical records which the Babylonians did produce. These are indeed marked by the absence of introspection. The Babylonians did not have an introspective

---

113 After Read 1955:276, who made the observation with respect to the Gahuku-Gama, a New Guinean people.

114 Weintraub 1978:1.

115 Cf. the definition by Longman 1991:40-41.

tradition, and had little sense of interiority. Subjectivity had not been invented yet. Such narratives as the Sargon birth legend, the autobiography of Idrimi, or the Adad-guppi autobiography, to name three random examples from different places and periods, remain on the surface of the events. At times, there are references to deliberations ('I said to myself'), intentions ('I decided'), or feelings ('I became afraid'), but those are all part of, or incidental to, the action. The person coincides with his or her actions. These actions may be extraordinary, just as the person may be exceptional, but the uniqueness of the individual is never made to reside in the inner life.

In fact, the Babylonian autobiographies are written as though their subjects had no inner life to speak of. A similar phenomenon occurs in non-biographical narratives. Stories such as the *Poor Man of Nippur*, or historical accounts such as those found in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, depict the events they report from the viewpoint of the outside observer: ambitions and other feelings are registered only in the measure in which they are perceptible by others.[116] Yet by its nature, the literary medium would lend itself well to a description and analysis of the man or the woman inside. If the Babylonians refrained from taking this course (as they did), it is not due to the insufficiencies of the medium they used.

Dreams are a related phenomenon that may help us grasp an essential aspect of the Babylonian anthropology, and so enable us to attain a keener appreciation of the ways in which they constructed their personal identities. Dreams in our mind are windows on the soul, because they disclose the inner life; their interpretation belongs to the province of psychology. But to most of the ancients, Babylonians included, dreams were messages from the gods. Their decipherment belonged to the domain of divination, which was ultimately a branch of theology. This is not the place to decide whether dreams come from below or above; what matters is the difference in perception between moderns and ancients. By reducing mental realities such as dreams to external factors (heavenly agents communicating with humans) the Babylonians demonstrated that to them the inner life had no autonomous reality. Individuals could therefore not be defined by their soul as distinct from their role.

The virtual absence of interiority and subjectivity in the Babylonian (auto)biographical tradition follows from the concept of person as a social role and character. Individual identity, in this view, is not what you are deep down, but what you manifest to be: it is public and social. Once this basic

---

116 Note the striking description of Gilgameš's grief at the death of Enkidu in OB Gilg. M ii 1'-13'. The state of mind of the hero is communicated to the audience by the description of what he does and says. For a study of the passage see Abusch 1993b.

fact is grasped, much about the Babylonian anthropology becomes transparent. In the Babylonian science of man there is little room for psychology; its place is taken, in part, by treatises explaining human emotions and behaviour in terms of signs with predictive (or diagnostic) value.[117] The 'laws' of interpretation are those of divination, not psychology (though the interpretations do reflect certain psychological insights). The concept of person as *personnage* is in line, too, with the priority of shame over guilt, of honour over self-esteem, and of success over integrity. To say that the Babylonians were incapable of feelings of guilt and self-esteem or a concern for personal integrity would be false; yet their culture valued a person primarily on the basis of his role performance.

In their construction of personal identity, Babylonians attached little importance to what they were in their own eyes; what mattered to them was their public image. To establish their personal identity they followed certain culturally accepted models; these can still be recovered from scattered references and observations in epistolary and more literary texts. The cultural patterns of identity construction existed in the minds of the Babylonians only in an inarticulate state, as unrecognized habits of thought and perception. Their culture, inculcated in them from infancy, predisposed them to see themselves in certain ways only. Departures from the limited set of models which informed their perception were viewed as irregularities. Babylonians interpreted their life in the light of the ideals of their class, and tried to be what these ideals demanded. The social identity of a Babylonian was not merely descriptive: it was, in many ways, a role to be performed and a career to be anticipated.

Since the disparate biographical elements of particular individuals conform to established patterns, the modern reader of Babylonian (auto)biographies is easily left with a feeling of disappointment. It seems as though the Babylonians were not people of flesh and blood, but stylized literary figures. This impression is deceptive because the Babylonians were no less human than we are. Thinking and speaking about themselves, however, they did not distinguish self from social station nor person from role. Their religion taught them to identify with the role for which they had been predestined, to follow the rules of their sex, and to act in accordance with their position in society. To them this amounted to a personal identity.

---

[117] See Kraus 1936; 1939. See also Reiner 1982:282 (with references to further literature).

CHAPTER SIX

IN GOOD DAYS AND BAD DAYS: THE COMFORT OF FAMILY RELIGION

Concluding the survey of Old Babylonian family religion, the present chapter will explore some of the ways in which the Babylonians dealt with disturbance and change in their private lives. Some of these disturbances may strike the modern observer as quite harmless (such as the excessive crying of babies), while some will be readily recognized as major upheavals (such as forced migration). The ancients did not necessarily share our appreciation of these evils, however. It should be remembered that adversity, though related to actual facts, is not conterminous with them. It is an interpretation of the facts and, as such, a social construct. It is by cultural consensus that out of all kinds of events some are perceived as inauspicious and threatening, while others are deemed harmless. A study of the interpretation of, and the defence against, potentially disruptive circumstances illuminates the values and sensibilities of the Babylonians, and contributes to a better understanding of the role of family religion in their lives.

Trouble Between the Generations

The fact that events are inauspicious inasmuch as society perceives them as such is certainly relevant for our appreciation of the category of texts to be treated here first, viz. baby incantations. Two Old Babylonian specimens of the genre have been discovered to date; they must be read in the light of a third, indirectly related text, viz. an incantation against the evil eye.[1]

A translation of the shortest of the two baby incantations may serve as an introduction to the problem of these texts.

> O baby, inhabitant of the house of darkness, out you came and saw the daylight.
> Why do you cry? Why do you wail? Why didn't you cry yonder?
> You have woken the god of the house, the bull-man has been roused.
> Who was it woke me up? Who was it frightened me?
> The baby woke you up! The baby frightened you!
> As onto drinkers of wine, as onto the bar's *habitués*, may sleep fall onto him.[2]

---

[1] For the two Old Babylonian baby incantations see Farber 1989:34-39. The incantation against the evil eye has also been published by Farber 1981:60-68.

[2] Farber 1989:34 [1] *şeḫrum wāšib bīt ek[letim]* [2] *lū tattaṣâm tātamar n[ūr dŠamšim]* [3]

At first glance, this is nothing more than a 'truly charming lullaby', as a modern commentator observes[3]: a crying baby who keeps the household awake is put to sleep by the joint effect of a soothing song and the consumption of a few drops of wine.[4] A closer inspection of the text, however, suggests that this is more than just a lullaby.

The rubric of the text just quoted defines it as an 'incantation to calm a baby'.[5] We are dealing, then, with an 'incantation' (*šiptum*, Sumerian é n). One could argue, perhaps, that the term is used in a loose way, and should not be allowed to predetermine our understanding of the text. Later evidence is not in favour of this view. The Sumerian equivalent of the Akkadian rubric, viz. l ú - t u r - ḫ ú n - g a, is found in the so-called Vademecum of the exorcist (*āšipu*).[6] It also occurs as a rubric in some first millennium copies of baby incantations that had to be recited by the exorcist. To say that our incantation was originally just a folksong is mere speculation based on an impressionist reading.[7] From the one Old Babylonian copy at our disposal, we must infer that the text as we know it belonged to the professional lore of the exorcist. Its recitation, apparently, involved the services of a ritual specialist.

Why was the noise of a crying baby such a serious problem that its parents had to resort to professional help? As far as the baby is concerned, their reason was probably similar to the one modern parents have for consulting a specialist. Bouts of crying are normal for a baby, but incessant crying is not. The 'universal indulgence of babies by their elders', which one commentator refers to in connection with our text,[8] has its limits. These are certainly reached when a baby's crying is so excessive that the father sees no option left but to leave the house and take 'a road his child does not know,' to use the words of a first millennium baby incantation.[9] A baby who

---

ammīn tabakki ammīn tug[gag] [4] *ullikīa ammīn lā tabak[ki]* [5] *ili bītim tedki kusari[kk]u[m] iggiltêm* [6] *mannum idkīanni* [7] *mannum ugallitanni* [8] *ṣeḫrum idkīka ṣeḫrum ugallitka* [9] *kīma šātû karānim* [10] *kīma mār sābītim* [11] *limqutaššum šittum.* For translations of this text see, in addition to Farber 1981:63-64, 1989:35; Foster 1993.1:137; George 1993:300.

[3] George 1993:300. See also Farber's qualification of this song as being, originally, a 'lullaby' (Farber 1990:140).

[4] It may be assumed that the similes of lines 9-11 reflect popular recipes of how to put a baby to sleep.

[5] Farber 1989:34 [12] *šiptum ša ṣeḫrim nuḫḫim*.

[6] *KAR* 44:15 and the duplicates BM 55148 + 68411 + 68658; Rm 717 + BM 34188 + 99677 + 140684; BM 36678 (duplicates are published by Mark J. Geller in a forthcoming *Festschrift* for Wilfred G. Lambert). See also Bottéro 1985:75.

[7] *Pace* Farber 1990.

[8] George 1993:300.

[9] Farber 1989:42, line 47.

troubles (*dalāḫu*) his father and 'reduces his mother to tears' is a source not of delight but of anxiety.[10]

The Babylonian sensibility to noise of all kinds is well documented in the mythological texts.[11] Domestic peace and quiet were highly valued, and disturbances naturally caused annoyance. In the texts under scrutiny this annoyance surpasses the level of mere discomfort, because the sounds produced by the baby are regarded as omens predicting the collapse of the household. Also, the worry of the parents does not concern the infant (who is not a full person yet but merely the instrument producing the sound), but his crying. The description focuses on the effect of the harm upon the 'god of the house' (*ili bītim*) and the bull-man (*kusarikkum*). The baby has 'woken' (*dekû*) the god of the house, and has 'frightened' (*gullutu*) the bull-man. In a similar vein, the second Old Babylonian baby incantation says that the 'noise' (*rigmum*) of the baby deprives both the 'god of the house' and the 'goddess of the house' of sleep (*šittum*).[12] To say that 'the threat of the divinities of the household is surely playful'[13] is not to recognize the nature of the danger which the incantations are designed to combat. To modern ears the motif of sleepless house gods may sound like good fun perhaps, but to Babylonian ears it sounded serious enough.[14]

The Incantation Against the Evil Eye

To demonstrate that the baby's infelicitous effect upon the gods of the house is not just an attempt at humour on the part of the author of our incantation, it suffices to study the other side of the tablet. It contains 'an incantation against the evil eye.'[15] As nearly half of the tablet is missing, the beginning of the text has not been preserved. Some parts can be elucidated with the help of another Old Babylonian *šipat īnim*, 'incantation against the evil eye,' from Sippar.[16] For a proper understanding of the text it should be noted that the evil eye has the feminine gender. In the vision of the incantation, she is a bird-like creature that stretches its wings and flies around.[17]

---

10 Farber 1989:44 [55] *šerru ša idluḫu abâšu* [56] *ina īnī ummīšu iškunu dīmātu*.

11 See 'The Old Babylonian City' in Chapter Two.

12 Farber 1989:36 [11] *ina rigmika ili bītim* [12] *ul iṣallal* [13] *ištār bītim* [14] *ul iḫḫaz šittum*. The text has now been published as OECT 11, 2.

13 George 1993:300.

14 *Pace* Farber 1990:147, who writes that 'the reaction of the gods and the protective spirits surely, and not inappropriately, led to an occasional smile by the Old Babylonians too.'

15 Farber 1981:63, [edge] *šiptum ša īni[m]*.

16 Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85-87, IM 90648.

17 See Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85-87, IM 90648 [7] *itruṣ kappīša* [8] *ušparrir idīša*, 'She stretches her wings, and spreads her pinions.'

The evil eye has secretly entered and flies around,
O, swooping-down *šuškallum* net, O, ensnaring *ḫuḫarum* net.
She passed by the door of the babies, and created rash among the babies.
She passed by the door of the women in childbed and strangled their babies.
She entered the storage room and broke the seal.
She dispersed the secluded fireplace and turned the locked[18] house into ruins.
She destroyed the *išertum*, and the god of the house has gone.
Hit her on the cheek, make her turn backward!
Fill her eyes with salt, fill her mouth with ashes!
May the god of the house return.[19]

There are obvious connections between this incantation and the 'incantation to calm a baby' on the reverse side of the tablet: both are concerned with new-born babies and with 'the god of the house'. The trouble described in this longer incantation seems more serious, however: the children do not just cry (though a rash will also have produced that effect), but they suffocate; the god of the house is not merely kept from sleeping, but abandons the house. At core, however, the nature of the problem is similar: the god of the house is disturbed, either by the excessive crying of babies or by the evil eye (or their combined effect), and threatens to go away or has in fact departed.

With the attack on the god, the evil eye attacks the heart of the house. The god has his dwelling place in the *išertum*, a spot that must be located in the recesses of the house.[20] The description of the route which the evil eye has taken is instructive in this respect, since it leads from the outer parts of the house to its private sector. In the Sippar incantation, the evil eye first kills the cattle ('She has hit the ox and brok[en its yoke], she has hit the pig and broken [its ...]'),[21] and then proceeds to the fireplace (*kinūnum*) and the *išertum*. In the incantation we are dealing with the eye makes her first stop at the door of the babies and the door of the women in childbed. These doors (including the immediate area to which the doors gave entrance) were situated on the outskirts of the house. Their location was based on the belief

---

[18] I read *ša-gi-ra-am* instead of Farber's *ša-gi-ma-am*, cf. Farber 1981:66. Following a suggestion by Abusch, I tentatively connect the word with the root SKR/ŠKR/ŠGR (*sekēru*, *sikkūru*, *šigāru*, etc.), 'to be closed, to be locked'.

[19] Farber 1981:61-63 1' *[i-n]u-um ip-pa-la-áš it-ta-na-ap-[ra-áš]* 2' *šaškallum sāḫiptum* 3' *ḫuḫārum saḫeštum* 4' *bāb laʾî ibāʾma* 5' *ina bēri laʾî ṣe[nn]etam iškun* 6' *bāb wāli[d]ātim ibāʾma* 7' *šerrīšina uḫanniq* 8' *īrumma a[n]a [b]īt qê* 9' *šipassam [i]šbir* 10' *kinūnam puzzuram usappiḫ* 11' *bītam ša-gi-ra-am tillišam iškun* 12' *imḫaṣma išertam* 13' *ittaṣi ili bītim* 14' *maḫṣāma lēssa suḫḫirāši ana warkadātim* 15' *īniša mulli<ā> ṭābtam* 16' *pîša mulliā di-gi-ma-a[m]* 17' *il bītim litū[ram].* I follow Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85 n. 19 for the reading of line 1'. For a different translation see Foster 1993.1:132.

[20] The connection between the *il bītim* and the *išertum* is also found in first millennium texts, see, e.g., CT 16, Pl. 29:83; K. 5219:12'.

[21] Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85-87, IM 90648 5 *imḫaṣ alpam* (g u $_4$) *ištеb[ir nīršu]* 6 *imḫaṣ šaḫâm* (š a ḫ) *iḫtepi ḫu-x*[...].

that women in childbed were impure; a later text estimates their impurity to last thirty days. Impurity also attached to new-born babies. For fear of contagion, both the mothers and their babies were kept separate from the other inhabitants of the house.[22] Pursuing her course from the women in confinement, the evil eye reaches the storage room which she enters by breaking the seal. From there she goes to the 'secluded fireplace', the social centre of the household only indirectly accessible to those not belonging to the family.

In the immediate vicinity of the fireplace lies the *išertum*. The term *išertum* (variants *ešertum* and *aširtum*) is notoriously difficult, amongst other reasons because it is easily confused with its homonym meaning 'tithe' or 'dedicated part'.[23] There can be no doubt, however, that the term here refers to an architectural feature.[24] The proximity between the *kinūnum* (fireplace) and the *išertum* can be inferred from the indication that the latter was situated 'in front of' the former.[25] The *išertum* (Sumerian z à - g a r - r a) might be defined as the ceremonial room of the house. Where it can be archaeologically identified, it proves to be as far removed of the entrance of the house as possible.[26] The term is often rendered as 'sanctuary'. The family gathered here on such solemn occasions as a wedding[27] or the division of the inheritance.[28] Together with the ceremonial table (the *paššūr aširtim*), the *išertum* belonged to the inheritance of the eldest son, as testamentary decisions from Old Babylonian Nippur show.[29]

The location of the god of the house in the recesses of the house must be taken into account when explaining the parallelism between the god of the

---

22 See van der Toorn 1989:348-351; 1994a:91-92.

23 Note the following occurrences of *aširtum* in the meaning of 'tithe': Szlechter 1958:122-124, MAH 16147 [3] *ana* (...) [6] *aširtam* [7] *šuddunimma*; YOS 13, 384 [1] 10 g [ín kù - b] a b b a r n a$_4$ [d] u t u [2] *ša aširtašu lā šaqlu*; Van Lerberghe 1968, 68 [3] 1 gín *ša ana aširti* 10 gín kù - b a b b a r; TCL 1, 101 [8] 5/6 gín kù - b a b b a r *ša ana aširtim* [9] *ḫarṣu*. See also Edzard 1970:188 commentary to no. 191

24 For discussions of the term see von Soden 1975:140 and Durand 1987:97-98. For the *išertum* as part of a building see Pinches 1917:91, pl. X, no. 23:3' (z à - g a r - r a); Prang 1976:16; Ludwig 1990:147.

25 Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85-87, IM 90648 [10] *ina pūt kinūnim ina išertim*.

26 See Krafeld-Daugherty 1994:186.

27 See OB Gilg. P iv [14] *bītiš emūtim iq[rū'inni]* [15] *šīmat nišīma* [16] *(x-)x-ar kallūtim* [17] *ana paššūr sakkî eṣēn* [18] *uklāt bīt emi ṣayāḫātim*, 'They invited me to the house of the father-in-law where it is the custom of the people to celebrate the marriage. I heaped food on the ceremonial table, delightful dishes for the house of the father-in-law.' On the reading of line 16 cf. K. Hecker, in TUAT 3/4 (1994):652, note to line 146.

28 See Spaey 1993:420, CBS 1513 [37] *ištu ina kakkim* (g i š t u k u l) *ša* [d]*Adad ilišu[nu ...]* [38] *ina* é [?] *išertim ša bīt* (é) *abišu[nu ...]* [39] *awīlum awīlam ubbi[bu]*, 'After one man cleared the other by means of the weapon of Adad, their god, in the *išertum* of the house of their father' (reference courtesy M. Smith, Philadelphia).

29 Prang 1976:16.28; 1977:224.

house and the bull-man (*kusarikkum*) in the baby incantation ('You have woken the god of the house, the bull-man has been roused'). The first impression conveyed by the text is that the two terms refer to the same reality; that the *kusarikkum*, in other words, is identical with the 'god of the house'.[30] Both the analysis of the text and the non-textual data available on the *kusarikkum* show that this cannot be the case. Whereas the god is startled out of his sleep (*dekû*), the *kusarikkum* is 'roused' (*negeltû*) and, more importantly, 'frightened' (*gullutu*).[31] A first millennium variant of this incantation uses the verb *garāru*, 'to panic, to become scared', in connection with the *kusarikku*,[32] which makes sense because the *kusarikkum* is supposed not to sleep but to be on guard against possible intruders. The usual location of this mythological creature, whose functions had been reduced to those of a protective spirit by the Old Babylonian period,[33] was at the entrance of the house.[34] The parallelism between the 'god of the house' and the *kusarikkum* is not synonymous, then, but complementary: from entrance to centre, the house is in turmoil.

The ultimate problem, both in the baby incantation and in the incantation against the evil eye, is neither the noise of the babies nor their impending suffocation, but the effect of these events upon the god (and goddess) of the house. The departure of the god, assumed by the incantation against the evil eye, is the final episode in a series of untoward happenings. Closer analysis of the chain of events leads to a better appreciation of the significance of the god's departure. The evil eye first brings rash among the babies; though basically harmless, the irritation of the skin is responsible for a continuous crying among the infants. Then she strangles the babies. The children having died, the eye surreptitiously enters the storage room. Her next act is the dispersion of the fireplace, which in Babylonian parlance is idiomatic for the dispersion of the family. The 'fireplace' is the heart of the house and symbolizes the presence and continuity of the family. Just as an 'extinguished

---

30 This seems to be the implication of Farber's interpretation of lines 6-8 as 'a short dialogue between the god of the house and the speaker' (Farber 1990:141).

31 It is not certain that the text is free of corruption: the term here translated as 'to rouse' is problematic; the editor of the text believes there is a word play involved between *negeltû* and *gullutu* (Farber 1981:69), but one could also argue that *i-gi-il*-TIM (transcribed in n. 2 as *iggiltêm*) is a corruption of a passive form of *galātu* ('to become frightened'). Farber later suggested that we are dealing with the phenomenon of popular etymology (Farber 1990:142).

32 Farber 1989:44 [58] *kusarikku igruruma* ..., perhaps to be interpreted as a plural; cf. 84 [358] ^{d}*Laḫmū igrurūma*, 'the hairy ones became frightened.'

33 See Wiggermann 1992:174-179.

34 The only Old Babylonian *kusarikkum* plaque found *in situ* comes from Ur. It was affixed to the outer wall of the so-called Ḫenduršaga chapel, see Opificius 1961:220, no. 402. For the chapel see Van de Mieroop 1992:140.

fireplace' (*kinūnum belûm*) stands for an extinct family,[35] the dispersed fireplace stands for a family in dispersion. The destruction of the *išertum*, forcing the god of the house to depart, puts the seal on this series of calamities.

The Identity of the God of the House

Who is the 'god of the house' so keen on his sleep that the noise of crying babies may induce him to leave? Speaking very generally, we may say that he is the divine patron and personification of the house and its inhabitants. However, a detour along some other evidence allows us to give a more specific answer.

The first point to be made concerns the fact that the term 'god' can also be applied to the dead. Various Middle Babylonian inheritance texts from Emar mention a 'god' or 'gods' belonging to the main house and inherited by the eldest son. These gods are the deified dead, as intimated by the fact that the son had to invoke (*nubbû*), honour (*palāḫu*) and tend (*kunnû*) them.[36] Indications about the divine state of the dead are not entirely lacking in Old Babylonian sources. Such Old Babylonian names as Ikrub-El and Ikūnum are attested both as human names and divines names; morphologically anthroponyms they became theonyms as the persons who bore them had died.[37] The description of the ancestors as 'gods' is also found in the euphemism for dying, *ištu ilūšu iqterûšu*, 'after his gods have called on him (to join them).'[38] In fact, the belief in the divinity of the dead is already present in Sumerian texts.[39]

In view of the evidence for the perception of the dead as gods, it is possible that the *ili bītim* mentioned in the baby incantations and in the incantation against the evil eye refers to the ancestor (or collectivity of ancestors) of the house, i.e., the family. There is both textual and archaeological support for this suggestion. A Sumerian hymn to the sun god, meant to be recited during a ceremony for the dead, speaks about the ancestor as 'sleeping in the shade of his house'.[40] The concrete background of the idea of the ancestors sleeping in the family house is the practice of burying the dead within the house. In Old Babylonian Ur, the dead were interred underneath the floors.[41]

---

35 See Landsberger 1916.
36 See van der Toorn 1994b and the section on 'Gods and Ancestors' in Chapter Three.
37 See Stol 1991:203-205.
38 For a convenient survey of most of the relevant texts see *CAD* Q 242-243.
39 See the section on 'Gods and Ancestors' in Chapter Three.
40 Alster 1991, line 152: (lú-úš-e)... gizzu é-a-na-ka ḫé-ná-ná.
41 See Strommenger 1964; Gasche 1989:60-61; Krafeld-Daugherty 1994:174-235.

They were placed in the quietest room of the house, as may also be inferred from the Sumerian term for the offering to the dead, viz. k i - s ì - g a , which name is derived from the designation of the grave as the 'place of silence'.[42] Since the dead were not to be disturbed, it was not unnatural to bury them beneath the room that offered the highest degree of privacy; which may be identified with the *išertum*.[43]

Since sleep is the usual state of the dead (to the point where a tomb can be called an *ekal ṣalāli*, a 'palace of sleep'[44]), the particular sensibility to disturbance by noise would fit the interpretation of the god of the house as the ancestor at marvel. He is not just an anonymous protective spirit, but the forebear who lies buried underneath the house. The 'goddess of the house' in the second baby incantation[45] should be interpreted along similar lines.[46]

The interpretation of the gods of the house as ancestors allows one to appreciate the progression of the disaster at yet another level. We have already noted the progression from periphery of the house to its innermost parts. There is a comparable progression along the line of the generations. After the death of the youngest generation (the strangulation of the babies), followed by the dispersion of the adults, the deceased ancestor is finally also made to leave. The spatial and the temporal axes converge: the intruder moves from periphery to centre, and from the offspring to the ancestor. The continuity between the baby and the ancestors is subtly brought out by calling the child an 'inhabitant of the house of darkness' (*wāšib bīt ekletim*). The principal 'house of darkness' which the Babylonians knew was the

---

[42] See Lambert 1987a:403-404.

[43] Cf. Chapter Three, note 103.

[44] OIP 2:151, no. 41:1.

[45] Farber 1989:36 [13] *ištar bītim* [14] *ul iḫḫaz šittum*.

[46] The one other occurrence of a 'god of the house' in Old Babylonian texts is in a letter in which a *nadītum* orders that food offerings be placed 'in the temple of My Lady and the temple of the God of the House' (*i-na* é *be-el-ti-ia ù* é *i-li* é; AbB 2, 116:8-9.11). It is tempting to identify this god with Šamaš, but the fact that a Neo-Babylonian prayer mentions a 'God of the House' as a resident of the Ebabbar in addition to Šamaš (VAB 4, 258 ii 26) does not favour the assumption. The situation in first millennium texts is slightly more complicated The expression *il bīti* is used here for a protective genius of the house to be distinguished from the 'god of the father'. The one Old Assyrian instance of *ili bītim* rests upon emendation and must be dismissed: d i n g i r *-kà ù <i>-li bi$_4$-tí-ka*, 'your god and the god of your house' (CCT 3, 25:24-25 = Michel, C. 1991.2, 4:24-25) must be read as *ilka u libittika*, 'your god and your brickwork (= house).' Note the as yet unpublished text kt n/k 494 (quoted by courtesy Günbattı & Veenhof): [12] *teb²ānim* [13] *atalkānim* [14] *e-en$_6$* (IN) *A-šur ú e-en$_6$ li-bi$_4$-tim* [15] *ša a-bi-šu li-mu-ur*, 'Rise and come, that he may see the face ('the eye') of Aššur and the face ('the eye') of the brick(work) of his father.' The reference is probably to the city of Aššur and the paternal house. It is not impossible that the 'brick' has religious significance, though, e.g. as the deified first brick, cf. ARM 10, 9:19' (suggestion by K. R. Veenhof).

underworld, the dwelling-place of the dead.[47] In the baby incantations it is used as a metaphor for the mother's womb, but it alludes to the womb of Mother Earth as well.

The fact that the incantation is to be recited as a means of warding off the evil may be taken as an indication that the catastrophe of which the text speaks is still a virtual reality. This is the future, should no appropriate action be taken. The only reversal of fortune for which the incantation against the evil eye asks is the return of the god of the house.[48] Presented as the last in the series of events, the god's absence was regarded as a symbol of the definitive collapse of the family. To avoid that collapse the god must return to enjoy his ancestral sleep in the family's midst. The departure of the god, that is the ancestor, would mean a rupture with the past. The dead had to remain among the living, as benevolent spirits bestowing on their offspring blessing and protection. Their presence is deemed crucial for the continuity of the family. Hence the fear of their departure, which—ironically—could be caused by the very babies that were to perpetuate the family line (and who came from the 'house of darkness' where the ancestors had their abode).[49]

The comparison of the baby incantations with the incantation against the evil eye shows that there lies, at the heart of the former, a preoccupation with the historical continuity of the family. The excessive crying of babies is taken as a potential threat to the harmony between the dead and the living. Should the ties between the ancestor and his offspring dissolve, the family is doomed to dispersion and annihilation. Old Babylonian family religion, in its aspect of the cult of the ancestors, produced and maintained in its participants a sense of historical identity: they belonged to a close-knit social group firmly anchored in the past. When this sense of identity is put in jeopardy, the very existence of the family becomes problematic. A family without a past, that is without a sense of its past, is not a family but a collection of individuals. The annulment of the past, mythologically presented as the departure of the divine ancestor, would definitively deprive the family of its future. Seen from this perspective, the Old Babylonian baby incantations are more than just charming lullabies. This 'magic at the cradle' was ultimately

---

[47] See *Gilg* VII iv [33] *ṣabtanni ireddanni ana bīt* (é) *ekleti šubat il* (d i n g i r) *Irkalla* [34] *ana bīti ša ēribūšu lā aṣû*, 'He seized me, and led me to the house of darkness, dwelling of the gods of Irkalla, to the house which those who enter cannot leave'; *LKA* 62 r. 17 *<b>īt ekletu kakkabu ul uṣâ*, 'the house of darkness whence no star comes forth.' See *CAD* I/J 61 for other references.

[48] Farber 1981:63, BM 122691 [17'] *il bi-ti-im li-tu-x-[x]*. It does not seem that the line could be emended so as to yield a sense comparable to Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85-87, IM 90648 [20] *īnum* (i g i) *litūr ana bēli[ša]*, 'Let the evil eye return to her master.'

[49] Cf. the epithet *mudeššû zēri*, 'providing abundant seed (i.e., offspring)', given to the god and goddess of the house in a first millennium incantation, Sweet 1970:7, lines 5-6.

designed to preserve the family intact by maintaining peace between the generations, including the dead as well as the living.

The Ištar Prayer

The description of the domestic upheavals caused by the evil eye has a remarkable analogue in a prayer for help addressed to the goddess Ištar. Though the relevant passage is known only from a first millennium copy, the existence of two 13th century versions from Boghazköy (Turkey), one in Akkadian and one in Hittite, warrants the supposition that the prayer goes back, ultimately, to Old Babylonian times.[50] The complaint describes a situation that could be regarded as the sequel to the calamities listed in the incantation against the evil eye:

> Deathly silence reigns in my sanctum, deathly silence reigns in my ceremonial room.
> Over my house, my estate, and my fields deathly silence is spread out.
> My god has turned his face to some other place.
> My clan has been dispersed, my fold is broken up.[51]

The favours asked mirror the adversities:

> Speak, and may, at your command, the angry god be pacified,
> the goddess, who turned away in anger, come back.
> May my fireplace, sombre and smoking, lighten up again;
> May my extinguished torch take flame.
> May my scattered clan come together;
> May my cattle pen expand, may my fold become wide.[52]

The order of the various requests deserves to be noted. The return of the gods, whose absence was the ultimate stage of adversity in the incantation against the evil eye, heads the list of petitions; the restoration of peaceful relations with the ancestors (for it is they who are meant by the terms 'god' and 'goddess') is to be the turning-point in the sequence of unhappy events. Peace with the ancestors will be followed by the reinvigorated fire in the fireplace (*kinūnu*) and on the torch (*dipāru*), images of the warmth and light that characterize a thriving and lively household; as such they anticipate the imminent reunion of the 'scattered clan' (*sapiḫtu illatī*).[53] Restoration of the

---

[50] For the Boghazköy versions see Reiner & Güterbock 1967.

[51] *STC* II, pl. 81 [75] *šuḫarrur sagê'a šuḫarrurat aširti* [76] *eli 'bīti bābi u qarbātiya šaqummati tabkat* [77] *ilī ana ašaršanimma suḫḫuru pānūšu* [78] *sapḫat illatī tabīnī purrur.* For a transcription and translation see also Ebeling 1953:132.

[52] *STC* II, pl. 82 [85] *qibima ina qibītiki ilu zinû lislim* [86] *ištar ša isbusa litūra* [87] *eṭû qatru limmer kinūnī* [88] *belīti linnapiḫ diparī* [89] *sapiḫtu illatī lipḫur* [90] *tarbaṣu lirpiš lištamdilu supūrī.*

[53] Cf. the conjunction of *kinūnum* and *suppuḫum* in Farber 1981:63, line 10'.

family as a multi-generational kin group, including the ancestors, is to be the prelude to the restored prosperity of the sufferer, materializing itself primarily in an abundance of livestock.[54]

The central place of the 'smoking' or 'dispersed' fireplace in both the Ištar prayer and the Old Babylonian incantations against the evil eye raises the question of its function in the household. In the two descriptions of domestic disorders, there is a close association of the 'fireplace' (and in the prayer to Ištar of the 'torch' as well) with the ceremonial room or shrine (*išertum, aširtu,* the term *sagû* being a poetic synonym in the Ištar prayer). The room in question was inhabited by the ancestors and probably served as a centre of their cult; did the 'fireplace' and the 'torch' have a role as well in the cult of the dead? Though the question has been answered in the negative by earlier studies,[55] a reassessment of the evidence leads to a slightly different conclusion.

The conjunction of 'the gods', 'the dead' and 'the divine lamp' (^{d} z á l a g - m e š) in Middle Babylonian texts from Nuzi implies an association of the lamp (and therefore fire) and the cult of the deified ancestors.[56] So does the injunction, found in a first millennium ritual to counteract an evil dream, to light the lamp and to 'bless' the 'god' and 'goddess' and the lamp.[57] These data do not permit us to say that the lamp (and by analogy the fireplace) served a cultic function. The relationship between the lamp (and the fireplace) and the ancestor cult is an association by virtue of proximity: the *išertum* and the fireplace were both in the private sector of the house. Hence the natural linking of the burning fireplace and the torch, heating and illuminating the house, and the pious observance of the ancestor cult. Instructive, in this respect, is a first millennium selection of behavioural omens:

> [If a man] touches a menstruating woman in passing:
> six days he will be im[pure].
> [If a man] does not honour his father:
> [his virility[58]] will soon be taken [away]
> [If] in [a man's] fireplace fire reignites regularly:
> the blessing[59] of the god is constant to him in his house.[60]

---

[54] Note the similar order in the Old Babylonian incantation against the evil eye from Sippar: the eye attacks first the cattle and finally the ceremonial room (Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994:85-87).

[55] So Bayliss 1973:120.

[56] See Deller 1981:62-71.

[57] Oppenheim 1956, 343 r. 16-17. On the interpretation of 'god' and 'goddess' as ancestors see 'Gods and Ancestors' in Chapter Three.

[58] For the reconstruction of the text cf. *KAR* 386 r. 20 ... *du-us-su innetṭir* (k a r-*ir*), // Kraus 1939:36 i 2. Note also *BWL* 32:47 *inniṭir bāltī dūtī utammil* (*Ludlul* I 47).

[59] For the reading see *AHw* 510a.

[60] *KAR* 300 r. ^{6} *[šumma amēlu m]usukkata ētiqtu ilput: 6 ūmē ul [el]* ^{7} *[šumma] abašu*

Formulated as omens, these are counsels how to behave in the realm of domestic religion and piety. Physical contact with a menstruating woman in the household renders the man impure and thus unfit for cultic actions. The domestic cult that is hinted at in the following lines is the 'honouring' (*palāḫu*) of the father, a term that includes the dutiful performance of the *kispum* offerings.[61] The ancestor cult is associated in the next line with a steadily burning fireplace, which will secure the blessing of the gods. The content of this blessing is not specified, but one readily thinks of offspring as the reverse of the situation in which a man's 'virility' would be taken away: 'not honouring the father' is the opposite of having a regularly burning fireplace, just as the absence of virility (entailing the lack of procreative power) is the opposite of the blessing of the god.

A truly cultic significance of the fireplace cannot be deduced from the texts. What they do show is that a 'burning fireplace' indicates the presence of inhabitants and, more or less as a matter of consequence, the continuation of the ancestor cult. Its reverse is the—among the Babylonians proverbial—'extinguished fireplace' (*kinūnu belû*), the symbol of a family without a future because of being without offspring.[62] The presence of children in the house is the best guarantee that the family line and the cult of the ancestors (the 'gods' sleeping underneath the house) will not be discontinued.

Letters to the Gods

Another source of information on the function of Old Babylonian family religion in the interpretation of individual misfortune and the subsequent attempts at its reversal is constituted by private letters to gods. These are written prayers meant to be deposited in the temple.[63] From the Old Babylonian period we know at least six Akkadian letters to gods, and they are probably just a small sample of the genre.[64] One of them is addressed 'to the

---

la ipallaḫ: arḫiš inne[ṭṭir dūssu] [8] *[šumma amēlu in]a kinūnišu išātu ittananpaḫ: kurbi ili ina bītišu sadrats[u]*

[61] See Arnaud 1991, 75:16' d i n g i r - m e š-*ia* b a - u g$_6$-*ia liplaḫ*. On the significance see van der Toorn 1994b:47.

[62] Landsberger 1916.

[63] In illustration of the practice see AbB 6, 135 r. 4'-20'.

[64] The six texts are (1) Kraus 1971; (2) AbB 9, 141 = YOS 2, 141; (3) Kraus 1983; (4) de Meyer 1989; (5) AbB 12, 99; (6) AbB 13, 164. UET 6/2, 402 (Akkadian, *pace HKL* 3 § 58), often ranged among the letter prayers, does in fact belong to the somewhat different category of the appeal-cum-oath records. In this case, the suppliant is a litigant who sets down the particulars of his case, swears his innocence, and invokes the curse of the god upon his opponent. It is then left to the god to adjudicate his case. For other instances of the genre see *KAR* 373 (cf. Ebeling 1951) and UET 4, 171 (cf. von Soden 1951). Biblical scholars may find a parallel here with the 'enemy psalms', such as Psalm 109.

god of my father',[65] one to an anonymous addressee, presumably a king,[66] the others to named deities (Ninsianna, Amurru, Ninmug, one most likely to Annunītum) usually called 'my Lord'[67] or 'my Lady'.[68] Considering the formal and material similarities between these prayers to known gods, on the one hand, and the prayer to the otherwise unidentified 'god of the father', on the other, it is likely that most of the Akkadian letter prayers written by private citizens were addressed to the family god of the suppliant. Amurru, Ninsianna, Ninmug and the others were addressed in their capacity as family gods.[69]

A beautiful example of a letter to a god is the message addressed to Amurrum. It deserves to be quoted in full.

> To my lord Amurrum, whose word is heard before Šamaš, speak: Thus says Ardum, your servant. You have created me among men, and you have made me walk along the street. Every year I prepare a sacrifice and offer it to your great divinity. Now the enemy has defeated me. Though I am a *muškēnum* my brothers have not come to my rescue. If (it so pleases) your great divinity, raise me from the bed on which I am lying. I shall prepare an abundant sacrifice and come before your divinity. (...) Do not allow my nest to be torn asunder. Then I shall make those who see me speak highly of your friendly divinity.[70]

The trouble that led Ardum to write to his god is his illness. Though he mentions that his enemy has gained the upper hand (*kašādu*), he does not ask his god for a release from human enemies. Perhaps the anonymous enemy was a demon held responsible for the illness.[71] Its also possible that

---

[65] AbB 9, 141. For a justification of the translation of d i n g i r *abiya* as 'the god of my father' (*pace* Stol) see Groneberg 1986:103 n. 82.

[66] Kraus 1983, for a discussion see below.

[67] AbB 12, 99:1.

[68] de Meyer 1989:41:6'-7', 9'; AbB 13, 164:1.

[69] A sub-category of the letter prayers is constituted by the letters from kings to gods. Akkadian instances of this genre come from Mari and Assyria, see AEM I/1:413-419, esp. nos. 191 and 193; ARM 1, 3, see Charpin & Durand 1985:339-342; see also J. M. Sasson, *NABU* 1987, no. 109 ; Borger 1971b:576 nos. 13.16.20. 21.23.24. By the intervention of the temple administration, gods could send a reply to the king, see, e.g., Ellis 1987; SAA 3, 41-47 [does no. 47 = K 2764 join with 81-2-4, 218, see *RLA* 3:545b?].

[70] AbB 12, 99 [1] *ana bēliya (be-el-ia)* [d]*Amurrum* [2] *ša ina maḫar* [d]*Šamaš qibīssu šamât* [3] *qibima* [4] *umma Ardum waradkama* [5] *ittamīlī (= itti amīlī) tabnannima sūqam* [6] *tušēteqanni* [7] *u šattišša niqi²am* (u d u - s i s k u r - s i s k u r - r e) *alaqqekuma* [8] *ana ilūtika kabittim* [9] *ippuš* [10] *inanna nakru ikšudanni* [11] *muškēnēkuma aḫḫū²a* [12] *ul i²arriruni* [13] *šumma ilūtika* (AN-*ka*) *rabītum* ŠA RA AM [14] *ina* [giš]*eršim* (g i š n á) *nadâku diki²anni* [15] *niqi²am* (u d u - s i s k u r - s i s k u r - r e) *taḫdam* [16] *lulqe²amma ana maḫar ilūtika* (d i n g i r -*ti-ka*) [17] *lullikakku* [18] *x x x x x x x x* [19] *x x x x qinnī la ipparra[rma]* [20] *āmirū²a ana ilūtika* (d i n g i r -*ti-ka*) [21] *banîtim* [22] *ušakrib*.

[71] For another instance where the word *nakru* is used for demons see Meier, G. 1939:142 ii [8] *attunu nakrū šaggašūti.*

the term *nakrum* refers to Ardum's enemies in general, who profited from his illness to humiliate him. Since the letter is probably a school exercise,[72] the description of the adversity may have been vague on purpose.

At no point in this letter (nor in any of the other letters to gods) is there a reference to a possible conflict between the living and the dead. The illness of Ardum does affect the relations among the living members of the family, however. It is a regular part of the rhetoric of the letter-prayers that the suppliant emphasizes his own helplessness, the aloofness of his kinsmen, and his fear of the disintegration of his family. Ardum qualifies himself as a *muškēnum*, a term which here has overtones of poverty. Also in the plea for help from the one human being to the other, such 'poverty' is used as an argument to move the potential benefactor to pity.[73] In how far such poverty was real is a moot question. Ardum's brothers did not deem his poverty sufficient reason, apparently, to come to his rescue. Their unwillingness to help signifies to the sufferer the breakdown of the solidarity of the larger kin group. Should no change come about, his more restricted family (his 'nest', a poetic equivalent of *bītum*[74]) might eventually also be 'torn asunder'. Ardum perceives his illness as a force of disintegration that threatens both his extended and nuclear family; it is menacing, therefore, not just his physical well-being, but his identity as a member of the group to which he belongs.

The principal relationship which the illness shows to be flawed is that between the sufferer and his god, however. At this level, too, the individual's sense of identity is in disarray. As in some of the biblical Psalms, Ardum supports his call for help by references to the care he has formerly experienced from his god, as well as to his own loyalty and devotion. Amurrum is not just any god but his creator: 'You have created me among men, and you have made me walk along the street.' The 'kindness'[75] of his creator was returned by Ardum in the form of an annual sacrifice; the god has no reason, therefore, to be displeased with his servant. In order to move Amurrum to promptly help him, Ardum holds out a promise of an especially abundant offering of thanksgiving. His return to life, moreover, will also cause other people to speak respectfully of the god who healed him. The arguments are part of a negotiation which may look mercantilist, but which springs from a profound disquietude. What is at stake, ultimately, are the relations on which Ardum has based his life and from which he derives his identity.

---

72 See AbB 12:84, note a.

73 See AbB 4, 154:24; TCL 17, 37.

74 See IM 67692:340 *bīssu lā issappuḫu qinnašu lā ipparraru*, see *CAD* Q 258 s.v. *qinnu* A 2. a) 2'.

75 Note the expression *ilūtika* (d i n g i r *-ti-ka*) *banîtim* in lines 20-21.

Letters Addressed to Kings

The ancient Babylonians were not the first to write letters to their gods. Such letters also exist in Sumerian, and most of these are earlier than the Babylonian examples.[76] Whether they have had much influence on the genre as it was practised by the Babylonians may be doubted, however. Most Babylonian letters to gods are quite straightforward, resembling in their address the usual succinct openings of letters exchanged between humans. The only Babylonian letter-prayer whose florid address may be compared to the Sumerian ones comes from Nippur, and may in fact have been addressed not to a god but to a king. In the Neo-Sumerian and—less so—the Old Babylonian cultures, the difference between a king and a god is small. Even during his life, a king might receive honours like a god, and some of the petitions addressed to him bear close resemblance to prayers.

The letter from Nippur just mentioned is damaged in several places, with the result that the name of the addressee can only be guessed at. The theme of the text compares to that of the other letters to gods: the speaker is faced with severe but ill defined problems, the cause of which he believes to be the anger of his 'lord'. Guilt, whether real or presumed, is a major theme in this and most of the other letter prayers.

> My lord, for reasons unknown to me,
> has become angry with me,
> and I have no one to bring me to (his) attention.[77]

The anger of superiors normally has a reason: the person at whom it is aimed will usually have committed some offence.[78] In this case, however, the sufferer professes to be unaware of any fault or omission; the irritation of his lord seems unfounded. Due to their conflict he can no longer approach his lord personally, nor is there someone willing to draw his lord's attention to him. The *muḫassisum* whose absence is deplored is an intercessor reminding a superior of one of his subjects or servants. Goddesses may play this part in connection with gods,[79] officials and courtiers in connection with the king.

---

[76] For an introduction to the genre and a catalogue of texts see Hallo 1968. See also Ali 1964, B:6, B:7, B:8, B:16, B:17; Hallo 1976; 1981; 1982 (for a new edition of the text plus score see Borger 1991); Walker & Kramer 1982, 3; Hallo 1991.

[77] Kraus 1983:205-206 [19] *bēlī ana ša lā idâku* [20] *eliya išbusma* [21] *muḫassisam ul arši*.

[78] The underlying logic is illustrated by the rhetorical question 'Am I a slave who has sinned against his master, that my master does not remember me ?!' (Christian, J. B. 1969:20, no. 2 [4] *anāku wardum* [5] *ša ana bēlišu ugallilu* [6] *bēlī ul iḫassasanni*)

[79] Cf. *Gilg* III ii 19 *Aya kallat liḫassiska*, 'May (his) spouse Aya remind (him = Šamaš) of you.' The translation 'may Aya, the bride, remind you (of him),' *CAD* Ḫ 125a, is a *contre-sens*.

The man who feels victimized by his lord is Sîn-nādin-šumim. The identity of his 'lord', however, is a riddle. The editor of the text suggested that the god Nabium was the addressee, because of a line which he translated as 'according to his name, [he has been called, *nabi*] with a lofty name.'[80] This, he argued, might well be a word-play on the name Nabium.[81] The argument does not carry conviction, however. From the opening lines of the petition one gains the impression that it is a human superior rather than a god who is being addressed.

> To my lord [x] (...) say:
> To the merciful, the helping, the forgiving one,
> Who takes pride in swiftly absolving:
> Say furthermore!
> As his name [he has received] a lofty name.
> When still in the womb a good destiny
> was his destiny: say for the third time!
> My lord, you are exceedingly clever,
> You are a hero whose word is pure truth.
> This is me, Sîn-nādin-šumim,
> the respectful servant,
> who very much trembles at your commands.
> I am your slave who, day and night,
> prays for you to god and goddess.[82]

The reference to the author's intercessory prayer suggests that his petition is addressed to a human ruler, since praying for one god to other gods would hardly make sense. A definitive answer about whether the addressee is human or divine cannot be given, however; though the remains of the letter favour the idea of its being addressed to a king, the very similarity between petitions to kings and letters to gods renders a firm conclusion impossible.

To illustrate the remarkable similarity between the Akkadian letter prayer from Nippur and the Neo-Sumerian pleas to kings, some excerpts from the letter by princess Ninšatapada, daughter of Sîn-kašid of Uruk, to Rīm-Sîn, the last king of Larsa (1822-1763), may be given in translation. The address is much like that of the Nippur text. The princess flatters Rīm-Sîn with a plethora of lofty epithets framed by the characteristic injunctions 'say' (ù -

---

80 Kraus 1983:205, 'Entsprechend seinem Name ist er mit erhabenem Namen benannt,' rendering *kīma šumišuma šumam ṣīra[m nabi]*, line 8.

81 See particularly Kraus 1983:206 on line 8.

82 Kraus 1983:205 [1] *[ana b]ēliya [.....]* (...) [4] *qibi[ma]* [5] *gammāli āziri tayyā[ri]* [6] *ša arḫiš napšuru bā[štašu]* [7] *šunnišum[ma]* [8] *kīma šumišuma šumam ṣīra[m nabi]* [9] *ištu šassūrišu šīmtum ṭābt[u]m* [10] *šīmassu šul[li]ssumma* [11] *bēlī le'ātum tuttaru* [12] *nirgallum ša siqaršu kinātum attāma* [13] *enma dSîn-nādin-šumim* [14] *abdu pāliḫum* [15] *ša ana qibītika mādiš inakkudu* [16] *ūmī u mūši maḫar ili* (dingir) *u ištari* [17] *suppêka ṣabtu* [18] *waradkama.*

n a - a - d u $_{11}$), 'say furthermore' (ù - n e - d è - d aḫ) and 'say for the third time' (ù - n e - d è - p e š $_5$), all three spoken to the messenger who was to read the letter to the king. This lengthy *captatio benevolentiae* is followed by a description of the sorry circumstances in which Ninšatapada finds herself:

> Since five years I have not been in my city,
> I live like a slave, and no one pays attention.
> Since you became silent my appearance has changed,
> My body half dead, I walk around with a stoop.
> When I clap my hands there is silence,
> the sound of my .... [?] I do not know.
> In my old age I am discarded like yesterday,
> I have been chased from my room and chamber.
> [I am] like a bird that is caught in a trap,
> and whose fledglings have fled from its nest:
> My children are in dispersion abroad,
> I have no one to do the work.
> My brickwork holds no attraction anymore,
> I am constantly moaning like a dove.
> The food I eat is filled with tears.
> I find no calm in my bed.
> Life is far away: they have accused me of sin,
> and turned me into a slandered woman.
> They have put my servant in my place,
> (saying) 'take care of the possessions'.
> My servant-girl does not mend my garment,
> and I have to dress in rags.
> Who will intercede for me?[83]

Amid the usual rhetoric, this complaint contains at least one specific detail: Ninšatapada reminds the king that five years have elapsed since she was last in the city where she used to be high-priestess by royal appointment.[84] After a change in government the princess lost her position; the purpose of her

---

[83] Hallo 1991:384-386 [36] m u - 5 - k a m - m a - t a u r u - m à n u - m e - a s a g - g i m i m - m a - a n - t i l ú - g é š t u g n u - t u g [37] s a g - s ì g - z u m ú š - m e - m à b a - k ú r - k ú r s u - m u u g - g a G A M G A M - e i m - d u - d u [38] n í g - m e - g a r a š u - m u d a - l a m i m - m a - a b - r a K A a b - b i - m u n u - u m - z u [39] n a m - a b - b a u$_4$ b a - t i l - l a - g i m b à n - d a t a g$_4$ - a - m u a m a$_5$ - m u b a - a b - b i r - b i r - r e [40] m u š e n g i š - b ú r - r a d a b - b a - g i m a m a r - b i g ù d - b i - t a b a - n i - i b - z à ḫ [41] d u$_{13}$ - d u$_{13}$ - m u b a r - t a a l - b i r - b i r - r e l ú k i n - a k a - d è l a - b a - a b - t u k [42] s i g$_4$ - m u l a - l a - b i n u - m u - u n - g i$_4$ - g i$_4$ - a t u^{mušen} - g i m š e m i - n i - i b - š a$_4$ [43] n i n d a - k ú - m u i - s i - i š - b i m a - l á - l á u r$_5$ - š è n u - t e - e n - t e - e n [44] z i i n - s ù n í g - g i g - g a - m u i m - m a - d a - a b - d u$_{11}$ ^{mí}s i k i l - d ù - a - š è b a - a n - k u$_4$ [45] k i - m u s a g - g á b í - í b - g u b - b é - e n [46] n í g - š u - a g i z z a l a k - a b [47] t ú g g é m e - m u l a - b a - d í m s u l u ḫ u i m - m a - a n - m u$_4$ a - b a - a i n i m ḫ u - m u - r e - d u$_{11}$.

[84] See Hallo 1991:380.

plea is to have the king restore her to her former functions. All the other inconveniences Ninšatapada mentions are related to her demise as a priestess: that event has turned her world upside down, as she explains in telling detail. Though unjustly accused, her presumed guilt has brought her identity to a crisis: servants show her no respect, her family is dispersed, and life is simply miserable.

The Family God as Intercessor

It is useful to dwell for a moment on the petitions to kings, because they reflect a situation that can serve as a model for the understanding of the letters to the gods. The relationship between the king and his subjects, mediated by courtiers and officials, is the principal paradigm of the relationship that the Babylonians construed between gods and humans. Mirroring the political reality, the universe of the gods was presumed to be hierarchical. Within the context of the city, the city patron—e.g., Marduk in Babylon, Tišpak in Ešnunna—was at the top of the pyramid; the gods who had their chapels in the city quarters (the *bābtum*s) constituted the second echelon; though they might differ in rank, their position vis-à-vis the citizens was by and large the same, in so far as they could intermediate between the citizens and the city god. At a national level, the position of the god of the capital city (that is Marduk, under Hammurabi and his successors) in respect to the gods of the subordinate cities mirrored the unequal distribution of power between city gods and neighbourhood gods.

Since the Akkadian letters to gods are addressed to the family gods, most of whom were gods of the city ward or neighbourhood where the families had their domicile, they are appeals to intercessors rather than to the highest office itself. The role of the personal god as mediator is especially clear from Apil-Adad's letter to 'the god of [his] father'.

> To the god of my father say: Thus says Apil-Adad your servant: Why do you neglect me? Who will give you (again) someone like me? Send a message to your friend Marduk, that he absolve my guilt. Let me see your face, let me kiss your feet. Consider my family, old and young ones: if only for them have mercy on me. Let your help reach me![85]

The language of devotion ('Let me see your face, let me kiss your feet') does not disguise the fact that the author of this letter expects his god to perform

---

[85] AbB 9, 141 [1] *ana il abiya* [2] *qibīma* [3] *umma Apil-Adad waradkama* [4] *ammīni tuštaḫiʾam* [5] *ša kima yāti* [6] *ana kāšîm* [7] *mannum li[dd]in* [8] *ana* [d]*Marduk rāʾ[im]ika* [9] *šupra[mma]* [10] *iʾi[lt]i-x* [11] *lipṭ[ur]* [12] *pānīka [l]ūmu[r]* [13] *šīpīka lušši[q]* [14] *u qinnī* [15] *ṣeḫerrabi amur* [16] *aššumišunu* [17] *rēmanni* [18] *naʾārka* [19] *likšudanni.*

the services of an intercessor. He approaches his god in the latter's capacity as 'friend' of Marduk, a god he feels he cannot very well address directly. Though the redeeming action is to be performed by Marduk (the absolution of guilt), Marduk can be reached only by way of the family god.

The mediatory role of the family god is evident, too, from an Old Babylonian prayer to Ištar.[86] The speaker is a man who worries about his future, because his virility has been taken away. He therefore turns to Ištar, goddess of love and procreation, hoping the deity will grant him health and offspring. Though addressing Ištar directly, he is aware of the crucial role of the god of his father.

> May the god of my father stand before you,
> may he [...,] Ištarītum, establish my destiny.
> May the god of my father stand before you,
> O Ištar, and speak about the absolution of my guilt.[87]

The personal god of the speaker—presumably Ninšubur, mentioned as the 'court official' (*sukkallum*) of Ištar earlier on in the prayer[88]—is to 'speak well on my behalf', as the man says:[89] The family god is the intercessor who pleads the cause of his protégé with Ištar, urging her to absolve his guilt, that he may regain his health and have good hope for the future. The god of the father takes the man by the hand, as other Old Babylonian texts express it, and leads him to his Mistress Ištar. It is a characteristic role of the personal god, witness the presence of the theme on cylinder seals and in the literature.[90]

Intercessory functions can be fulfilled by lower-ranking gods as well as by the spouse of the god whose favour is sought after. Comparable in this to a human wife with her man, a goddess can benefit from her intimacy with her divine consort to work on his emotions in favour of those whom she wishes to protect. This idea informs the letter prayer of one Ninurta-qarrād.

> Speak to my Lady Ninmug: Thus says Ninurta-qarrad your servant. Išum listens when you speak. For this sin I have committed, intercede for me with Išum.[91]

---

[86] The Old Babylonian prayer from Nippur will be published by Prof. Dr. B. Groneberg. She has kindly provided me with a preliminary draft of the crucial parts of the prayer, as well as a description of its content.

[87] Groneberg 1986:101 [13] *lizzi[z] in[a] [m]uttiki ilu abiya* [14] *liša-x-x-x ištarītum a[l]aktī lemdi* [15] *ina mutt[ik]i* [d]*Ištar x ilu abiya* [16] *lizzi[z]ma ennitī paṭāram liqbi.*

[88] Line 9' *ra-ap[x] ab [x x] ni-im* s u k k a l [d]*Ninšubur*, see Groneberg 1986:103.

[89] Groneberg 1986:101 [12] *iqabbi dumqī.*

[90] Cf. Renger 1972, who refers to OB Gilg P ii 32 *ṣabtat qāssu kīma* [d] i n g i r [] *iriddišu*, 'Holding him by his hand she leads him like a (personal) deity.'

[91] AbB 13, 164 [1] *an[a] bēltiya* [d]*Ni[n]mu[g]* [2] *qibima* [3] *umma* [d]*Ninurta-qarrad*

Ninmug is the consort of Išum. A friendly word from her, the author of this letter intimates, will work wonders with Išum. An analogous idea is present in the letter prayer by Ur-Utu from Sippar to his 'Lady' Annunītum.[92] He addresses the goddess not just as his personal deity, but also in her capacity as the consort of Adad. Owing to her intercession, it seems, the sin he was led to commit against Adad may possibly be absolved.[93] Another reference to female intercession concerns that of Aya with Šamaš on behalf of Gilgameš.[94]

Guilt and Shame

The difficulties which the authors of the Old Babylonian letters to gods experience are often analysed in terms of sin and guilt. Though the actual troubles are diverse and rarely specified, most of them are reduced to some offence the sufferers have committed, must have committed, or are alleged to have committed. In many cases, it would seem, their confession is based on inference: since their gods have turned away from them, they must have done something wrong.[95] They do not know exactly where they have gone astray. 'What have I done to you?', is one of their recurrent questions.[96] They are in the position of the sufferer who, in the Babylonian *Man and his God*, confesses his ignorance:

> My lord I thought it over in my mind,
> [I have considered it] in the heart:
> I do not know the sin I have committed.[97]

The theme of the unknown sin is standard in Babylonian penitential poetry. It is found in the Sumerian letter prayers, both to kings and to gods,[98] and in

---

waradkima [4] *qabâki* ^{d}*Išum išemme* [5] *ana annītim ḫiṭītim* [6] *ša ublam qātātiya* [7] *itti* ^{d}*Išum liqeʾa.*

[92] See de Meyer 1989.

[93] The sin is referred to in lines 16'-17' of the letter: 'They have made me eat the taboo of my god Adad ...,' [16'] *asaʳkkʾam ša* ^{d}*Adad iliya* (d i n g i r -*[y]a*) [17'] x x GIŠ (?) MI *ušākilūni* x [x]. The absolution of this sin is referred to in line 4': *paṭāʳramʾ [...].*

[94] *Gilg* III ii 19.

[95] Note the same line of reasoning in the secular realm in a letter addressed by a man to his superior, Christian, J. B. 1916:20, no. 2.

[96] Kraus 1971, [a-4] *mīnam ēpu[š]k[a]ma* (...). Cf. the OB letter IM 49219, published by Al-Aʾdami 1967:161 [8] *mīnam ēpuš* [9] *ša* ^{d}*Šamaš lā ṭābušu*, 'What have I done that is unpleasant to Šamaš?' Note also the anthroponyms Mīnam-eššiṭ, 'In-what-have-I-been-negligent?' (Edzard 1970, 63:4), Arnī-ul-idē, 'My-sin-I-do-not-know', and the like (some examples are given by Stol 1991:200).

[97] Lambert 1987b:190 [12] *bēlī amtaʳlkamʾma ina kabattiya* [13] x x [(x)] x *ʳiʾllibbim šēṭ īpušu la id[i].*

[98] Hallo 1968:79.

later times in various types of individual prayer such as the *šuʾila* and the *šigû*.[99] In the Old Babylonian period the topos is found in a bilingual complaint (a forerunner to the *eršaḫunga* texts).[100]

An outright denial of guilt does not occur in the Old Babylonian letters to gods; nor would it make sense, from a Babylonian perspective, since it was evident from the situation in which the authors found themselves that somewhere along the way they had 'slipped', as the euphemism goes.[101] But though they could not simply brush their guilt aside, the letter writers did try to put their presumed offence in a favourable perspective. They argued their steadfastness in the annual offering of a sacrifice,[102] and intimated that their death would be an irreparable loss to their god.[103] And if their loyalty and devotion could not outweigh the sin they had committed, they took refuge in the idea that to err is human.

> As my Lady knows, there does not exist a servant or a maid-servant who is not to blame for a fault or an offence, he against his lord, she against her mistress.[104]

Since the personal deity 'loves' her protégé and 'cares for the living'[105] she is bound to understand the weaknesses inherent in the human condition. How could she not take pity and plead on his behalf?

Another argument that the letter writers use to persuade their gods to intervene in their favour takes advantage of the divine desire for gifts and prestige. Its most blunt expression is found in the message Ninurta-qarrād sent to Ninmug.

> When you have pleaded my case, I will bring sacrifice to Išum, my face bright with delight, and for you I will bring a sheep. When I give praise in front of Išum, I will praise you as well.[106]

---

[99] See van der Toorn 1985:94-97.

[100] VAS 17, 35 'On account of an unknown sin, like one who has been neglectful of his god, (I am confronted) with evil things instead of good things.' Note the observations by Maul 1988:9.

[101] See Maul 1988:317, commentary to r. 21-22.

[102] AbB 12, 99 [7] *u šattišša niqiʾam* (u d u - s i s k u r - s i s k u r - r e) *alaqqekuma* [8] *ana ilūtika kabittim* [9] *ippuš*, 'And every year I prepare a sacrifice and offer it to your great divinity.'

[103] AbB 9, 141 [4] *ammīni tuštaḫiʾam* [5] *ša kima yāti* [6] *ana kāšîm* [7] *mannum li[dd]in*, 'Why do you neglect me? Who will give you (again) someone like me?'

[104] de Meyer 1989:41 [9'] *kima bēltī* [10'] *idû* [11'] *wardum* (s a g - ì r) *ʿša anaʾ bēlišu* [12'] *amtum* (s a g - g e m e$_2$) *ša ana bēltiša* [13'] *ḫīṭam gillatam* [14'] *lā ʿubbaʾlam ul ibašši*.

[105] de Meyer 1989:41 [6'] *... rāʾimat* [7'] *napišti (...)* [15'] *rāʾiʿmʾat napišti atti*.

[106] AbB 13, 164 [8] *inūma qātāt[iy]a* [9] *telteqe* [10] *ina pānīn namrūtim* [11] *ana* ^{d}*Išum niqiʾam* [12] *ubbalam* [13] *u ana kašîm* [14] *immeram* (u d u - n í t a) *ubbalam* [15] *inūma dalīli* [16] *ana maḫar* ^{d}*Išum* [17] *adallalu* [18] *u dalīlīki* [19] *ludlul*.

Though more delicately presented, the motif of divine self-interest is found in several of the other prayers. In a letter to his god Amurrum, Ardum promises that he will prepare a sumptuous sacrifice for the god in return for his recovery. In addition, he will also encourage others to give praise to Amurrum.[107] Apil-Adad makes a similar vow to the god of his father: should his guilt be absolved, he will visit the god to kiss his feet in a gesture of adoration and worship.[108] The subtle reminder that the worshipper is irreplaceable plays upon the same register: there is no gain for the god in the death of a devout servant; the choir of his worshippers would lose a voice.[109]

The emphasis on the advantages that will accrue to the god (praise and sacrifice) may strike modern readers as being in bad taste. Did the Babylonians really think the gods could be moved to compassion by such crude appeals to their sense of honour and self-interest? Indeed it would seem they did. It could be argued—as it has in fact been done—that we should not attach undue importance to these promises of praise and worship since the Babylonians, just like the Israelites, did not know our notion of 'thanking'. Because the phrase 'I thank you' was not a part of their vocabulary, they resorted to praise as a means of expressing their gratitude.[110] This observation is only a partial explanation. It must be added that honour and prestige were vital concerns in the Babylonian civilization; the gods, inhabited by preoccupations much like those of their human worshippers, attached inordinate value to their public status and acted with a view to its promotion. When humans alluded to the divine concern for glory, they merely played upon feelings they considered universal.

The interrelated issues of honour, status and prestige are at the heart of the identity problems the ancient Babylonians analysed in terms of guilt. The actual adversities which have prompted the composition of the letters to the gods will have been as diverse as the authors of these texts themselves. There are references and allusions to childlessness, illness, poverty, and expulsion from office. One element that these misfortunes have in common is the loss of social esteem. The public opinion is a central concern to the sufferer.[111] He calls upon his god to help him because he can no longer

---

[107] AbB 12, 99:15-17, 20-22.

[108] AbB 9, 141:12-13.

[109] AbB 9, 141:5-7. The theme recurs in a less veiled fashion in younger texts, both Babylonian and biblical, see Mayer 1976:313-314.

[110] See, e.g., Mayer 1976:307-309.

[111] Cf. the accusation in TCL 17, 56 [14] *annikiam ina āli wašbā⌜ku⌝* ... [16] *išdīya tuqtallili*, 'You have damaged my status in the town where I live.'

'keep his head high'[112] and 'face the daylight';[113] his 'beaming appearance' and 'princely' gait have vanished.[114] As a scribe out of work puts it in a letter written to Zimrī-Līm: 'Like a proletarian I hang about in the streets ....'[115] Hostility and humiliation are the lot of the sufferer:

> I am an ailing old man (...)
> My brother treats me with contempt, taunting my misfortune
> My friend does not open his mouth in the street, he humiliates me.[116]

Such is the tenor of the other prayers and written pleas as well. In the surroundings of the sufferer people perceive his troubles as indications that some sin has been committed. Society ostracizes the presumed sinner by publicly ignoring him. Cast out by his peers, the individual finally loses his self-esteem.[117]

The dispersion and dissolution of the family is one of the most painful phases in the disintegration of identity. The fear concerning the dispersion of the family should not be construed as a fear of loneliness. The concern of the sufferer is the continuity of his family as an identifiable entity:

> Consider my family, old and young ones: if only for them have mercy on me.[118]

The worry of the writer, and the worry of people in a similar position, is that his family should be 'torn asunder'.[119] If that should happen, the line of generations would be finished, and the paterfamilias would lose his principal title to glory. Blessing formulas in letters do occasionally mention the addressee's 'family' (*bītum*) or 'offspring' (*pirḫum*) as the ground for divine goodwill.[120] The god has reason to save the paterfamilias, it is implied, because the entire family honours the god as its deity, not just the father. Yet it is primarily to him that the disintegration of the household would mean a

---

112 Kraus 1971, b-1' *ina qāti [d]ullim* b-2' *rēšī la anašši*, 'On account of my misery, I cannot keep my head high.' For the idiom see *CAD* N/2 108a.

113 Christian, J. B. 1969:22 no. 3 12 *ana* dU tu *īnīya* 13 *anašši* 14 *mindē mamman* 15 *ula iqabbi[am]*, '(Could I do this) and still lift my eyes to Šamaš? I fear no one would even talk to me.'

114 See *STC* II, Pl. 82 84 *namriš eṭelliš itti balṭūti lubā'ᵓ sūqa*. Note also AbB 13, 164 10 *ina pānīn namrūtim.*

115 Charpin 1992b, r. 4' *kima l[ā m]ār awīlim sūqāti asaḫḫur.*

116 Walker & Kramer 1982, 3 14 ... šu-gi$_4$-nu-silim-me-en (...) r. 3 šeš-...-mu (...) igi-tur-mu ba-an-dù a-mi-bi-ag-mu in nam-ma-gá-gá r. 4 ku-li-mu e-sír-ra ka nu-mu-un-ba gú ki-šè bí-in-gar.

117 Cf. Christian, J. B. 1969:22, no. 3:12-15.

118 AbB 9, 141:14-17.

119 AbB 12, 99:19 *x x x qinnī lā ipparra[rma].*

120 Salonen, E. 1967:49.

loss of status and identity: he would be left without a 'name', and thus without means of private or public identification.

It may seem strange that the collapse of identity should be interpreted in terms of guilt rather than shame. The explanation must be based on the distinction between cause and effect. If a contrast is made between shame cultures and guilt cultures, Mesopotamia belongs to the former category.[121] The Babylonians recognized the notion of guilt, yet not as an emotional state but as an objective condition. Power, honour and prestige were believed to follow in the footsteps of the gentleman; they were his divinely endorsed advantages. Within this frame of reference, the social decline of the *awīlum* was taken as a signal of a profound disorder. Whether it took the form of disease, childlessness, poverty, or dismissal by the authorities, the lapse into disgrace and anonymity was seen as the visible consequence of a hidden rupture with the gods. The contract with the gods had not been kept; the invisible *e'iltum* ('guilt', but more literally 'bond') which had seized the transgressor in consequence could be broken only by the gods themselves; as a mediator and intercessor, the family god had a crucial role in bringing about the release.

If family religion plays a role in identity construction (as it clearly does with the Babylonians), it is also called upon to come to terms with the situations in which identity is in crisis. Fortune is fickle by definition: the position one enjoys today may be given to someone else tomorrow; wealth may give way to destitution, health to protracted disease. To domesticate the inconstancy of life, the Babylonians devised a religious model to interpret the biographical course of the individual. This model was essentially conservative: it was conceived as a legitimation of the status quo. Yet it also offered an explanation—and, by the same token, a justification—of those events that were perceived as irregularities. Framed as a theodicy, i.e., an apology of the divine government of the world, it was in fact a means of providing the cultural perception of social distinction with a metaphysical foundation. Success was its ultimate yardstick. By reducing adversity to failure and suffering to sin, the doctrine of retribution left the disillusioned individual little choice but to avow ignorance and plead guilty.

Religious Identity in Situations of Diaspora

Dispersion of the family ranks high among the adversities that have been discussed in this chapter. Its occurrence was not uncommon. The frequent references to the 'gathering of scattered people' in royal inscriptions suggest

---

121 For the distinction see Piers & Singer 1971[2].

that the dispersion of communities was a general problem in the ancient Near East. Most prayers that mention it have been written from the perspective of the one who remained behind. The feelings of those who had left can still be recovered from the names some of them gave to their children. People that carry such names as Mati-utta-ālī ('When will I find my city?') are clearly second or third generation migrants.[122] The move from one place to another, and thereby from one culture to another, is widely recognized as a source of stress and a threat to one's sense of identity. This observation would seem to apply more acutely to the Babylonians, whose sense of identity was strongly linked to the place where they lived. What were the effects of forced migration upon the family religion of the Babylonians?[123]

The discussion of the religion of migrants can be introduced by a biblical illustration. According to the author of 2 Kings 17:24-33, the fall of Samaria (721 BC) was followed by an Assyrian deportation of exiles from Babylon, Kuthah, Avva, Hamath and Sepharvaim to the cities of the former kingdom of Israel. These people adopted the worship of the god of the land (Yahweh), but they continued to worship their ancestral deities as well. The people from Babylon made an image of Banit,[124] the people from Kuthah made Nergal, the people of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak. The Sepharvites, for their part, demonstrated their loyalty to ancestral custom in a more gruesome fashion by burning their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim (1 Kings 17:30-31).

The biblical text stresses the close relationship between these gods and their worshippers; each group of exiles honoured 'its own god' (1 Kings 17:29, 33). The religion of the migrants differed from the official or public religion of the land in which they settled. For them, apparently, the two levels of religious involvement coexisted without clash or conflict. 'They feared Yahweh, but also served their own gods', as our author disapprovingly observes (2 Kings 17:33, 41). The combination did not shock the Mesopotamians and Syrians in diaspora: they were accustomed both to fulfil the obligations of their national religion and to worship their personal gods. The worship of Yahweh, supervised by a priest at Bethel, had taken the place of their former state cult; their private devotion remained with their own gods, though.

The biblical example of Mesopotamian migrants in the first millennium

---

122 Stol 1991:192.

123 On the subject of migration in the Old Babylonian period see Charpin 1992c.

124 The name Succoth-benoth is a deformation of * *sikkant-Bānīt*, 'image of Banit', cf. LXX Βαινιθ. See Lipinski 1973:202-203. On Banit see van der Toorn 1992:86.

may serve as an introduction to the discussion of migration and diaspora in the Old Babylonian period. In anticipation of a study of the evidence it can be said that most migrant Babylonians demonstrated a remarkable loyalty to their original gods. Though there may have been much that they did sacrifice in order to integrate into their new society, there were certain things they would not easily abandon. Religion was one of these. Like Aenaeas, who left Troy for Rome, they brought their gods along.[125] Their religion was part of their heritage; it marked their identity, and losing it would be losing a piece of themselves. Some selected cases may serve to illustrate these statements.

A first example concerns the presence of families from Uruk in Kiš.[126] An Old Babylonian archive dealing with the management of the royal date-palm plantations in the region of Kiš (modern al-Uḫaimer, about fifteen kilometres east of ancient Babylon) mentions a total of thirty-seven gardeners from Uruk. Since Uruk and Kiš are separated by some 200 kilometres, these men can hardly be considered hired labourers. They came to find refuge at Kiš after King Samsu-ilūna (1749-1712) lost control over Uruk.[127] These gardeners belonged to a much larger group of migrants from Uruk. Among them were also priests and scholars who brought their own religious traditions, expanding the religious life at Kiš with the worship of Ištar of Uruk, Nanaya, and Kanisurra.[128] The cult of these foreign deities appears to have met with little or no opposition, as the priests ministering in their cults inhabited the same quarter as the native priests of Kiš.[129]

Whereas the presence of priests of Ištar of Uruk, Nanaya and Kanisurra might arguably be interpreted as an indication that there has been a transfer of the official cult, there is evidence, too, of a transfer of private deities not found in the new pantheon of Kiš. A personal name like Uṣur-awassu-gamil[130] might be cited as a case in point, as Uṣur-awassu is a goddess connected with Uruk.[131] Yet theophoric personal names are not the most reliable source of information on family religion. A surer indication is presented by the cylinder seals of Marduk-mušallim and his son Nanna-mansum: the legends of these seals proclaim the owners to be 'servant[s] of the god Lātarāk'. Lātarāk is known as a minor deity worshipped in Uruk and its

---

125 Virgil, *Aeneas* II 297; V 743-745.

126 Cf. Charpin 1992c:211-212, who shows that the migration from Uruk to Kiš was part of a demographic event involving a wider area of southern Mesopotamia.

127 See Charpin 1981:528-529; 1986:414-415.

128 Cf. TCL 1, 19 = VAB 6, 181.

129 Charpin 1986:403-415.

130 YOS 13, 203 r. 21.

131 See, e.g., Brinkman 1970:44.

vicinity; he survived as an apotropaic demon in later times.[132] His cult was apparently passed down from father to son, Lātarāk being the family god well before the family moved to Kiš.[133] Another family deity from Uruk mentioned in an Old Babylonian seal from Kiš is Sakkud.[134]

A second instance of a collective exile with an attendant transfer of deities and religious traditions is documented for the city of Ur.[135] Among the staff of the Ekišnugal temple at Ur there is a number of priests with titles known from the city of Eridu. Their complex Sumerian names reflect the high esteem in which these people hold the Eridu temples. As natives of Eridu they are devoted to Eridu's gods, most notably Enki (Akkadian Ea). The immigration of these men must have taken place toward the end of the third millennium.[136] Though dwelling within the walls of Ur, they jealously maintained a separate identity. Their social cohesion is evidenced by the fact that they often served as witnesses to each other's legal transactions.[137] The literary texts that were found in one of the houses of the Eridu priests at Ur (No. 7 Quiet Street) give an inkling of the possible role of these Eridu priests in the transmission of the Eridu mythology, not only from the one generation to the other, but also from the one city to the other. Since the population of Ur seems to have eventually fled to Central Mesopotamia, the topographical route of the literary transmission is slowly beginning to emerge.[138]

The two cases of migration just mentioned concern a one-way movement. There is also evidence of a two-way traffic of people and their gods. Various Old Babylonian texts from Larsa and its vicinity contain personal names composed with Elamite theonyms. Examples include, besides many others, Arad-Zugal and Kuk-Šatran.[139] These names attest to the presence of Elamite elements in the Larsa area. Elamite influence in the Larsa area is evident too from the personal seals of Šamas-tūram and Aḫi-šagiš, a father and son from Kutalla, since they are both a 'servant of Šušinak' the city god of Susa (Šušan).[140] A movement from Larsa to Elam could be inferred from the presence in Elam of Babylonians with such names as Erištum, Bēltani,

---

132 See Wiggermann 1992:64.
133 Charpin 1981:529 n. 12.
134 YOS 13, p. 12. Perhaps the god is to be identified with Ištaran, the city-god of Dēr, see Charpin 1980:291.
135 The evidence has been collected and analysed by Charpin 1986:341-489.
136 Charpin 1986:416.
137 Charpin 1986:418.
138 Charpin 1986:488-489.
139 Leemans 1954:21.
140 Charpin 1990a:64.

and Larsatum (lit.: 'She-from-Larsa').[141] Among their legal documents, there is a case where the personal god of the inheriting children is identified as Adad,[142] and one suspects that the unnamed family god in other documents should equally be identified with a Babylonian deity venerated in the region of Larsa. The fact that the cross-fertilization between Elam and Larsa was not restricted to the cult of certain deities is demonstrated by the presence of the expression *mimma ša ilu ana awīlūti ana rašê iddinu* ('whatever the god gives humans to possess'), characteristic of Susa inheritance texts,[143] and elsewhere found only in a text from Larsa.[144]

Are there instances of migration entailing a change of religious allegiance? One is tempted to answer in the affirmative on the strength of the case of Ibbi-Ilabrat, born and raised in Malgium, and later living in Kiš. The earlier of his two seals mentions Ilabrat and Usmû as his gods, the more recent one Sîn and Ninsianna. According to Charpin, the comparison shows that 'the choice of the personal god(s) on the seal is apparently not just a matter of family tradition; the change observed here attests to the integration of an individual originating from Malgium into the religious framework of the Babylonian kingdom.'[145] The reason for the change is not clear, though. Ibbi-Ilabrat was one among more than five thousand people from Malgium who had found their way to the region of Kiš.[146] Do we have to assume that all of them changed their Malgium gods for deities from their new country? Did Ibbi-Ilabrat have to change deities because of his special position, or had he beeen adopted, as client or son, by a local family?[147]

Religious 'conversion' on account of a migration was apparently highly exceptional. In fact, there are more examples of a change of personal god(s) by individuals that have not moved, than by people that have migrated. The *nadītum* Ramatum from Sippar is known in one seal as the 'maiden servant of the goddess Aya', which is what one expects of a woman in her position, and in another as a 'maiden servant of Enlil'.[148] Did she marry a husband devoted to Enlil? An appointment to a position in the administration could render it necessary to focus the religious devotion on the king instead of the traditional god of the paterfamilias.[149] These and similar possibilities could

---

141 E.g., MDP 24, 337.341.
142 MDP 22, 11:10.
143 See *CAD* A/2 59a.
144 Grant 1918, 254:14-16.
145 Charpin 1981:545.
146 AbB 8, 131.
147 Stol 1980:187-188.
148 Harris 1963:252.
149 See the example given by Stol 1980:187 n. 8.

account for all the known cases of change in private deities. In fact, the case of Ibbi-Ilabrat stands alone. The major part of the evidence points to the opposite direction: when people migrated, their gods migrated with them. If new gods were adopted due to a change of domicile, it was most likely because the individuals in question found themselves in entirely unfamiliar surroundings, and without other expatriates. Most of such changes, if not all, are bound to escape our notice.

The exceptional case of a change in religious allegiance is negligible by comparison with the many testimonies to the religious conservatism of Babylonian migrants. Their loyalty demonstrates their attachment to their origins. Through the cult of their ancestors, they asserted and maintained a historical identity; through the worship of their personal gods, they asserted and maintained a local identity. In the case of migrants this local identity was a question of origins. The Babylonian devotion to their family god was a devotion to the settlement, the district, or the neighbourhood where the worshippers were raised; physical separation from those surroundings did not destroy their attachment: in some cases, it only increased the love of their homeland.

Conclusion

The case of migrated families provides a specific instance of the function of family religion as a central focus of identity. The Babylonian sense of identity could be assailed by all sorts of events; migration is one of them, but illness, financial losses, and expulsion from office necessitated a reassessment of identity as well. Dramatic changes in the life of the individual stripped him of his attributed character and role; he was faced with a loss of identity. In an effort to retain or regain a sense of identity, people clung all the more fervently to the two characteristic elements of family religion, viz. the cult of the ancestors and the worship of the family god. In order not to be engulfed by the tides of change, they held on to the reality of their kin group through the cult of their ancestors, and of their social and local origins through the worship of their family god. When the circumstances might prove the vulnerability of the personal dimension of their identity, based as it was on identification with a class-related role, they could still rely on their broader collective identity, as a clan or kin group with its own home ground. Family religion was the effective symbol of this identity.

PART TWO

SYRIA
THE CONTINUITY OF FAMILY RELIGION

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

Identity, for the ancient Babylonians, was first and foremost collective and local. The Babylonians did not derive their identity from the achievements of their civilization, nor did they draw their self-esteem from the prestige of their rulers. The things that really mattered to them were their family and their neighbourhood; it was their reputation in these domains which they considered crucial. Their daily religion served to assert and substantiate their attachment to the group and area with which they identified. By the commemoration and cult of their ancestors they celebrated their link with the past; their genealogical identity, whether fictive or real, legitimized their position as full members of their family. Devotion to their local family god, persisting throughout their generations and preserved over considerable distance if need be, demonstrated the fact that they were rooted in a particular place, and remained attached to it.

Family religion in the Old Babylonian period combined the ancestor cult with the worship of the family god. In later periods and other parts of the Near East, this duality remained fundamental. The development of family religion among the Syrians, Aramaeans and Phoenicians is known only in fragments. Most of the relevant data come from Ugarit (ca. 1350-1200 BC) and Sam$^{\flat}$al (ca. 830-725 BC). The information that the texts from Ugarit and Sam$^{\flat}$al offer can be supplemented, in modest measure, by data from other places. The emerging picture of family religion in the West Semitic milieu is similar in essence to the Old Babylonian family religion. Even though it is primarily the family religion of the royal house, which may for that reason be termed dynastic religion, the analogy to popular religious practice in the Old Babylonian period warrants its being taken as representative of later family religion in general. The continuity with the earlier period is striking.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FAMILY RELIGION IN THE WEST: PERSISTING PATTERNS[1]

In contrast to Old Babylonian family religion, popular religious practice in the West Semitic world (with the exception of Israel and Judah) is poorly documented. The main source of information are the 14th-12th century texts from Ugarit (Ras Šamra). For all their importance in the area of mythology, these texts have little to say about the religion of ordinary families. In so far as they deal with family religion it is the religion of the royal house. It is only on the assumption that dynastic religion is the royal version of family religion that the insights obtained from the Ugaritic texts can be given a wider application. In this sense, the reconstruction of Syrian family religion on the basis of the Ugaritic texts amounts to an extrapolation from the evidence. A similar observation must be made in connection with the few documents of family religion with a provenance outside Ugarit, notably those of Sam$^{\supset}$al. The élitist bias which characterizes much of the Old Babylonian material is even more prominent in these West Semitic sources.

The principal observation about family religion in the West Semitic milieu of Ugarit around the 13th century BC and, almost half a millennium later, Sam$^{\supset}$al, concerns its dual nature: it consists of the cult of the ancestors and the particular devotion to a god who is looked upon as the divine family patron. There is, in this respect, a remarkable continuity with the Old Babylonian family religion described in the first part of this study. The one point on which Syro-Phoenician family religion departs from the forms of the Old Babylonian family religion concerns the entwining of the ancestor cult with the veneration of the family god. In the Syro-Phoenician conception, the dead are presumed to dwell with the family god; in the hereafter, they eat and drink with their god. That is why the post-funerary offerings are to be accepted by the family god before they can reach the family ancestors. Unlike the Old Babylonian customs, the temple of the family god could serve as the place where the dead were addressed.

---

[1] A preliminary version of this chapter was read and commented upon by D. Pardee from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Though I have benefited from his knowledge and insights, the responsibility for the views here expressed is entirely mine.

The Cult of the Ancestors

In their fundamental structures, families at Ugarit resembled the Babylonian families of the older period.[2] They were patrilineal and patrilocal. The paterfamilias had far-reaching powers over the other members of the family. Concomitant with his prerogatives were certain duties, some of which were of a religious nature.

A summary catalogue of the responsibilities of a paterfamilias is given in a passage from the Epic of Aqhat. The desire for a son who will ensure the continuity of the lineage is a major theme of the epic. The author treats this issue by focusing on king Dan'el, whose distress over the lack of a natural successor is dispelled by a divine oracle promising him a son. To emphasize the importance of a male heir, the oracle lists his principal responsibilities. They are filial duties, it is true, yet duties to be performed by the son in his future capacity as paterfamilias. The tasks listed, in other words, are those a son is expected to fulfil when his father has grown old and the effective leadership of the family has been passed on to him. Dan'el desires a son

26 *nṣb. skn. ʔilʔibh*	who erects the stela of his god-of-the-father,
bqdš 27 *ztr ʿmh.*	in the sanctuary the symbol of his ancestor;
lảrṣ mšṣảqtrh	who, on earth, makes his smoke go out,
28 *lʿpr.ḏmr.ảṯrh.*	on the dust, tends his place;
ṭbq.lḫt 29 *nʔṣh.*	who crushes the jaws of those who revile him,
grš.d. ʿšy.lnh	and drives away those who act against him;
30 *ảḫd.ydh.bškrn.*	who takes him by the hand in his drunkenness,
mʿmsh 31 *[k]šbʿyn.*	and supports him when he is sated with wine;
spảḏ.ksmh.bt.bʿl	who eats his emmer in the temple of Baal
32 *[w]mnth.bt.ảl.*	[and] his part in the temple of El;
ṭḥ.ggh.bym 33 *[tʔ]ṭ*	who plasters his roof in the [fou]l season,
rḥṣ.npṣh.bym.rṭ	and washes his garments when they are dirty.[3]

The acts of filial piety suppose a situation in which the father has become too weak to take care of himself. In the old days he used to assert himself against ill-wishers and opponents; now it is his son who has to defend his honour. The usual domestic chores, such as the repair of the roof and the washing of clothes, have become too heavy for him; his son has to perform them in his stead. The image of the inebriate old man, staggering home on the arm of his son, may seem disrespectful, but was probably painted after life. The occurrence of the same theme in the story of Noah's drunkenness (Genesis 9:20-27) suggests that the care of the fuddled father was a classic requirement in the repertoire of filial duties. Projected upon the world of the gods, the topic

---

2 On the Ugaritic family see van Selms 1954; Bordreuil 1981.

3 *KTU* 1.17 i 26-33, cf. i 43-52; ii 1-8; ii 17-23.

is also found in an Ugaritic text describing a banquet for the gods organized by El. As the father of the gods returns home, the divine pair Ṯukamuna and Šunama have to support him.[4]

The religious responsibilities of the paterfamilias-to-be lie in two domains. In the temples of El and Baal, the son is to eat (*spʾ*, eat, devour) his emmer corn (*ksmh*)[5] and his portion (*mnth*). The text does not specify whether this was a royal duty only. If the eating in the temple here mentioned was a royal prerogative, it might reflect the common Near Eastern right of the king to eat at the table of the god.[6] On this interpretation, the text emphasizes the continuity of the royal lineage: the son will eat 'his' emmer and 'his' portion, i.e., the food first set apart for his father.[7] More probably, however, the text should be read as a reference to the general custom of celebrating a meal in the temple on religious fête-days. Such occasional sacrificial meals were well-known in the Near East.[8] Since the Ugaritic text also mentions such humble domestic tasks as the washing of clothes, the catalogue hardly originated in circles of the royal court. The fact that Baal and El are mentioned has no particular significance; they are simply the most obvious gods, El as the head of the pantheon and Baal as the patron of Ugarit.

The other area in which the heir is to be cultically active is that of the ancestor cult. The son has to set up (*nṣb*) the stela (*skn*)[9] of 'his *ʔilīb*', and the symbol[10] of 'his ancestor' (*ʿmh*). This first bicolon in the list of duties has long plagued modern interpreters, and even today there is no unanimity about its meaning. The principal issue is the nature of *ʔilīb*. Does the term

---

[4] *KTU* 1.114 [17] *ʔl.hlk.lbth.yštql* [18] *lḥzrh. yʿmsn.nn. ṯkmn* [19] *wšnm* ..., 'El goes to his house, he makes his way to his court; Ṯukamuna and Šunama support him.' For the reading and analysis of the text see Pardee 1988b:13-74.

[5] On the meaning of *ksm* see Dietrich, Loretz & Sanmartín 1973:90-91; Healey 1984:115.

[6] See, e.g., Oppenheim 1977[2]:189.

[7] So, e.g., Koch 1967:216-217.

[8] Some Old Babylonian adoption contracts by *nadītum* women contain the proviso that the adopted son or daughter was to supply the adoptive mother with a piece of meat on the occasion of religious festivals (see Harris 1964:129-130. Note that the *piqittu* was to be consumed by the *nadītu* at the festival). The distribution of food portions on religious feast-days is also referred to in 1 Samuel 1:4-5, 'And on the day when Elkanah brought the sacrifice, he would give portions (*nātan mānôt*) to Peninnah his wife and to all her sons and daughters; and although he loved Hannah (his first wife), he would give Hannah only one portion, because Yahweh had closed her womb.'

[9] The word *skn* means 'stela' (not necessarily funerary), as now conclusively proved by the term *sikkanum* attested in texts from Emar and Mari. See Durand 1985a; Arnaud 1986, 125:35-41; 369:35; 373:23.27 etc. Note also Dietrich, Loretz & Mayer 1989.

[10] The interpretation of the word *ztr* is an unsolved problem. The interpretation 'marjoram', based on the idea that *zʿtr* is the parallel, is to be abandoned, see van der Toorn 1991a:44 n. 5.

refer to the family deity or the deified ancestor? The first solution has an impressive number of proponents.[11] Those who favour the second interpretation, however, have a stronger case. It can indeed be demonstrated that the *ʾilīb* stands for the family ancestor(s), and should be distinguished from the god(s) for whom the family had a special veneration.

The question of Ugaritic *ʾilīb* is complex because the term occurs in two capacities, viz. as a proper name in god lists and ritual texts,[12] and as a generic designation with a pronominal suffix in the catalogue of the Duties of a Son in the Epic of Aqhat. In view of this double usage, it has been suggested that the term stands for two distinct deities.[13] The *ʾilīb* of the god lists would refer to the god Ilaba, whose earliest attestations are in Old Akkadian texts (*ca.* 2200 BC) and who was still worshipped by the Haneans as late as 1600 BC. His cult would eventually have found its way to Ugarit. In the Epic of Aqhat, on the other hand, 'his *ʾilīb*' cannot refer to Ilaba; both the pronominal suffix ('his') and the parallel with *ʿmh*, 'his ancestor', militate against it. Here the term would designate a private and anonymous family god.[14]

Though not impossible, the solution that assumes that there were two words *ʾilīb* (*ʾilīb* I and *ʾilīb* II) is hardly attractive. How are we to explain, for one thing, the contraction of *ʾil* and *ȧb* into *ʾilīb* (**ʾīb* < *ȧb*)[15] in the Aqhat passages, if the author wanted his audience to understand 'the god of (his) father' as distinct from the *ʾilīb* designating Ilaba? The search for an explanation that is more satisfactory should be based on the assumption that *ʾilīb* has one denotation: unless the evidence proves otherwise, the basic meaning of *ʾilīb* must be the same in the god lists and the rituals, and in the Aqhat passages. In view of the pronominal suffix in Aqhat, the designation is generic; it refers to a type of numinous being.[16] To discover what type of god is

---

[11] See Obermann 1946:15 ('ancestral gods, house gods, family gods'); Koch 1967:214-215 ('Die erste Pflicht des Königssohns ist es also, für den Ahnen-Gott seines Vaters zu sorgen, dessen Kult getreulich zu üben, wie der Vater es getan hat. . . . Der Sohn verehrt dereinst nicht seinen Vater kultisch, sondern den Gott seines Vaters,' p. 215; see the opinion of the same author in Albertz 1980:114); Nougayrol 1968:45-46; Caquot 1969:259-260; Gese, in Gese, Höfner & Rudolf 1970:104-106; Lipinski 1973:197-199; Caquot & Sznycer 1974:421 note m; Vorländer 1975:157; Albertz 1978:88 and n. 518; Gibson 1978[2]:104 n. 3; Gray 1978:101-103; Mullen 1980:269. Cf. Müller 1980c:118, 120; de Moor 1990:242 ('Because Ilu is the ancestor of everyone, he is every ancestral god (*ʾilʾib*) and every *ʾilʾib* is a manifestation of Ilu').

[12] For references see de Tarragon 1980:154-156; Xella 1981a:386 s.v. *ilib*; see also Bordreuil & Caquot 1979:298-299.

[13] The suggestion goes back to Nougayrol 1968:46 n. 2.

[14] Lambert 1981.

[15] The unexpected vocalisation is paralleled by other such shifts, e.g., *ʾiḫ* for *ȧḫ*, *KTU* 2.41:18, The case of *ʾilīb* is presumably one of vowel harmonization, cf. Healey 1995.

[16] Cf. Cross 1973:14-15.

meant, a comparison between the Ugaritic term and its Akkadian and Hurrians equivalents is helpful.

The Ugaritic form /ʾilu ʾibī/ is only explainable as vowel harmony triggered by the genitive case of 'father'. There can therefore be no doubt about the literal meaning of the term: 'the god of the father'. This analysis is supported by the Akkadian translation of the term, viz. d i n g i r *a-bi*, to be read as *il(i) abi*, 'the god of the father'.[17] The concordance between the Ugaritic and the Akkadian forms would seem to contrast with the Hurrian form *en atn* (*/enni attanni/*, plural */enna attanniwena/*). In this construction *en* ('god') occurs as an apposition to *atn* ('father'); it must be rendered as 'the god, the father'.[18] In view of the occurrence of *atn(-d)* without *en* in the parallel list RS 24.274:5,[19] the term 'god' qualifies 'father'. Unless one assumes a wrong translation (which would be a facile solution), the Hurrian form suggests that the Ugaritic and Akkadian constructions should be interpreted as genitives of identification (or as cases of a *genitivus epexegeticus*). There is, in other words, no difference between the 'god' and the 'father': *ỉlỉb* and *il(i) abi* refer to the father in his capacity as a god.

The interpretation of the term *ỉlỉb* here proposed is supported by two further considerations. Commentators agree that the catalogue of filial duties consists of six parallelisms. In the first one, *ỉlỉbh* ('his god-of-the-father') corresponds with *ʿmh* ('his ancestor'). Since *ʿm* refers to a human person ('kinsman, ancestor'), *ỉlỉb* is likely to do so, too. Its periphrasis as 'father (or forefather) deified after death' makes excellent sense of the parallel. A second consideration is based on the occurrence of the Akkadian forms d i n g i r *a-bi* and ^{d}i n n i n *um-mi* in the sense of the 'ghost of the father' and the 'ghost of the mother'.[20] It shows that the Akkadian form in the

---

[17] Contrary to the opinion of the editor of the bilingual god list, the sign d i n g i r in d i n g i r *a-bi* can hardly be viewed as a determinative (^{d}*a-bi*), '(the divine) father', *pace* Nougayrol 1968:46.

[18] See Laroche 1968:523. For references to the Hurrian term see Laroche 1976:63. Hurrian translations of *ỉlỉb* occur both in the singular and in the plural; the plural apparently leaves the meaning unaffected.

[19] Laroche 1968:504; cf. the synopsis on p. 510.

[20] Meier, G. 1944:142, line 37. One reason for translating d i n g i r *a-bi* in the *Bīt mēseri* passage as 'the ghost of the father' is the fact that Mesopotamian women as a rule did not worship a personal god of their own choosing. Their god was the god of their father or their husband (see Nashef 1975, confirming the diagnosis of Stamm 1939:73). Since mothers did not have their own tutelary goddess, then, ^{d}i n n i n *um-mi* can hardly be translated as the 'goddess of the mother'. As a matter of consequence, we should not translate d i n g i r *a-bi* here as the 'god of the father' either. The text speaks of a 'Hand-of-the-Ghost' affliction (š u - g i d i m - m a - k a), which suggests a mortuary context. These indications favour the understanding and translating of d i n g i r *a-bi* and ^{d}i n n i n *um-mi* as 'the ghost of the father' and 'the ghost of the mother'. For a fuller discussion of the passage and a case for the translation here adopted see Abusch 1987:58-59 n. 79.

bilingual god list need not be based on 'a false etymology'.[21] The scribes at Ugarit were quite aware of the fact that the spirits of the dead could be referred to in Akkadian as 'gods'.[22] Nor need this cause any surprise, since the West Semitic usage is similar—as will be shown below. In brief, we must understand 'the god-of-the-father' as a reference to the deified ancestor.[23] In this respect the Ugaritic *ʾilʾib* parallels the ^{d}a - m u mentioned in cultic texts from Ebla, who also represents the posthumously deified father.[24]

A significant objection that might be raised against this interpretation concerns the occurrence of *ʾilʾib* in the god lists and the cultic texts, since the presence of a generic term amid divine names is surprising. A closer look at the lists shows that the objection is not compelling. The order in which the gods are mentioned is almost invariably the same. A comparison of the Ugaritic lists[25] with the Hurrian god list found in Ras Šamra[26] yields the following correspondences:

ʾilʾib	*en atn*	'god(-of)-the-father'
ʾil	*el*	El
dgn	*kmrb*	Dagan = Kumarbi[27]
bʿl	*tšb*	Baal = Tešub

Assuming that the order is hierarchical, it must be based on seniority. In West Semitic mythology, El is the father of Dagan and the grandfather of Baal; it can be plausibly argued, therefore, that *ʾilʾib* (and thus *en atn*) represents the generation preceding El. In Ugaritic mythology, El is the divine patriarch and *ʾilʾib* plays no role. The fact is quite understandable once it is accepted that *ʾilʾib* stands for the ancestors of the gods. In a mythological universe where gods may be long-lasting and rejuvenating but not eternal, *ʾilʾib* stands for the departed deities.

The interpretation of the first group of gods in the Ugaritic god list and its Hurrian equivalent as consisting of four generations is illuminated by the

---

21 *Pace* Healey 1985:119.

22 For a survey of the evidence see the section of 'Gods and Ancestors' in Chapter Three.

23 See also *KTU* 1.113:11-25 where the trespassed kings of Ugarit are referred to as *ʾil* PN. On this text see del Olmo Lete 1986; 1987.

24 See Pettinato 1979:104; Archi 1988:107-109 (note that the correspondence between Ebla and Ugarit is greater than Archi suggests).

25 Nougayrol 1968:45-46; cf. Herdner 1978:1-3. See also the slightly different order of the offering list known as the 'inédit Nougayrol', mentioned by Nougayrol 1968:45, and published by Bordreuil & Pardee 1992:42-53 (*ʾilʾib, ʾil, bʿl, dgn*).

26 See Laroche 1968:520-525. See also Diakonoff 1981:86.

27 For the equivalence between Dagan and Kumarbi see also the Song of Ḫedammu, fragment 29, which shows that Kumarbi was supposedly living in Tuttul, the traditional seat of Dagan. See Siegelová 1971:70-71. Kumarbi is 'the Hurrian Dagan' (^{d}*Da-gan ša ḫur-ri*) mentioned in a Hanaean text (Thureau-Dangin & Dhorme 1924:271 r. 9-10).

parallel between the foursome *en atn*, El, Kumarbi and Tešub, and the succession of Alalu, Anu, Kumarbi, and Tešub in the Hurro-Hittite theogony text *Kingship in Heaven*.[28] In the two cases, the sequence is identical, El being the equivalent of Anu as the head of the pantheon. On the strength of the correspondence, the god *en atn* (and *ʾilīb* by implication) stands for a primeval deity whose reign had long since ended. He parallels Alalu who represents the 'Olden Gods' dwelling in the dark earth.[29] By virtue of the equivalence between Alalu, *en atn*, and *ʾilīb*, the Ugaritic deity can be regarded as the ancestor of the gods. He was the Ancestral Spirit whom they were to honour, as humans were supposed to honour their deceased ancestors.[30] The Marzeah of El[31] and the *ʾilīb* of the gods are in like manner modelled upon human customs and realities.[32]

Mentioned first in the god lists (*ʾil ṣpn*, which sometimes precedes *ʾilīb*, is a general heading referring to 'the gods of Mount Zaphon', i.e., the Ugaritic pantheon), *ʾilīb* is the prototypical ancestor of the gods. He has several parallels in the history of ancient Near Eastern religions. Hurrian texts refer to sacrifices brought to 'the gods, the fathers' (*enna attanniwena*) of Šauška and Tešub.[33] Also the Mesopotamian god Enlil has divine ancestors (a - a - a m a - ^{d} e n - l í l - l á) who received offerings.[34] The most famous of Enlil's ancestors is Enmešarra ('Lord of all the rites'), a god whose concept is the fruit of theological speculation.[35] Enmešarra stands for various archaic and forgotten deities, now consigned to the underworld. He is said to have passed on the kingship to Anu and Enlil.[36] As an ancestor of Enlil, he received offerings and prayers.[37] In Egyptian religion there are the eight primeval gods of Hermopolis, ancestors of the creator god, standing for such abstractions as 'watery chaos' (Nun and Naunet) and 'infinite space' (Huh and Hauhet). They received a funerary cult in the small temple of Medinet Habu.[38]

---

28 See A. Goetze, in *ANET*[3] 120-121.

29 In the Song of Kumarbi, Alalu takes refuge from Anu in the Netherworld, see Güterbock 1946, Beiheft, 2:14-15. On the 'olden gods' see also Cross 1976.

30 Cf. Xella 1983:286.

31 See Pardee 1988b:13-74.

32 Note Eissfeldt 1969:193, 'Freilich wird dieser El eigene Thiasos eine Projektion des von einer menschlichen Gemeinschaft gebildeten, unter Els Patronat stehenden und gelegentlichen Ausschreitungen ausgesetzten Thiasos in die Götterwelt sein.'

33 G. Wilhelm *apud* Koch 1988:20 n. 32.

34 Civil 1977:66-67; Klein 1990:111 line 65, commentary p. 125. See also Cooper 1983:193 line 207, and cf. commentary p. 253.

35 See Saggs 1978:102.

36 See Civil 1977:66-67; Livingstone 1986:153.

37 See, e.g., *BAM* 3, 215:44-63; *ABRT* 2, 13:1-16, cf. Seux 1976:492-493.

38 See Sethe 1929, §§ 65-154.

The interpretation of *ʾilīb* as 'divine ancestor' fits the context of both the god lists and the Epic of Aqhat. According to the epic, the new paterfamilias had to set up the stela of the family ancestor; the second colon seems to refer to this stela as the symbol (*ẓtr*, a term which cannot yet be satisfactorily explained) of his 'paternal kinsman' or 'ancestor' (*ʿm*, cf. Hebrew *ʿam*, Akkadian *ḫammu*). The custom is well known from the Bible. According to 2 Samuel 18:18, Absalom set up a stela (*wayyaṣṣeb maṣṣebet*) for himself, because he had no son who would, as the custom had it, 'invoke his name'.[39] It follows that the erection of a funerary stela was normally incumbent upon the son. In the Aqhat passage this is true also when the father is still alive. 'Setting up the stela of the ancestor' appears to be the set expression for the cult of the ancestors; it seems unlikely that the son was expected to literally set up the stela of his father's ancestor (the personal suffix refers back to the father), as though his grandfather and those before him had not yet received a cult.

Both etymologically and semantically, *ʾilīb* is close to Hebrew *ʾôb*, 'ancestor spirit', which itself derives from *ʾāb*, 'father'.[40] In distinction from the Hebrew term, however, the Ugarit word for ancestor designates the spirit explicitly as a god-like entity. The idea according to which the dead belonged to the realm of the gods is also found in other Ugaritic texts. It is evident from the synonymous parallelisms in a hymn to the sun goddess Šapšu:

[45] ... *špš* [46] *rpʾim.ṯḥtk*	Šapšu, you rule over the Rephaim
[47] *špš.ṯḥtk.ʾilnym*	Šapšu, you rule over the divine ones;
[48] *ʿdk ʾilm*	The gods are your company,
hn.mtm [49] *ʿdk*	the dead are your company indeed.[41]

The synonymous pairing of the Rephaim (a general term for the spirits of the dead, and most notably their higher echelons) and the 'divine ones', on the one hand, and the 'gods' and the 'dead', on the other, leaves no doubt about the deified state of the dead. In this respect, then, there is a convergence between the Old Babylonian data and the views of the later West Semitic texts. Another point of comparison, incidentally, is the role of the sun: though a goddess in Ugaritic and a god in Mesopotamian texts, the sun is in close contact with the ancestors, owing—presumably—to its nocturnal passage through the underworld.

---

[39] For a discussion of the passage see Lewis, T. J. 1989:118-120.

[40] This connection has been made by a large number of authors. See e.g. Albright 1942:203 n. 31; Eissfeldt 1951:42; Dietrich, Loretz & Sanmartín 1974; Margalit 1976:145-147; Xella 1981b:88; cf. Polselli 1982 (who connects *ʾilīb* with *ʾdb* 'sacrificial pit').

[41] *KTU* 1.6 vi 45-49.

The place where the son had to erect the stela of the deified ancestor is qualified as *qdš*. Derived from a root meaning 'holy, sacred', the term is usually interpreted as 'temple' or 'sanctuary'. The location deserves to be noted. Because the stela of the *ʾilʾib* can be viewed as a mortuary monument, one would perhaps not expect it to be placed in a temple. There is, however, no convincing way to explain *qdš* otherwise than as 'temple'.[42] The Aqhat passage suggests, therefore, a close connection between the cult of the gods and the piety toward the ancestors. It may be that the intimate link was a royal privilege; a survey of several Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions from the first millennium BC will show that the topographical proximity of the cult of the family god and the care of the family dead was not uniquely Ugaritic, at any rate.

Archaeological evidence of a mortuary cult at Ugarit is scant at best and more likely wholly lacking. Contrary to a widely held opinion, there are no archaeological traces of a regular cult of the dead in a domestic context. Though 'there was apparently an underground burial vault beneath each house' at the city of Ugarit,[43] the location of the tombs cannot be used as evidence of a mortuary cult. The archaeological items that have been interpreted as sacrificial vases, libation devices, and cultic installations on top of the graves are all susceptible of non-cultic interpretations. Many of the complexes which the first excavator took for cemeteries have turned out to be houses; their presumed libation installations were in fact conduits for the use and disposal of water in the mundane buildings. The so-called 'windows' of the tombs show no connection between the house above and the tomb below. Considering the difficult access to the tombs, these 'windows' could hardly have been the location of regular libations and food offerings to the dead.[44]

The textual evidence of mortuary offerings in Ugarit is slim as well, especially since the two texts that are often mentioned in connection with the cult of the dead at Ugarit may well be wholly unrelated to it. Considering their prominent place in the discussion of the Ugaritic ancestor cult, these texts deserve to be dealt with first.

skn.d šʿlyt	Stela which Ṯariyelli dedicated
ṯryl.ldgn.pgr	to Dagan (in commemoration of) a *pgr*-offering
ʳwʾalp lʾakl	ʳandʾ a bull to eat.[45]

---

[42] *Pace* Margalit 1989:271, who argues that *qdš* refers to the cemetery, defining its meaning as 'sacred precinct'. Note that Margalit interprets *skn* as 'storage-place' and hence 'tomb' (Margalit 1989:268).

[43] Caquot & Sznycer 1980:21.

[44] So Pitard 1994, *pace*, e.g., Spronk 1986:142-145; Archi 1988:103.

[45] *KTU* 6.13, as re-edited by Bordreuil & Pardee 1992:24-25.

pgr. d š ᶜly	*Pgr*-offering which ᶜAzan dedicated
ᶜzn.ldgn.bᶜlh	to Dagan his lord (consisting of)
[- ʾ]llp.bmḥrṯt	[a b]ull with (its) gear.[46]

The inscriptions were found on stelae discovered in one of the temples of the city. Since they are dedicated to Dagan, it is generally assumed that Dagan was the main god of the temple in question.

Two reasons have been advanced to substantiate the claim that these texts are concerned with a mortuary cult: the use of the term *pgr* and the role of the god Dagan. Since the Hebrew term *peger* and the Akkadian word *pagrum* both mean 'corpse', Ugaritic *pgr* has been interpreted by association as a designation of a sacrifice for the dead; the beneficiary, not the sacrifice itself, would be a corpse.[47] The consistent connection between these offerings and Dagan (who in Mari could even be referred to as *bēl pagrê*, 'lord of the *pagrāʾum* offerings'[48]) would also suggest a mortuary significance of the offerings, on the assumption that Dagan has the traits of an underworld deity.

Neither element in support of the mortuary interpretation is certain. The relevant texts from Mari yield no evidence for the interpretation of the *pagrāʾum* offerings as mortuary; they were called *pagrāʾum* because they involved the sacrifice of slaughtered animals.[49] The term *pagrāʾum* qualifies the sacrifice, not the person to whom it is offered. The *pagrāʾum* offerings in Mari (as well as the *pgr* offerings in Ugarit) compare with the Hebrew *zebaḥ šĕlāmîm*, the sacrificial banquet at which a party of visitors enjoyed consecrated meat.[50] One king might invite another for the *pagrāʾum* offerings, not because they were sacrifices to the royal ancestors, but simply because they involved a festive meal.[51]

The connection with Dagan cannot be used as an argument in support of the mortuary nature of the *pgr* sacrifices either, since there is no indication that Dagan had connections with the underworld.[52] Dagan's only con-

---

[46] *KTU* 6.14, as re-edited by Bordreuil & Pardee 1992:24. KTU reads the last word as *bmḥrt* ('in the morning'?) and Healey 1988:106 as *bmḥrm*, 'in the holy place'. The corrected reading by Bordreuil & Pardee 1992 suggests a parallel with 1 Kings 19:21 '[Elisha] turned back from him and took the yoke of the oxen and slaughtered them; he boiled their meat with the gear of the oxen and gave it to the people, and they ate' (NJPS).

[47] See, e.g., Spronk 1986:149-151; Loretz 1990:126-127; Bordreuil & Pardee 1992:23-32.

[48] ARM 10, 63:15.

[49] So Tsukimoto 1985:72 (with references to relevant literature in n. 288).

[50] On the *pagrāʾum* offerings see Maurice Birot in ARM 14:217 and Jean-Marie Durand in ARM 21:160-161 n. 20; AEM 1/1:156-157 notes c, h.

[51] See AEM 1/1 (ARM 26), 25 [38] *šanītam ana* s i s k u r$_2$ - r e *pagrāʾī ša* ^{d}*Dagan* [39] *u* s i s k u r$_2$ - r e *ša Eštar qerêta* [40] *alkam*, 'Something else: You are invited for the sacrifice of the *pagrāʾum* offerings of Dagan and the sacrifice of Eštar. Do come!'

[52] *Pace* Roberts 1972:18-19. Cf. Healey 1977, who stresses the fact that the evidence

ceivable link with the underworld would be the designation or his temple in Terqa as é k i - s i - g a , a variant of the Sumerian equivalent of *bīt kispim*. Both the equivalence with *bīt kispim* and the identity of the possible *bīt kispim* with the temple of Dagan are problematic.[53] The fact that the *pagrā'um* ceremony took place in his temple is presumably related to his role as 'Lord of the Cattle' (*bēl buqāri*).[54] In first millennium BC Assyria Dagan's temple served as a kind of slaughterhouse.[55] On the basis of the currently available evidence, then, there is no compelling reason for positing a mortuary aspect to the Ugaritic *pgr* sacrifice.[56]

A more promising text in connection with the cult of the ancestors is the 'document of the sacrifice for the shades' (*spr.dbḥ.ẓlm*).[57] It has to be stressed, however, that this is a record of a funerary ritual performed at the burial of a king of Ugarit, presumably to be identified as Niqmaddu III.[58] Its principal concern seems to be the untroubled entry of the deceased monarch into the underworld and his insertion into the society of the dead. The rites of mourning focus on the throne and table of Niqmaddu, used as the symbolic embodiments of the deceased. The funeral of the king is an occasion, however, to bring sacrifice to his forefathers as well. The celebrant summons the dynastic ancestors to partake of the offerings and to grant peace to ᶜAmmurapi, Queen Ṯariyelli, and the city of Ugarit. The ancestors are referred to collectively as 'the assembly of Didānu' (*qbṣ ddn*), Didānu (elsewhere known as Ditānu) being the founder of the dynasty. Of his predecessors, the king invokes by name only his grandfather Ammiṯtamru and his father Niqmaddu—which suggests that ordinarily the cult did not embrace more than two or three generations of ancestors. Though the text is admittedly funerary in the narrow sense of the term, i.e., designed for the occasion of the funeral, it does reflect a belief in the ongoing existence of the dead and their need of food offerings.

Further textual evidence of mortuary offerings at Ugarit is either lacking

---

for the underworld character of Dagan is both scant and circumstantial (see also Healey 1995).

53 See Tsukimoto 1985:70-71.

54 Arnaud 1986, 373:43 and *passim*. See also no. 394:26-44 for the association of Dagan with domesticated cattle.

55 See Deller 1985:364.

56 This judgment is subject to revision, of course, as soon as new texts are forthcoming. According to an oral communication of J.-M. Durand, referred to by Bordreuil & Pardee 1992:25 n. 6, new texts from Mari would prove that the *pagrā'um* festival was a 'fête particulièrement en l'honneur des défunts de la lignée royale à laquelle tous les dynastes devaient assister.' Publication of these texts is eagerly awaited.

57 For the text see Bordreuil & Pardee 1991:151-163, where most of the relevant literature is listed. One may now add del Olmo Lete 1992:130-134; Loretz 1993:296-300.

58 On the text see Pardee fc.

or dubious.[59] It is likely that *KTU* 1.113, a list of kings' names, each one being preceded by the qualifier *ʾil*, 'god', was meant as an offering list,[60] in view of the fact that a comparable list from third millennium Ebla is definitely a record of sacrifices.[61] Another possible witness to the practice of a mortuary cult may be found in a text dealing with a banquet King Danʾel celebrates for the Rephaim. The tablets are seriously damaged, to the extent where only small sections are still legible. One often recurring passage (restored where possible) may be quoted.[62]

2 ... *[bb]ty.ḏṣḥkm*	In my house I call you,
ʾiqrḏ 3 *[km.bqrb.h]kly*	I call you in the midst of my palace:
ḏṯrh.rpʾum 4 *[tdd]*	May the Rephaim be present[63] in the place,
[ḏṯrh].ltdd.ʾilnym	May the divine ones be present in the place.[64]

It must be stressed that the text has lacunae and that the restorations are uncertain. If the reconstruction here proposed is accepted, the fact remains that we are dealing with a mythological fragment. The use of myths as a source of knowledge on religious practice is fraught with difficulties. To say on the basis of the Rephaim texts that the inhabitants of Ugarit were accustomed to regularly invite the manes of their family to partake of offerings in their homes is an unwarranted extrapolation.

A survey of the archaeological and textual data does not produce overwhelming evidence of a mortuary cult at Ugarit, to say the least. Its existence must nonetheless be regarded as assured, if only on the basis of the mention of the ancestor stela in the catalogue of filial duties (*KTU* 1.17 i 26-27 and parallels) and the offerings mentioned in connection with the funeral of the Ugaritic king (*KTU* 1.161). The comparative evidence of Ugarit's Near Eastern environment must also be taken into account. It strongly suggests that the inhabitants of Ugarit engaged in a regular cult of the dead as well. Such is, in fact, the general opinion among scholars of Ugaritic literature; the point on which they may disagree concerns the mortuary interpretation of specific texts. An essential point to be noted in connection with the Ugaritic cult of the ancestors is its non-domestic nature—which is in consonance with the presence of the ancestral stela 'in the sanctuary' (*bqdš*).

---

59 Spronk 1986:145 mentions *KTU* 1.142, which he interprets as the record of a sacrifice to someone 'who is in the grave' (*d.bqbr*). Note that the inscription is written on a clay liver model.

60 For an analysis of the text (with references to further literature) see del Olmo Lete 1992:121-123.

61 ARET VII 150, see Archi 1988:105-106. Note that the list from Ebla uses the determinative d i n g i r for the royal names.

62 For the text see Pitard 1992.

63 For the meaning of the verb *ndd* see van der Toorn 1991a:48 and n. 14.

64 *KTU* 1.21:2-4 // *KTU* 1.20 ii 1-2; *KTU* 1.21:10-12; *KTU* 1.22 ii 3-6, 8-11, 18-21.

To close the discussion of the Ugaritic evidence on the cult of the ancestors, we must briefly return to the catalogue of the Duties of the Son. The lines dealing with the stela of the deified ancestor and the 'symbol' of the kinsman are followed by what may be considered the most disputed bicolon of the passage. The heir of Dan$^{\flat}$el will be someone 'who, on the earth, makes his smoke come out, on the dust, tends his place.'[65] Several scholars find a reference to necromancy in these lines: the 'smoke' (*qṭr*) would be a manifestation of the paternal ghost who would be 'brought out from the earth'. The same ancestral spirit would be referred to in the second colon as 'the protector of his place'.[66] This solution of the admittedly difficult text does not carry conviction: smoke would be a rather cryptic designation of the ghost, and the assumed practice would bestow unique features on filial piety at Ugarit. It makes better sense to take the smoke as an allusion to the domestic fireplace, which, as Babylonian texts show, was regarded by the ancients as a symbol of the family. Smoke ascending from the fireplace is a sign of the presence of life in the family home.[67] The male heir who continues the family line is to do so 'on earth' (*lảrṣ // l$^{\varsigma}$pr*, cf. *KTU* 1.2 iv 5, and note 2 Samuel 14:7 '... upon the face of the earth'): the term does not refer to the location of the fireplace, primarily, but to the world of the living in general. There is no reference here, then, to necromancy or any other involvement with the ancestors.

Most of the Ugaritic data on the cult of the ancestors come from the late 13th century BC. From scattered references in first millennium BC documents, it can be inferred that the practices known from Babylonian and Ugaritic texts continued to flourish for many centuries afterward. Their local variations cannot hide the fact that there was little alteration in the underlying concepts. One of the earliest relevant texts from the first millennium BC is the bilingual inscription from Tell Fekherye (ancient Sikan) in north-eastern Syria near the Turkish border.[68] The text is engraved upon a stone statue of king Hadad-yiṯ$^{\varsigma}$ī which was set up in the local temple of Hadad. According

---

[65] *KTU* 1.17 i 27-28 and parallels (see above for the Ugaritic text and context).

[66] See Spronk 1986:149; Margalit 1989:272; Dietrich & Loretz 1991:85-86. See also, in a somewhat similar vein, Caquot 1987:8-10; Lewis, T. J. 1989:54, 60-65; Tropper 1989:132-133.

[67] See Landsberger 1916. In 2 Samuel 14:7 we find a similar image ('Thus they would quench my coal which is left, and leave to my husband neither name nor remnant,' RSV), cf. Hoftijzer 1970:442 and n. 2; cf. the Akkadian expression 'You placed your flour on my charcoal' in AbB 12, 179:9-11.

[68] For the text see Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil & Millard 1982; Kaufman, S. A. 1982; Greenfield & Shaffer 1983; Muraoka 1984. Though the text has been dated to the end of the second millennium, a date in the early first millennium is more plausible, see Greenfield & Shaffer 1985:48-49.

to the inscription, the king had dedicated the statue in order to obtain well-being, longevity, and prosperity for his dynasty. In view of its clasped hands and the reference to answered prayers ('that his prayers may be heard'[69]), the statue was meant to represent the king in an attitude of reverential prayer.

The relevance of the text for the mortuary cult follows from a curse formula in the concluding section:

> Whoever erases my name from objects in the temple of Hadad, my lord,
> May Hadad, my lord, not accept his bread and water from him,
> May Sala, my lady, not accept his bread and water from him.[70]

It has been judiciously observed that the combination of bread and water is highly uncommon for normal sacrifices; where they occur in a sacrificial context, we are dealing with mortuary offerings of the *kispum* type.[71] The text presupposes a situation, then, where a future ruler presents offerings to the dead under the invocation of Hadad and his consort Sala. The divine refusal of the offerings would presumably result in an estrangement between the impious ruler and his ancestors, and ultimately lead to disaster for the monarch.

The image of the dead eating and drinking in the company of the gods, implied by the Tell Fekherye inscription, recurs in the funerary monuments of the kings from Sam'al (modern Zenjirli).[72] The most explicit text is found in the dedicatory inscription on a colossal statue of Hadad (the storm god known as Baal in Phoenician texts), erected by Panammu I (*ca.* 750 BC).[73] The first line of the inscription is important for its interpretation, since it shows that the divine statue was erected by Panammu at his grave.[74] Some ten lines below, the inscription specifies that the statue of Hadad (*nṣb hdd*) was put in the burial room (if the word *ḥd[r]* is indeed the correct reading) alongside a funerary shrine (*mqm*).[75] The successor of Panammu is enjoined to pay homage to the statue, a homage from which the deceased Panammu is to benefit as well.

---

69 Akkadian: [13] *ikribīya ana šemê*, Aramaic: [9] *wlmšmᶜ tṣlwth*.

70 Akkadian: [26] *mannu ša šumī issu libbi* [27] *unūte ša bīt* [d]*Adad bēliya* [28] *ipaššiṭuni* [d]*Adad bēlī akalšu* [29] *mêšu lā imaḫḫaršu* [d]*Šala bēssī* [30] *akalšu mêšu lā imaḫḫaršu*, Aramaic: [16] *mn yld šmy mn mᵓnyᵓ* [17] *zy bt hdd mrᵓy mrᵓy hdd lḥmh wmwh ᵓl ylqḥ mn* [18] *ydh wsl* [text: *swl*] *mrᵓty lḥmh wmwh ᵓl tlqḥ mn ydh*.

71 See Greenfield & Shaffer 1985:52-53. Note that the cool water that Gilgameš was to sprinkle for Šamaš was meant to be received, ultimately, by Lugalbanda, see OB Gilg. Y vi 40-43.

72 For relevant studies see Niehr 1994.

73 *KAI* 214. For the text see also Gibson 1975:60-76; Tropper 1993:54-97.

74 *bᶜlmy*, *KAI* 214:1. For *ᶜlm* as 'grave' see Tropper 1993:60-61.

75 For the interpretation see Niehr 1994:68-69.

> And whichever son of Panammu should grasp the sceptre, sit on my throne, and establish his power, must sacrifice to this (statue of) Hadad here .... And whether he sacrifice to Hadad and invoke the name of Hadad in this way or that way, let him say: May the 'soul' of Panammu [eat] with you, and may the 'soul' of Panammu drink with you. Let him always invoke the 'soul' of Panammu with Hadad.[76]

The 'soul' (*nbš*) of Panammu is ascribed the ability to eat and to drink, and compares in this respect to the *eṭemmu* of the Akkadian texts. It is not a soul in the Christian sense, but the capacity in which the human being enters the underworld.[77] Interestingly, the spirit of the departed king is supposed to eat and drink 'with' (*ʿm*), i.e., in the company of, his god Hadad. The duty to satisfy the spirit of the ancestor with offerings is incumbent upon the heir that had succeeded the king to the throne. Should he refuse to perform his filial obligations toward his dead father, Hadad will avenge the deceased by inflicting the son with starvation and insomnia (lines 23-24).

The Hadad inscription of Panammu I is interesting for yet another reason. Toward the end of the text mention is made of an oath (*nš*) by *ʾlh. ʾbh*, 'the god of his father,' as the expression is usually translated.[78] Nearly all commentators identify this god with Rakib-El, since Rakib-El is known to have been the patron god of the royal dynasty.[79] Yet, in other inscriptions from Samʾal Rakib-El is never referred to as the 'god of the father', but as 'the Lord of the House' (*bʿl bt*, *KAI* 24:16; *bʿl byt*, *KAI* 215:22) or as 'my Lord' (*mrʾy*, *KAI* 216:5). In view of the fact that the dead were ascribed divine status, there is a distinct possibility that the oath by 'the god of his father', referred to in this first millennium text, is in reality an oath by 'the spirit of his ancestor'. The adjuration would be similar to the one by the 'god(s) of my father' in a deed of inheritance from El-Qiṭār.[80] Judging by the parallels from contemporary Emar, these gods are ancestors.[81]

Though the evidence consists of isolated fragments divided over more

---

[76] *KAI* 214 [15] *wmnmn. bny. yʾḥz[. ḥṭ]r. wyšb. ʿl. mšby. wysʿd. ʾbrw. wyzbḥ* . [16] *hdd. zn[. pʾ] ... kpʾ[.]yzbḥ. hdd. wyzkr. ʾšm. hdd. ʾw*. [17] *kʾ. pʾ. yʾmr[. tʾkl. n]bš. pnmw. ʿmk. wtš[ty.]nbš. pnmw. ʿmk. ʿd. yzkr. nbš. pnmw. ʿm[.]* [18] *[hd]d* ... See also lines 20-22.

[77] Cf. Greenfield 1973:49-50.

[78] *KAI* 214:29-30: 'He lifts his hands to "the god of his father" and says on his oath: If I have put these words in the mouth of a stranger, order that my sight become paralysed or blurred or ...' The raising of one's hand(s) as a gesture of oath is familiar from the Bible, see Exodus 6:8; Deuteronomy 32:40; Ezekiel 20:6. For a translation and commentary of the passage see Gibson 1975:60-76, esp. 69 and the commentary on pp. 75-76; Tropper 1993:90-93.

[79] See Liverani 1961; Barnett 1964:64-65; *KAI* 2:222; Gibson 1975:75.

[80] Snell 1984:161 [23] d i n g i r - m e-*ni ša abiya.*

[81] Cf. Arnaud 1991, 70 [11'] *[mann]umê ša awātē annûti* [12'] *[unakk]ar* d i n g i r - m e š *abišu lū bēl dīnišu* [13'] *[u* n u m u n-*šu l]iḫalliq* (for the reading see van der Toorn 1994b:48 n. 52).

than half a millennium, the image of the ancestor cult which the Ugaritic and Aramaic data convey is remarkably consistent. The care of the family dead is incumbent primarily upon the eldest son who, in the context of the court, is also the natural heir to the throne. The periodicity of the offerings to the dead cannot be clarified on the basis of the available texts. What they do show, however, is the mediatory role of the family god in the contact between the living and the dead. The bread and water that are destined for the spirits of the departed (their 'souls', as the Panammu inscription has it) are to be offered to the divine family patron. He is to accept them first and then share them with the dead in his company. In the Syro-Aramaean conception of the afterlife, then, the dead are in the presence of their gods—unless this is just a royal privilege.

The Divine Family Patron

In the religious practice of families at Ugarit, in Syria, and Palestine, the cultic care of the ancestors is coupled with the veneration of a god or gods who are presumed to extend their protection over those families. The evidence of this side of family religion runs from second millennium Ugaritic texts to first millennium inscriptions, too.[82]

An Akkadian letter from Ugarit written by Rapʾānu to his sister Bin-Šipṭe opens with a formula of greeting that mentions 'all the gods of [our] family' alongside the gods of the land Tipat and the gods of Ugarit.

> Peace be upon you!
> May the gods of the land of Tipat
> and the gods of the land of Ugarit,
> and all the gods of our family,
> keep you in good health,
> and give you favour
> and satiate you with old age
> before the gods of [our] family
> —forever.[83]

The phrases are reminiscent of the greeting formulas of the Old Babylonian letters. As in those, the family gods are mentioned here in the last place: the order runs from the general to the particular. Considering the parallel with the gods of Tipat and the gods of Ugarit, the gods of the family must be

---

[82] On the possible evidence of a 'tutelary god' of the king (d i n g i r e n) in third millennium Ebla see Archi 1988:109-112.

[83] *Ug*. 5:148, no. 55 [4] *lū šulmu ana muḫḫi[ki]* [5] d i n g i r - m e š *ša* [kur]*Tipat* [6] *u* d i n g i r - m e š *ša* [kur]*Ugarit* [7] *u gabba* d i n g i r - m e š *bit ab[ini]* [8] *ana šulmani liṣṣurūki* [9] *u lišlamūki* [10] *u lišebbûki šībūt[a]* [11] *ana pāni* d i n g i r - m e š *bīt ab[ini]* [12] *adi dārīti*.

gods in the ordinary sense of the term. They are to be distinguished, therefore, from the family ancestors. Though the phraseology obeys the laws of courtesy, it contains an indication that Ugaritic family religion, like family religion in ancient Babylonia, was concerned with the ancestors as well as with the family gods.

Almost nothing is known about the veneration of particular gods by individual Ugaritic families. About the only evidence available in this area is onomastic, and the hazards of reconstruction based on theophoric names need not be rehearsed. The institution of the *marzeaḥ* (or rather *marzaḥu* or *marziḥu*) throws some indirect light on the matter, since it is a socio-religious group usually associated with a particular patron deity (Šatrana, Ištar ḫurri, and perhaps Anat) and hereditary in the paternal line.[84] Yet membership of the *marzeaḥ* was not based, it seems, on kinship ties. The interest of the institution in connection with the study of Ugaritic family religion lies in its possible analogy with the religious function of the kin group. In the absence of more data on the *marzeaḥ*, however, the possible parallel of its rites with those of family religion cannot be explored. This leaves us, once again, with a situation in which we must go by evidence either from the literature (that is, in our case, the epics) or relating to the royal family. In neither case can we be sure that the concepts and practices from these realms are representative of the general population of Ugarit.

The evidence from the epic texts comes primarily from the Epic of Kirtu (*KTU* 1.14-16).[85] The case of Kirtu has the value of a prototype. Like the biblical Job, Kirtu is an emblematic sufferer.[86] The prologue to the epic describes how Kirtu's entire family, wife and sons included, has perished through infant disease, illness, pestilence, shipwreck, and armed combat. His lineage seems extinguished:

21 *yʿn.ḥtkh* 22 *krt*	Kirtu considers his family,
yʿn.ḥtkh rš	he considers his wrecked family:
23 *mẖd grš.ṯbth*	His abode has been terribly devastated,
24 *wbtmhn.špḫ.yẖtbd*	the descendants have perished in their entirety,
25 *wbpḫyrh.yrṯ*	and the offspring in its totality.[87]

Overwhelmed by grief Kirtu withdraws to his private room (*ḫdr*) and cries. As he falls asleep, exhausted, he has a dream in which the god El appears to

---

[84] On the *marzeaḥ* see Spronk 1986:196-202; Pardee 1988b:55-57; Lewis, T. J. 1989:80-94; Smith, M. S. 1994:140-144, all with references to further literature. Note also the existence of the *marzaʿu* institution in Ebla, see MEE 2:46 v I 1-2 *in* u_4 *mar-za-u₉*; ARET 1, 3 v XI 3 u g u l a *mar-za-u₉*, see Xella 1986:22 n. 2.

[85] For an analysis of the epic see Parker 1989:145-216.

[86] For the notion of the emblematic sufferer see van der Toorn 1985:58-61.

[87] *KTU* 1.14.

him and informs himself after his wishes. A dialogue ensues, and in the end Kirtu is instructed to sacrifice and pray. His instructions having been complied with, El promises that Kirtu will remarry and beget children.[88]

The solicitude displayed by El suggests that he plays the role of family patron in the epic. There are a number of indications to support this view. At repeated instances, Kirtu is referred to as *nʿmn ġlm ʾil*, 'the pleasant one, attendant of El'.[89] The king is 'servant of El' (*ʿbd ʾil*).[90] Their relationship is like that between father and son: El is Kirtu's 'father' (*ảbh*)[91] and Kirtu is 'the son of El, the descendant of the Compassionate and Holy One' (*bn ʾil šph ltpn wqdš*).[92] The language reflects the royal ideology according to which the king belongs to the race of the gods ('Do gods die? The descendant of the Compassionate One will surely live!,' *KTU* 1.16 i 105-106). Yet this ideology is not unrelated to the basic tenets of family religion. The family god is the 'god who created me' (*ilum bānīya*), according to Babylonian sources. Though the terminology is more explicit in the Epic of Kirtu, El may be called Kirtu's father by virtue of his role as family god.

The role of El as family god of the kings of the Ugaritic epics is visible as well in the Epic of Aqhat (*KTU* 1.17-19). Danʾel (whose name contains a reference to El) is explicitly referred to a number of times as 'the man of Rāpiʾu' (*mt rpʾi*).[93] He is also called a 'servant' (*ʿbd*) of El,[94] however, and it is El who blesses Danʾel with offspring.[95] This suggests that El was the patron deity of Danʾel, and that Rāpiʾu is an epithet of El.[96] The name Rāpiʾu means 'healer'; the word usually occurs in the plural as a designation of the spirits of the dead, known in Hebrew under the vocalization Rephaim. It has been speculated that the god Rāpiʾu was president of the Rāpiʾūma or Rephaim (the one being the Ugaritic, the other the Hebrew vocalization). Such a relationship seems indeed implied in a liturgical hymn to Rāpiʾu which refers to the god as the 'King of Eternity' (*mlk ʿlm*, *KTU* 1.108:1, r. 4'-5', 6', 7'),[97] and connects him to the 'Rephaim of the earth' (*r[p]ʾi ảrṣ*, r.

---

[88] *KTU* 1.14:37-153. For another example of a dialogue with a god in a dream see the dialogue between King Assurbanipal and the god Nabû. See TUAT II/1:63-65 (with references to relevant literature); Foster 1993.2:727-728.

[89] *KTU* 1.14:40-41, 61-62; *KTU* 1.15 ii 20.

[90] *KTU* 1.14:153, 155, 299-300.

[91] *KTU* 1.14:41, 59, 77, 169.

[92] *KTU* 1.16 i 10-11, 20-22, 23, 105-106, 110-111.

[93] *KTU* 1.17 i 18, 36, 38; ii 28; v 4-5, 14, 33-34; vi 52; *KTU* 1.19 i 20, 36-37, 47; iv 175, 179, 180, 198.

[94] *KTU* 1.17 i 35.

[95] *KTU* 1.17 i 35-48.

[96] Cf. Day 1980:176-177.

[97] For the identification of *rpủ mlk ʿlm* with El see Miller, P. D. 1973:206 n. 170.

8'-9').[98] It should be noted that both *rāpiʾu* and *ʿlm* have been preserved as epithets of El in the Hebrew Bible, where we find a reference to ʾĒl rōpēʾ (according to the emendated text of Numbers 12:13)[99] and to ʾĒl ʿôlām (Genesis 21:33). If Rāpiʾu is to be identified with a major deity, El seems the most likely candidate.[100]

The image which the Ugaritic epics convey of family religion is purposefully vague owing to the legendary and prototypical sphere in which the narratives move. What we can confidently conclude is that the belief in a patron deity, represented in the epics by El, coexisted with the cult of the ancestors. In this respect the Ugaritic epics resemble the Old Babylonian Gilgameš Epic, in which Šamaš occurs as the patron deity of the hero, and Lugalbanda as his (deified) ancestor.[101] The similarity suggests that popular religious practice in Ugarit mirrored the forms known from the Old Babylonian period. The persistence of the cult of dead kin has been discussed above; actual worship of a family deity has left little traces in the texts. The only example known from the written sources concerns the dynastic god of the Ugaritic kings, the evidence for which will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

In the ritual texts from Ugarit a god referred to as *ỉl bt*, literally 'the god of the house', is attested six times.[102] An Akkadian tablet found at Baniyas, situated in the vicinity of Ugarit (Ras Shamra), refers to this god as the *ilu ša bīti* (d i n g i r *ša* é), which is a close equivalent of the Ugaritic term.[103] The 'god of the house' was present—presumably under the form of an image—in the house of the king (*bt mlk*), that is, the palace, according to *KTU* 1.39:12-13. The god seems to have been regarded as the main deity of the palace chapel, since his name opens the list of gods receiving offerings there.[104] His position was such, it seems, that the place where he and the

---

98 The text has been collated and edited, with translation and commentary, by Pardee 1988b:75-118. Pardee does not accept the identification with El.

99 See Rouillard 1987. See also Exodus 15:26; 1 Chronicles 26:7; Tobit 3:17. Cf. Niehr 1991b.

100 For a discussion of alternative identifications see van der Toorn 1991a:57-59.

101 See OB Gilg. Y vi 40 *ina nubattika ḫiri būrtam* 41 *lū kayyānū mû ellūtu ina nādika* 42 *[ka]ṣûtim mê ana* ^{d}*Šamaš tanaddi* 43 *[lū] taḫassas* ^{d}*Lugalbanda*, 'When you see the night fall, dig a well: there must always be clean water in your flask. Cool water you should sprinkle for Šamaš, be mindful of the divine Lugalbanda.'

102 *KTU* 1.39:13, cf. 1.102:1; 1.53:8; 1.81:7; 1.115:3; 1.123:29. The expression has been interpreted as a plural ('the gods of the house') by Dietrich & Loretz 1981a:85; Freilich 1986:128 and n. 34. The Akkadian d i n g i r *ša* é suggests a singular.

103 See Lackenbacher 1985.

104 *KTU* 1.39:12-19, see de Tarragon in Caquot, de Tarragon & Cunchillos 1989:135-139 (with references to relevant literature). The same gods are listed in the same order in *KTU* 1.102:1-14, see Xella 1981a:328-331.

goddess Ušḫarā had their images, was called the *bt ʾil bt*, 'the chapel (or temple, literally 'house') of the god of the house'.[105] The 'house' with which the god was connected must have been the house of the king, i.e., the royal family. The *ʾil bt* was the 'dynastic god'.[106]

On the basis of a passage in the royal ritual for Ušḫara-of-the-Lizard(s), it has been suggested that the god of the dynasty should be identified with a certain **Bbt*. The first three lines of the relevant text, *KTU* 1.115, read: *ʾid ydbḥ mlk, l ušʿḫ¹r ḫlmẓ, l b b t ʾil bt*, frequently rendered as 'When the king brings sacrifice to Ušḫara-of-the-Lizard(s) (and) to *Bbt*, the God of the House.'[107] A god (or goddess, for that matter) *Bbt* is not attested in other Ugaritic texts; nor can he be identified with any deity known to us.[108] It is therefore preferable to take *lb* as a preposition meaning 'within': it is either a compound preposition consisting of *l* and *b*,[109] or the word *lb*, 'heart', meaning 'in the middle, in the centre'.[110] The text simply says that the image of Ušḫara-of-the-Lizard(s) was located in the chapel of the domestic (i.e., dynastic) god.

The principal clue to the identity of the *ʾil bt* lies in his being associated with the goddess Ušḫara. Their conjunction seems no coincidence. Several rituals texts confirm that the god and the goddess were regarded as a pair. *KTU* 1.39:12 lists sacrifices to be brought in the palace (*bt mlk*); the first pair of deities to receive these offerings consists of *ʾil bt* and *ʾušḫry* (line 13), after which various other gods such as Yam, Baal, and Yariḫ are mentioned. The same list (with the pair *ʾil bt* and *ʾušḫry*) is found in *KTU* 1.102. The pairing of *ʾil bt* and *ʾušḫr* in *KTU* 1.115 has already been mentioned. It is possible that the *ʾil bt* is paired with the *ʾilt ʿb¹[t]*, 'goddess of the house', in *KTU* 1.81:7-8; however, the text is damaged and the reading uncertain.[111] If

---

105 *KTU* 1.115:1-3. I follow the translation proposed by Dietrich & Loretz in TUAT 2/3:319.

106 Dietrich & Loretz in TUAT 2/3:319.

107 So, e.g., Xella 1981a:105; de Tarragon in Caquot, de Tarragon & Cunchillos 1989:201.

108 The occurrence of *lbbtm* and *w b bt* in the Ugaritic-Hurrian ritual *KTU* 1.116:8.10, is hardly to be explained as a reference to a deity. A Ugaritic topographical indication is more likely, cf. Xella 1981a:320. Hurrian *pipita* occurs as an adjective of the god Nubadig, but never independently, neither as an epithet nor as a proper name, cf. Laroche 1968:502. According to Fisher 1969:197 the name *bbt* 'should probably be related to Akkadian *bābtu* which would be some kind of a goddess of the gate.' Fisher is followed by de Tarragon (Caquot, de Tarragon & Cunchillos 1989:201 n. 175). The fact of the matter is that the Akkadian term *bābtu* does not occur as the name of a deity. The element ^{d}k á in anthroponyms is to be read as ^{d}Baba or ^{d}Bau, see *AHw* 95b. For a critical discussion of the phantom deity *Bbt see also Freilich 1986.

109 So Freilich 1986:124.

110 So Baruch Halpern in a written communication to the author.

111 D. Pardee informs me that the *ʿb¹* is represented only by the corner of a wedge.

correct, the proposed reconstruction indicates that the god had a female consort. On the evidence of the texts here reviewed we must identify this consort with Ušḫara or, more precisely, Ušḫara-of-the-Lizard(s).

The goddess Ušḫara (variant Ušḫaraya) is not a complete stranger to scholars of ancient Near Eastern religions. Her name is the Hurrianized form of Išḫara, who is well-known from Mesopotamian sources as an allomorph of Ištar in her capacity as a fertility goddess.[112] Her sacred animal is the scorpion, presumably on account of the striking manner in which these animals copulate.[113] The lizard (*ḫlmẓ*) is the chthonic animal with which this fertility goddess was associated in Ugarit.[114] We must assume that it is Ušḫara(ya) who is referred to as well with the expression ^{d}i n n i n *ḫurri*, 'the Astarte of Ḫurru', i.e., the Hurrian goddess.[115] An Akkadian legal document found at Baniyas contains a curse saying 'who alters these words, may the Astarte of Ḫurru and the god of the house destroy him.'[116] This 'Astarte of Ḫurru' (written *ʿṯtrt ḫr* in the Ugaritic god list, and occurring as *ʿštrt ḫr* in two Phoenician texts from the first millennium BC[117]) is none other than Ušḫara(ya) or Išḫara; the name Astarte functions here as a generic designation for 'goddess', comparable to its use in the name Atargatis < *Aṯtar(t)-ʿAnat, 'the goddess Anat'.[118] Oblique support of the identification of the Hurrian goddess with Ušḫara(ya) may be found in the fact that *ʿṯtrt ḫr* and *ʾušḫr(y)* never occur in the same text.

The patron god of the Ugaritic dynasty, then, had Ušḫara (or Išḫara) as his consort. What was his own identity? It has been proposed to identity him with Baal Zaphon on the basis of the phrase *lbʿl ṣpn ʾil bt* [. . .] in *KTU*

There are no indubitable occurrences of *ʾilt bt* in other Ugaritic texts.

112 On the goddess see e.g. Archi 1977.

113 For the scorpion as Išḫara's animal see Seidl, U. 1971:488 k).

114 The translation of *ḫlmẓ* as 'lizard' is based on the etymological connection with Akkadian *ḫulmittu*, 'lizard'. Since the *ḫulmittu* is said to possess four feet (CT 14, 17:12-13), its identification with the lizard is preferable to its interpretation as a snake.

115 For the interpretation of *ʿṯtrt ḫr* as 'Hurrian goddess' see Weippert, M. 1969:48 n. 86 (with references to *ʿ3stʾr3 ḫ3rw* as the Egyptian orthography of the goddess); Herrmann, W. 1974. Additional evidence for the identification of ^{d}i n n i n *ḫurri* = *ʿṯtrt ḫr* = Ušḫara(ya) = Išḫara is not lacking. The meaning of *ḫr* = *ḫurri*, 'from the Land of Ḫurru', is assured by the occurrence of ^{d}*Dagan ša ḫurri*, 'the Hurrian Dagan', as a designation of Kumarbi in a Hanaean text, see Thureau-Dangin & Dhorme 1924:271 r. 9-10. The use of the logogram i n n i n for Išḫara is current in personal names from Alalaḫ, see Wegner 1981:176. The objection that *ḫr* cannot denote gentilitial appurtenance (Puech 1993:328) is not valid, because *ḫr* = *ḫurri* serves as the designation of the Land (or civilization) of Ḫurru. Note also the variants Ušḫara/Ušḫaraya, Išḫara/Išḫaraya.

116 Lackenbacher 1985, lines 9-10: *ša unakkir awatē annāti* ^{d}i n n i n *ḫur-ri* d i n g i r *ša é liḫalliqūšu*, cf. RS 16.238:18-20 [^{d}i m] e n ḫ u r - s a g *ḫa-zi liqqur [ša minu]mmē ištu awatē [annāt]i inakkir*.

117 The evidence has been collected by Puech 1993.

118 See Drijvers 1986 (with references to relevant literature).

1.109:32-33, translated as 'to Baal Zaphon, the god of the house'.[119] Collation of the text shows that it reads in fact *lbʿl ṣpn ḫlb*, 'to Baal Zaphon of Aleppo'.[120] Some of the other passages adduced to demonstrate that Baal was the dynastic god at Ugarit are dubious as well. The supposed self-reference of the Ugaritic king as *mt bʿl ṣpn*, 'the man of Baal Zaphon', in *KTU* 2.44:10[121] occurs in a heavily damaged line. The reading of *KTU* appears good, but the context is so damaged that it is impossible to say whether it is a royal title. The supposed occurrence of the same expression in *KTU* 2:36 has proved a misreading.[122]

In spite of the negative assessment of some of the evidence mentioned above, it must nevertheless be admitted that Baal (or rather the storm god Haddu of whom *bʿl* is an epithet) is the most likely identity of the patron deity of the Ugaritic kings. No theophoric element occurs as often in royal personal names as *(h)d*, (H)addu.[123] Also, the ruler of Ugarit assures the Egyptian Pharaoh that he prays for the latter 'before Baal Zaphon my lord' (*l.pn. bʿ[l] ʿṣ'pn. bʿly*).[124] Along with 'the gods' in general, 'Baal the lord of Mount Zaphon' is the only divine witness invoked in juridical deeds. All the texts in which Baal Zaphon occurs are of particular importance to the king.[125] The clearest illustration is RS 16.144, in which Arḫalba (*ca.* 1340-1335 BC) stipulates that after his death none of his brothers may marry his wife and thereby lay claims to the throne. The curse invoked upon the possible offender involves the god of the dynasty: 'May Baal (dišku r) drown him. The throne he shall not make prestigious, in the palace he shall not reside. May Baal the lord of Mount Zaphon (dišku r en ḫur-sag *ḫa-zi*) drown him.'[126] In written agreements between the Hittite king and his Ugaritic vassal, dictated by the former, Baal Zaphon occurs a number of times as the last in a series of divine witnesses.[127]

---

119 Garbini 1983:57.

120 I owe the reading of the text to a personal communication of Pardee. In view of the fact that the formula *bʿl ṣpn ḫlb* is otherwise unattested and a seeming contradiction in terms, Pardee suggests that the term *ḫlb* here denotes an offering—a sense unattested in any other Ugaritic text. The supposed contradiction in terms may be more apparent than real, however. The cult of Baal Zaphon was widespread in the ancient Near East (note the various sites called Baal-zephon in Northern Egypt), and the local avatars of the god could well have been distinguished by the addition of a (second) toponym.

121 Cf. Cunchillos in Caquot, de Tarragon & Cunchillos 1989:415 n. 211.

122 See Pardee 1984. Line 30' reads *hlny. lm. mt. bʿl[y ...]*, 'here, why have the men of [my] lord ...?'

123 See Pardee 1988a:140.

124 *KTU* 2.23:19, see Cunchillos in Caquot, de Tarragon & Cunchillos 1989:309-311.

125 The pertinent texts are RS 16.144:12 (*PRU* 3:76); RS 16.157:27-28 (*PRU* 3:84); RS 16.238:18-20 (*PRU* 3:108); RS 17.234 r. 3' (*PRU* 6, no. 58 r. 3').

126 RS 16.144:9-13 (*PRU* 3:76).

127 See RS 17.79 + 374:56' (*PRU* 4:96-99); RS 17.237 r. 15' (*PRU* 4:63-65); RS

Analysis of the extant evidence, then, leads to the conclusion that the Storm God Haddu and the fertility goddess Ušḫara/Išḫara presumably were the family deities of the Ugaritic kings. Indirect confirmation of this conclusion may be found in the situation which obtained in the neighbouring cities of Alalaḫ and Emar. Išḫara is known to have been the city goddess of Alalaḫ.[128] King Idrimi referred to her as his Lady (g a š a n) and to the storm god (^{d}i š k u r) as his lord.[129] In the inscription on his statue, Idrimi calls himself 'servant of the storm god, of Ḫebat, and of Isḫara, the lady of Alalaḫ, my Lady.'[130] A ritual text from Emar mentions Išḫara the 'Lady of the city' (g a š a n u r i^{ki}) immediately before Išḫara 'of the king' (*ša* l u g a l).[131] These are just scraps of evidence. They point to the prominence of Išḫara in the royal devotion in the West Semitic milieu; that the storm god enjoyed such prominence as well, under the names of Hadad, Baal, or Tešub, is well known.

Further evidence of the worship of family gods in the West Semitic world before 1200 BC is found in some of the Amarna letters, sent by Syrian and Palestinian vassals to their Egyptian overlord. In a message to Amenophis IV (1370-1353 BC), Akizzi, the ruler of Qatna, reports on a raid by troops of the Hittite king during which 'the god and the warriors of Qatna' have been seized.[132] The divine statue in question represents the sun god Šimige, whom Akizzi refers to as 'the god of my father' (d i n g i r *abiya*).[133] Since peace had been restored, Akizzi concludes that the god of his father (who is his as a matter of consequence) 'has returned' to him.[134] The expression 'the god of my father', used by Akizzi of the sun god, occurs as early as 1750 BC in a letter of outrage sent by King Iši-Addu to Išme-Dagan of Assyria. Offended by the paltry gift of Išme-Dagan, the king of Qatna exclaims that, 'by the god of my father' (*aššum ili ša abiya*), he would have preferred to receive no gift at all rather than such a ludicrous amount of tin.[135] Cultic inventories from Qatna also mention 'the god of the king' (d i n g i r - m e š l u g a l, d i n g i r l u g a l) and 'the god of the father' (d i n g i r - m e š *ša*

17.340 r. 21' (*PRU* 4:48-52); RS 18.06 + 17.365:7' (*PRU* 4:137).

128 Cf. Na'aman 1980. For the reading ^{d}i š t a r as Išḫara see Haas & Wilhelm 1974:138.

129 See the inscription of Idrimi's seal, *AlT* 99.

130 Line 2: ì r ^{d}i š k u r ^{d}*Ḫé-bat* ^{d}i š t a r n i n^{uru}*Alalaḫ*$^{<ki>}$ <<n i n>> n i n-*ia*. For editions of Idrimi's Autobiography see Chapter Four, n. 60.

131 Arnaud 1986, 373:95'-96'.

132 EA 55 ^{42}d i n g i r - m e š-*šu u mutēšu ša* ^{uru}*[Qatn]a* ^{43} *šar* ^{kur}*Ḫatte ilteqišunu*.

133 EA 55:53, 56, 59, 63.

134 EA 55: ^{59} ... *inanna* ^{d}*Šimige il abiya* ^{60} *ana muḫḫiya itūr*. For a similar expression see the statue of Idrimi, line 29-30: ^{d}i š k u r *ana qaqqadiya* (s a g - d u-*ya*) *it-tu-ur*.

135 ARM 5, 20:14-17.

abi, d i n g i r - m e š *abi*, d i n g i r *abi*).[136] They presumably refer to the image of Šimige.

Another reference to a family god in the Amarna letters owes its interest to the fact that it demonstrates that a dynastic god is not automatically conterminous with the city god of the king. For a number of years in the Amarna Age the city of Shechem was ruled by Lab$^{\flat}$ayu. Three letters which Lab$^{\flat}$ayu wrote to the Pharaoh have been preserved. In one of them he refers to the temporary capture of a town belonging to Shechem. Lab$^{\flat}$ayu observes that when the town was captured, his god (*ilī*, 'my god') was captured (*ṣabātu*) as well.[137] He calls the raiders 'despoilers of my father',[138] which presumably means that 'by taking the statue or image of the family god, Lab$^{\flat}$ayu's enemies had violated his family.'[139] The image of the god was located in the town where Lab$^{\flat}$ayu and his family came from.[140] Like Jerubbaal who would reign over Shechem many years later, Lab$^{\flat}$ayu was not a native from the city-state. His god was still the god whom he and his father used to worship in their home town.

The forms of family religion in second millennium Syria and Palestine persist virtually unchanged in the first millennium. The clearest illustration of the coexistence of ancestor cult and the worship of a family god is found in the inscriptions of the Sam$^{\flat}$alite kings. Alongside references to the commemoration and care of the ancestors, several kings make mention of Rakib-El as the god of their dynasty. Kilammu (ca. 825 BC) calls him 'lord of the house' in his inscription (*b$^{\varsigma}$l bt*, *KAI* 24:16), just as Panammu II some hundred years later (*b$^{\varsigma}$l byt*, *KAI* 215:22). The expression is the equivalent of the Ugaritic *ỉl bt* (*ilu ša bīti*), and should be interpreted in analogy with the latter. The 'house' is the dynasty to which both Kilammu and Panammu belong. As the god of their family, Rakib-El is by definition also their personal god. That is why Bar-Rakib, son of Panammu II, speaks of Rakib-El as 'my lord' (*mr$^{\flat}$y*, *KAI* 216:5). Sam$^{\flat}$alite kings from different lineages

---

136 Bottéro 1949:33-37. The use of the plural ending -m e š does not imply plurality, as the simultaneous occurrence of the singular indicates. Compare d i n g i r - m e š-*šu* with d i n g i r *a-bi-ya* in EA 55:42, 53, 56, 59, 63. See also Bottéro 1949:34 and n. 1; Moran 1987:228 n. 6; Na$^{\flat}$aman 1990:255.

137 EA 252:12-13, 29-30. For the text see Hess 1993:95-98. For another translation and commentary see Moran 1987:478-479; 1992:305-306. The interpretation by Halpern & Huehnergard 1982:228 of *i-le* as 'he is/was able' and 'I am able' is unconvincing.

138 EA 252 ^{30} *šu-sú-mi a-bi-ya*. Once again, the reading and interpretation of the expression by Halpern & Huehnergard 1982:228 and n. 7 (*i-le šu-ṣú-mì ṣa$^{!}$-bi-ia*, 'I am able to send out my troops'), fails to carry conviction.

139 Moran 1992:306.

140 See Moran 1987:479 n. 1.

worshipped other gods: Baᶜal-ṣemed was the god of King Gabbar, and Baᶜal-Ḥammān of King Bamah (*KAI* 24:16).

The designation of the family god as the 'god' or 'lord' of the 'house' remained in use down to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Bel is mentioned as 'the god of the house' of So-and-so (*ʾlhʾ byt* NN) in a graffito from Assur.[141] In Palmyra (modern Tadmor) archaeologists discovered an altar which had been dedicated by two men 'to Šamaš, the god of the house of their father' (*lšmš ʾlh byt ʾbwhn*, *CIS* II/3 no. 3978:6-7). Further south, in Petra, the expression 'Lord of the House' (*mrʾ byt*ʾ) has been found in various Nabatean votive inscriptions. It could be used to designate Al-ᶜUzza,[142] Dusares,[143] the 'god of T[eiman?]',[144] or an unnamed deity.[145] Considering the context, the title highlights the tutelary role of the gods in question.[146] A Punic inscription on a stela from Cirta mentions Baal-hammon in his capacity as Lord of the House (*bl bt*).[147] The terminology is in keeping with the expressions used in texts from Ugarit and Samʾal.[148] At the same time it has a link with pre-Islamic Arabia, where various gods could be called the Baᶜl of a named 'house', i.e., family or clan.[149]

Conclusion

The survey of the Syrian and extra-biblical Palestinian evidence yields a very fragmentary picture of family religion. It nevertheless provides a number of significant insights. The characteristic forms of family religion exhibited in the Old Babylonian texts were generally preserved in the later second and the early first millennia. Families honoured their ancestors by verbal rites and the presentation of offerings, and focused their religious devotion on the 'god of the father' or the 'god of the house'. In so doing, they anchored their collective identity in their lineage and their place of origin.

---

141 Aggoula 1985:31, no. 7.

142 See Torrey 1907. For the reading see Jaussen & Savignac 1909:215 note 3; *ESE* 3:88.

143 *ESE* 3:87.

144 Or Ilāhat? See Jaussen & Savignac 1909:217 no. 59.

145 Jaussen & Savignac 1909:213-216 no. 57 = *CIS* II, 235; 216 no. 58.

146 Jaussen & Savignac 1909:215 point out that the interpretation of the title as 'Lord of the Sanctuary' is difficult to maintain, given the fact that the title is found in places that cannot conceivably have been sanctuaries.

147 Berthier & Charlier 1955:27 no. 25: *lʾdn lblḥmn kbl bt*, 'To the Lord, to Baal-hammon in his capacity as Lord of the House.'

148 Cf. also the occurrence of *ʾl bt* on a Punic coin from Cirta, see Berthier & Charlier 1955:27.

149 See Caskel 1958:110.

PART THREE

ISRAEL
FROM FAMILY RELIGION TO PERSONAL DEVOTION

INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE

The first part of this study was devoted to a description of family religion on the basis of the cuneiform texts from the Old Babylonian period. No attention was paid to the historical evolution of the ideas and practices of family religion. The available data were used to analyse the phenomenon at a synchronic level on the assumption that any attempt to discern developments in a religious system or sub-system should be preceded by an analysis of its forms and functions; these are best grasped by studying one historical phase. Once the forms and functions of family religion have been reconstructed, it becomes possible to take the next step and see which transformations they have undergone in the course of history.

The forms of Babylonian family religion, which were described in the first part of this book, will serve as a key to the understanding of the development of Israelite religion in the period between 1200-550 BC described in the following chapters. The earliest Israelites belonged to the groups of socially uprooted elements and itinerant nomads known in contemporary sources as Ḫabirū and Šosū. Their ethnic background was diverse: though several groups had come to Palestine from Edom and Transjordania, most Israelites had their origins in Canaan proper. Organized in families and clans, they settled the hill country of Palestine from 1200 BC onward. Here they formed a segmentary society consisting of largely independent villages, habitation being based on kin group co-residence. The Israelite family structures resembled those of the Old Babylonian society. Patrilineal succession and patrilocality were its predominant features; male offspring was regarded as essential to the maintenance of the family inheritance.

Owing to the fragmented nature of early Israelite society, the main forms of religious life were local manifestations of family religion. Family identity was anchored in the cult of the ancestors and in the veneration of a local god. The gods El and Baal enjoyed the greatest popularity as family gods. The structure of the early Israelite society was transformed by the emergence of the monarchy under Saul. For the first time in the history of Israel, local autonomy was transcended by, and made subservient to, the interests of the state. With the rise of the state there also arose a state religion. This state religion was not initially a national religion; the picture of early Israelite religion as a national religion is a projection upon the past of later realities. The religion of the Saulide state was in essence an extension of Saulide

family religion. Saul being devoted to Yahweh as his family god, he promoted Yahweh as the patron god of the new state. In so doing, he used the idiom of family religion and applied it to the relationship between his subjects and the state god.

The introduction of a state religion did not leave the traditional forms of family religion unaffected. From now on the two would be in competition, due to which family religion was increasingly reduced to the private realm, the religion of state being the public religion. In addition to a religious politics designed to diminish the impact of family religion (e.g., through the ban on necromancy and an economy with no regard for the sacral value of the family inheritance), the state tried to create a national identity by the promotion of the exodus narrative as a national charter myth; the main national festival, celebrated each year in the national temples, centred around this myth. To increase their control over their subjects, the authorities tried to bring the traditional family religion within the orbit of the state cult through the identification of El with Yahweh, and by the admission of the cult of Baal to the state temples.

The fall of Samaria in 621 BC and the disintegration of the Northern Kingdom spelled the end of both Israelite state religion and Israelite family religion. Their place was to be taken by a national religion and personal devotion. Though the conditions of the transformation are intimately related to the political events of the time, the intellectual impetus that brought it about came from the Deuteronomic movement. The Deuteronomists stood in the Ephraimite prophetic tradition exemplified by such men as Elijah, Elisha and Hosea. Having migrated to Judah after the defeat of the Northern Kingdom, the Deuteronomists saw it as their task to provide the Israelite exiles with a new identity. The migrants from the former Northern Kingdom had been cut off from their soil; the physical link with the ancestors and their local gods had been severed. The Deuteronomists took advantage of this situation and declared the traditional forms of family religion illicit. Making a virtue of necessity, they insisted that each new generation was entitled to a fresh start, and that each person had individual responsibility. Attendant measures made local shrines a redundancy. Henceforth there was to be one national temple only, just as there was only one God. Devotion to Him, by the observance of the Law, was to supplant all other forms of religious involvement.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FAMILY, HOUSEHOLD, AND CLAN IN EARLY ISRAELITE SOCIETY

In contrast to Babylonia and Ugarit, early Israel was an essentially rural society. The majority of the peasant population lived in towns that were much smaller than the Mesopotamian and Syrian cities. Whereas places such Nineveh and Babylon might cover an area of up to 2500 acres, the Israelite cities were seldom larger than 25 acres. In the earliest stages of Israelite history, the circumference of most settlements did not even exceed two acres; the inhabitants were usually related to one another by ties of kinship. To grasp the characteristics of the Israelite society and to gauge its influence on the forms of religious life in first millennium Palestine, it is necessary to consider its emergence.

The name 'Israel' is widely used in biblical studies to refer to Ephraim and Judah conjointly, which is, strictly speaking, incorrect. Historically, Israel designates the Northern Kingdom, also known, since the mid-ninth century BC, as Samaria. It must be stressed that Israel and Judah have separate origins, distinct characteristics, and different histories.[1] To avoid confusion, some scholars recommend the use of the adjective 'Israelian' for everything pertaining to the Northern Kingdom, reserving the term 'Israelite' for the union of Ephraim and Judah.[2] In this study, preference has been given to the more traditional term Ephraimite whenever there was a danger of misunderstanding. The chapters that follow will focus on Israel in the narrow definition which, in geographical terms, means that the Samarian highlands and the plateau of Benjamin are at the heart of our investigation.[3] The Samarian highlands (today often referred to as the central hill country) are known in the Bible as 'the hill country of Ephraim' (*har ʾeprayim*). Except for its southern border, it forms a natural unit in the landscape of Palestine. In biblical times it was also a distinct cultural zone. It is in this area that the emergence of the Israelites becomes archaeologically tangible; it is here, too, that the territorial state of Israel arose, with all the attendant effects upon the culture and religion of the Israelites; it is this area, also, that saw the

---

1 Cf. Thompson, T. L. 1992:401-412.

2 So Ginsberg 1982, followed by Rendsburg 1990:4.

3 For the geography of ancient Palestine see Abel 1967[3]; Donner 1976; Aharoni 1979; Hopkins 1985:53-133.

competition between state religion and family religion. The conflict-ridden coexistence of two types of religion in the Northern Kingdom prepared the ground for the success of the religion of personal commitment preached by the Book of Deuteronomy and illustrated, in varying ways, by the sect of the Rechabites and the life of Jeremiah.

Who Were the Israelites?

The earliest mention of the Israelites is found in the stela which Pharaoh Merneptah erected in 1207 BC to celebrate his victory over his Lybian and Palestinian enemies.[4] The Israel passage comes towards the end of the inscription.

> Plundered is Canaan with every evil,
> Carried off is Ashkelon,
> Seized upon is Gezer,
> Yeno^{c}am is made as that which does not exist
> Israel lies fallow, it has no seed;[5]
> Ḫurru has become a widow because of Egypt.

In contrast to Ashkelon, Gezer and Yeno^{c}am, cities which the Egyptian writer provided with the marker of topography, the term 'Israel' is written with the determinative used to designate people. This suggests that the earliest Israelites, living in Canaan, were not confined to one or more urban centres. The stela allows only a very general localization of the Israelites. Assuming that Canaan and Ḫurru are general designations of (parts of) Palestine, the order of the four slain enemies (Ashkelon, Gezer, Yeno^{c}am, Israel) presumably corresponded to the marching route of the Egyptian army: progressing inland from the coast, it defeated the Israelites on the way back from Yeno^{c}am (which lies in northern Palestine). This would lead to a tentative localization of Merneptah's Israel in central Palestine.

The ethnic origins of the Israelites cannot be established by the Egyptian text: it offers evidence only of the presence in Palestine of a group of people, of indeterminate numbers, known as Israel, and having a non-urban mode of life. To speculate that this group was once in Egypt, had fled from there, and had entered Palestine from Transjordania, is filling in the gaps in our documentation with biblical historiography. Since the tale of the exodus is

---

[4] For the text see Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; von der Way 1992:85-99. For an English translation of the text see *ANET*[3] 376-378. The historicity of Merneptah's Syro-Palestinian campaign has been defended by Yurco 1986; 1990. For studies dealing specifically with the significance of the stela for the reconstruction of early Israelite history see Engel 1979; Ahlström & Edelman 1985; Stager 1985a; Ahlström 1986:37-43; Bimson 1991.

[5] *Yyzr3r fk.w bn-prt=f*, see von der Way 1992:98 line 169.

known from first millennium BC sources only, its use in the reconstruction of Israelite history in the second millennium is a dubious undertaking. The archaeological indications suggesting that the Israelites were a group of newcomers who had invaded or infiltrated the country from outside are few and ambiguous. On the basis of the material culture of the Early Iron Age settlements in the central hill country from 1200 BC onward, it would seem that most of their inhabitants originated in Palestine itself.[6]

In fact, the very use of the term Israel for the population of central Palestine before the first millennium BC is subject to caution. The Merneptah stela shows that there were Israelites in Palestine around 1200 BC, but to say that all the Early Iron Age settlers of the central hill country were Israelites courts the danger of misguided associations. The Israelites of 1200 BC were not a nation; they constituted a group of non-urbanized people named presumably after their eponymous ancestor Israel, a theophoric anthroponym meaning 'El-does-battle' or 'El-reigns-supreme'.[7] To avoid confusion with the Israelites as we know them from the biblical records, the early settlers of the hill country are best designated as proto-Israelites. The fact that the later inhabitants of the central hill country are known as Israelites does not prove that they are the direct descendants of Merneptah's Israel. There is a relation, certainly, but that relation may well have been one in which groups of new settlers identified with an earlier population group and adopted its name.[8]

Earlier Egyptian texts dealing with south and central Palestine often describe its population as consisting of Šosū (*š3św*)[9] and ʿApirū (*ʿprw*).[10] Neither term is an ethnic name; they are social appellations. The Šosū were Asiatic people with a nomadic lifestyle; they lived in tents, owned cattle, and practised seasonal transhumance.[11] The Šosū might be qualified as Bedouins —which is, to be sure, an anachronism, but a useful one, conveying some of

---

6 For recent treatments of the question see Weippert, M. 1979; Halpern 1983:47-106; Lemche 1985:407-432; Callaway 1985:43-46; Ahlström 1986:25-36; Finkelstein, I. 1988:336-348; 1990:682-685; Edelman 1991.

7 For a survey of the etymology of the name Israel, including references to the relevant literature, see *HAL*[3] 422.

8 Lemaire 1973 suggests that the Israelites (the *Bĕnê Yiśrāʾēl*) took their name from the clan of the *Bĕnê ʾAśrīʾēl* located near the border between Ephraim and Manasseh. In illustration of the phenomenon of a people taking the name of one of its constituent groups Lemaire refers to the cases of Switzerland (Schweiz), which took its name from one of the three first confederate cantons (Schwyz), and of France, which owes its name to the Franks who occupied only a small part of Gaul after the fall of the Roman Empire (Lemaire 1973:241-242).

9 See Giveon 1984.

10 See Giveon 1976.

11 See Giveon 1971; Weippert, M. 1974.

the principal connotations of the native term.[12] The ᶜApirū are to be distinguished from the Šosū.[13] Unlike the latter, they are never characterized as nomads; their most usual occupation, according to the Egyptian evidence, was that of mercenaries. The Egyptian term ᶜApirū goes back to the Akkadian word *ḫabiru*, which derives from the verb *ḫabāru*, 'to leave home by force, to be exiled'.[14] The *ḫabirū* were 'uprooted elements' or 'social outcasts'; they are referred to at times in the Akkadian Amarna letters with the logographic writing SA.GAZ.MEŠ, which is the Sumerianized transcription of Semitic *šaggāšu*, 'killer, robber'.[15] These people are also qualified as *munnabtūtu*, 'fugitives', i.e., politically displaced elements.[16]

Though reflecting a later period, the biblical data concerning David and his men exemplify the nature and lifestyle of *ḫabirū*.[17] As the relations between Saul and David deteriorated, David became a fugitive and retreated to the Judaean desert. He was joined by his family and a mixed assortment of desperados:

> And all kinds of people in distress, and all kinds of people in debt, and all kinds of malcontents, gathered to him; and he became their leader. And there were with him about four hundred[18] men.[19]

With this band of individuals David roamed through central and southern Palestine. The ways in which the group of runaways supported itself varied. They could hire themselves out as mercenaries to a local ruler (1 Samuel 18); they might claim protection money in the form of provisions from wealthy farmers (1 Samuel 25:4-8); or they might raid towns and cities (1 Samuel 27:8-9). David and his men were indeed 'hebrews', i.e. *ḫabirū*, as one of the Philistine military commanders observed (1 Samuel 29:3). Their lifestyle conformed to the behavioural patterns ascribed to the *ḫabirū* about whom Palestinian rulers complained in their letters to their Egyptian overlords in Amarna.

The historical connections between the Palestinian *ḫabirū* (*ᶜapirū*) of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic documents, on the one hand, and the biblical

---

[12] Cf. Giveon 1984:533.

[13] See Loretz 1984:18-55.

[14] Cf. AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 510:25.

[15] On the *ḫabirū* see Greenberg 1955; Weippert, M. 1967:66-102; Rowton 1976a; Bottéro 1980a; Halpern 1983:50-63; Loretz 1984.

[16] Cf. Buccellati 1977.

[17] See Naᵓaman 1986b:280-281. Another biblical example is that of Jephthah (Judges 11) who was evicted by his brothers and became the leader of a band of 'property-less men' (*ᵓănāšîm rêqîm* Judges 11:3).

[18] In 1 Samuel 23:13 their number has increased to six hundred, cf. also 1 Samuel 25:13; 27:2.

[19] 1 Samuel 22:2 *wayyitqabbĕṣû ᵓēlāyw kol-ᵓîš māṣôq wĕkol-ᵓîš ᵓašer-lô nōšeᵓ wĕkol-ᵓîš mar-nepeš wayhî ᶜālêhem lĕśār wayyihyû ᶜimmô kĕᵓarbaᶜ mēᵓôt ᵓîš*.

Hebrews, on the other, have long been disputed, but their reality is now generally accepted. The name 'Hebrew' (*ʿibrî*), used predominantly of Israelites by non-Israelites,[20] goes back to *ḫabiru*; from a social appellative, 'Hebrew' eventually became the name of a people. Since the Palestinian *ḫabirū* were bands of Canaanite outlaws and drop-outs, large groups of the later Israelites were presumably of Canaanite descent. The background of other segments of the Israelite population lay in a nomadic milieu; they came from the ranks of the Šosū.[21] The ethnic origins of such nomads may have been quite diverse. Since the border between Transjordania and Palestine never represented an insurmountable barrier, the assumption that at least some groups of proto-Israelite settlers originated from outside Palestine is not unreasonable. There is evidence—onomastic, literary and archaeological —of a partially common background of the Israelites and the Edomites, which might be due to the Edomite ancestry of some groups in Israel.[22]

The ethnic background of the proto-Israelites was not homogeneous. The majority of the population of the central hill country was of Palestinian extraction; they did not differ from the Canaanites, apart from the fact that they were socially uprooted and in pursuit of a new social environment.[23] The principal distinction between the proto-Israelites and the Canaanites was social and not ethnic. The religious culture of the proto-Israelites was Canaanite by inheritance, too. In this respect, the biblical polarization of Israelites versus Canaanites is ideologically inspired and historically incorrect. It is probable that some of the early Israelites were not Canaanite in origin; the worship of Yahweh, a god unknown in the West-Semitic milieu, is a major indication to that effect. Yet these non-Canaanites were a minority. Even if they eventually succeeded in attaining social and cultural superiority, most of their compatriots had their roots within Palestine.

Patterns of the Israelite Settlement[24]

The hill country of Ephraim (central Palestine) and Manasseh (north Palestine) plays a special role in the history of Israel since it is here that those who came to be known as the Israelites left the earliest traces of their presence. A

---

20 Cf. *HAL*[3] 739.
21 Cf. Weippert, M. 1974:280.
22 Cf. Bartlett 1989:180-184.
23 Cf. Knauf 1988:106-107.
24 For general studies of the Israelite settlement see Weippert, M. 1967; 1979; Aharoni 1982:153-180; de Geus 1983:216-218; Halpern 1983; Callaway 1985; Kochavi 1985; Mazar, A. 1985; Mazar, B. 1986:35-48; Ahlström 1986:25-36; Finkelstein, I. 1988:65-91; Coote 1990; Mazar, A. 1990:334-338; Edelman 1991; Frendo 1992; Thompson, T. L. 1992.

summary of the archaeology of the area can provide a historical backdrop to the Israelite settlement.

In the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2200-1550) the central hill country enjoyed a period of peace, stability and prosperity. Evidence of this florescence are the remains of the many fortified towns which provided accommodation to the majority of the population.[25] By the middle of the millennium the decline set in and by the end of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550-1200) only a few towns and some scattered hamlets were still inhabited. The hill country had become sparsely settled and economically backward.[26] Especially in Ephraim, the southern half of the Samarian highlands, the situation had deteriorated considerably; only five Late Bronze Age sites are archaeologically attested, as against some sixty from the Middle Bronze period.[27]

The abandonment of many towns did not mean that their role was entirely finished. There is evidence for the continued use of urban cemeteries in the Late Bronze Age. Apparently, the descendants of the former inhabitants wished to bury their dead in a ground hallowed by memory and tradition.[28] A similar phenomenon occurred in connection with some of the urban sanctuaries of the Middle Bronze period. Faunal remains of the Late Bronze period show that the sanctuary of Shiloh, for instance, remained in use for sacrificial purposes—even as the town itself was no longer inhabited.[29] Though the population of the Late Bronze Age Canaanite towns had become nearly completely desedentarized, they did not leave the hill country. Having adopted a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life, they continued to visit the old urban centres for funerary and sacrificial purposes.

The Early Iron Age witnessed a sudden increase of settlements. Whereas in Ephraim only five or six Late Bronze Age sites have been discovered, the Early Iron Age sites run into 120.[30] Sedentarization started in areas conducive to field crops and pasturage, which points to the pastoralist background of the settlers. First the eastern part of the Ephraimite hills was resettled; only later were the western slopes and hills inhabited. The explanation of this phenomenon should probably be sought in the difficulties of deforestation, an obstacle that did not face the settlers on the eastern side. All the Early Iron Age sites were at some distance from the cities; the latter were apparently still inhabited as the process of sedentarization got under way.[31]

---

25 See Mazar, B. 1986:1-34.
26 Gonen 1984.
27 Finkelstein, I. 1988:186-187.
28 Gonen 1981; Finkelstein, I. 1991.
29 Finkelstein, I 1985:166-167; 1988:218-220.
30 Finkelstein, I. 1988:119-204, esp. 185-189; Mazar, A. 1990:335.
31 Cf. Ahlström 1982b.

About half of the new settlements consisted of only a few houses. The other half were small villages and towns. Settlements whose built-up area exceeded one and a half acres, such as Ai and Raddana, did not even make up a fourth of the total figure. Translated in terms of population size this means that only two or three out of ten new settlements had a population exceeding a hundred persons. One of the largest sites could accommodate about eight hundred people.[32] These larger towns were more or less evenly spaced apart; there was often a limited number of small villages and hamlets in their immediate vicinity.[33]

The situation in the more northerly situated region of Manasseh was slightly different. The environment was far more suitable to habitation here than in Ephraim. Twenty-two Late Bronze Age sites are known from Manasseh, as compared to a hundred sites from the Early Iron Age.[34] The settlements were larger than those in Ephraim; about half of them could be characterized as medium-sized villages. Most of the sites are located on the edges of the larger valleys. In some respects the settlement in Manasseh followed the same pattern as in Ephraim: the early sites are concentrated in the east, those in the west representing a secondary stage of the settlement. Here, too, the problems of deforestation are the most likely explanation. The new settlements are found alongside and between the towns from the Late Bronze Age, such as Shechem, Tirzah and Hepher. The population of the latter may be qualified as urban. There is thus a coexistence, and to some degree cohabitation, of an indigenous sedentary element and new groups in the process of sedentarization.[35]

The new settlements in Ephraim and Manasseh have a number of characteristics in common.[36] Most of the towns are unfortified and relatively small. In the larger settlements, such as Raddana, the houses form a pattern of five or six compounds; the large village is organized as a cluster of hamlets.[37] Usually the houses stand in a circle, their entrances facing a common courtyard. The large open spaces within the villages served as livestock paddocks. The architecture is almost completely domestic; it is extremely rare to find remnants of buildings with a public function. Nearly all the houses belong to

---

32 The population size is estimated by multiplying the size of the site by a density factor of 25 persons per dunam (Finkelstein, I. 1988:193). The major site here selected is Ḫirbet Marjama (= Baal-shalishah, 2 Kings 4:42 ?), see Mazar, A. 1976; Zohar 1980; Mazar, A. 1982b:171-174.

33 Finkelstein, I. 1988:192-193.

34 Zertal 1986b.

35 Finkelstein, I. 1988:80-91; Mazar, A. 1990:335.

36 The following account is largely based on Finkelstein, I. 1988:237-291.

37 See Callaway 1985:34; Stager 1985b:18-23.

the 'four-room house' type or its variant the 'three-room house'. This type is usually considered characteristically Israelite, even though it has Middle Bronze Age antecedents and has also been found outside Israel proper. Regarded as specifically Israelite, too, are the so-called 'collared rim' jars, a prevalent type in the pottery of the new settlements. The open areas within the settlements contained small silos that were dug in the ground and could be covered by a stone. The settlers grew grain, but corn cultivation must have been a new skill to them since their houses lacked appropriate storage facilities. Another remarkable feature is the absence of objects or sherds from elsewhere. It shows that the villages were basically self-sufficient and did not engage in trade.

The Sociology of the Early Israelite Settlements

To discover the social structure of the early Israelite settlements, the archaeological data must be supplemented by information extracted from the biblical records. The joint evidence suggests that most of the new settlements were inhabited by one extended family or clan only. Co-residence usually implied, or was construed to imply, consanguinity. It has been observed, in connection with early Israelite society, that

> in early times clan and dwelling-place, which in the conditions of ancient Israel means clan and town, often coincided. We must imagine the numerous townlets of the countryside each preponderantly inhabited by members of the same clan.[38]

Biblical evidence in support of this statement includes the genealogies in which place names are identified with personal names (e.g., 1 Chronicles 7:31). Toponyms often preserve the names of the founding families of the settlements; the pattern is evident in such names as Hazar-Addar (חצר־אדר), 'Enclosure of the Addar family' (Numbers 34:4), Gibeath-Phinehas (גבעת פינחס), 'Hill of the Phinehas family' (Joshua 24:33), Ramathaim-zuphim (רמתים צופים, read רמתים צופים), 'Height of the clan of the Zuphites' (1 Samuel 1:1; cf. 9:5),[39] and Atroth-shophan (עטרת שופן), 'Encampments of the Shophan family' (Numbers 32:35).[40] Interesting, too, are such territorial

---

[38] de Geus 1976:138. Cf. Gottwald 1979:316: the *mišpāḥâ* 'had a vital regional or neighborhood character which might be coextensive with a rural neighborhood, a cluster of small settlements, a single settlement and environs, or a segment of a large settlement.' See also Frick 1989:90.

[39] The *-ayim* ending has probably locative force, see Rainey 1978:5.

[40] Stager 1985b:24 mentions Gath-rimmon, 'Estate of the Rimmon family' (Joshua 19:45) as another instance. Since this place-name occurs already in the Amarna letters (EA 250:46), it cannot be taken as evidence of the Israelite settlement. The name Gath-Hepher

designations as Eretz-shalisha (ארץ־שלשה), 'the land of the Shalishah family' (1 Samuel 9:4; cf. 1 Chronicles 7:37), Eretz-shaalim (ארץ־שעלים), 'the land of the Shual family' (1 Samuel 9:4; cf. 1 Chronicles 7:36), and Eretz-Zuph (ארץ צוף), 'the land of the clan of the Zuphites' (1 Samuel 9:5; cf. 1 Samuel 1:1).[41]

In the Early Iron Age, most Israelite towns will have been dominated by a single family. Ophrah, the unidentified town of Gideon situated near Samaria, is called 'Ophrah of the Abiezrites' (Judges 8:32). The 'men of the town' (*ʾanšê hāʿîr*, Judges 6:27) belonged to the clan of Abiezer of which Joash, Gideon's father, was the head (cf. Judges 6:34).[42] Another case in point is the city of Nob. It was a city of priests (1 Samuel 22:19) under the leadership of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub. Because Saul suspected Ahimelech of having conspired against him, he decided to execute the priest with his entire family (*bêt ʾāb*, 1 Samuel 22:16). As a result, a total of eighty-five priests were killed (1 Samuel 22:18), which probably amounted to the entire male population of the town. If they are referred to as a *bêt ʾāb*, it is because the family of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub enjoyed such prominence that the other inhabitants of the town were thought of as belonging to the same group. What the text calls a 'family' was a clan, i.e., a social unit of putative common descent.[43]

The original coincidence of clan and settlement has led to the survival of clan names in toponyms. In the Samaria ostraca, administrative notices from the beginning of the 8th century BC, seven clan names known from the Bible occur as regional place names.[44] In biblical genealogies, the seven clans in question are said to go back to the children of Manasseh (Joshua 17:2-3; Numbers 26:30-33), Manasseh being known, not only as one of the tribes of Israel, but also as the name of the region around Samaria. The clans that lived in the area gave their names to their respective settlements. Settled social groups, because of their physical immobility, were defined as much by their village as by their lineage, and often no distinction was made between the two.

The close association between clan and town is noticeable as well in the organization of territorial leadership and judicial authority. The Israelite

---

(Joshua 19:13; 2 Kings 14:25) presents a similar case, since Tel Gath-Hepher contains traces of urban settlement of the Late Bronze Age, see Gal 1992:18, 56.

41 Mazar, B. 1986:46-47; Stager 1985b:23-24.

42 Cf. the observations by de Geus 1983:226.

43 For this definition see Sahlins 1968:52. Cf. Westbrook 1991:134-136 who suggests that Ahimelech was the head of 'the house of his father' because its inheritance was still undivided.

44 Rainey 1967; Shea 1977; Kaufman, I. T. 1982; 1992.

towns were largely autonomous units. Theirs was a form of self-government in which the 'men of the town' (*ʾanšê hāʿîr*), that is all the adult male inhabitants, had a say.[45] Leadership lay with the *zĕqēnîm*, the 'elders', also known as *śārîm*, 'chiefs'.[46] Their title suggests that age was the criterion on which they were selected, but this may be misleading. A senator or an alderman is not necessarily advanced in age. Judging by the equivalent terms *ḥōrîm*, 'aristocrats' (1 Kings 21:8.11) and *gĕdōlê hāʿîr*, 'prominent men of the city' (2 Kings 10:1-2), the elders are 'the grown-up men of the powerful families who *de facto* have the power to rule.'[47] They can also be referred to as *nĕdîbîm*, 'nobility'.[48]

The leadership of the elders included judicial authority.[49] In a segmentary society such as ancient Israel, judicial authority was vested in different institutions, each corresponding with a particular level of social organization. Conflicts within the family (the *bêt ʾāb*) were adjudicated by the pater-familias (cf. Genesis 31; 38).[50] At the level of the clan, on the other hand, the peaceful solution of conflicts was the joint concern of the heads of the constituent families. Clans being largely conterminous with towns, disputes between families were presumably adjudicated 'in the gate'. Here 'the men of the town' met in a judiciary council at which the elders presided (cf. Deuteronomy 21:1-9.18-21; 22:13-21; 25:5-10).[51] It was incumbent upon the elders to direct the proceedings in such a way as to negotiate a solution that would have the support of the community. They were acting as 'judges' (*šōpĕṭîm*), a position they assumed when the circumstances demanded it.

The relationship between 'the men of the town' and the elders will have varied. In Succoth, for instance, which reportedly had seventy-seven 'chiefs and elders' (Judges 8:14), it would seem that the elders were conterminous with the family-heads of the town.[52] Yet it can hardly be expected that the families that made up a given clan were consistently equal in size, wealth,

---

45 See Wolf 1947; Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1983:287-322.

46 See Bornkamm 1959; McKenzie, J. L. 1959; Dus 1960; van der Ploeg 1961; Reviv 1989.

47 Pedersen 1926:36.

48 On the existence and the role of the aristocracy in Israel see van der Toorn 1985:102-110.

49 On the judicial system in ancient Israel see Macholz 1972; Weinfeld 1977; Whitelam 1979; Wilson 1983a; 1983b; Niehr 1987.

50 Wilson 1983b:233.

51 For a classical description of the distribution of justice 'in the gate' see Köhler 1953:143-171.

52 McKenzie, J. L. 1959:535 suggests that the 'elders' of Succoth actually consisted of the entire male population. Much depends, of course, on the size of the city. In the city-state of Emar there were at least eighty notables in the Old Babylonian period, see AEM 1/2 (ARM 26), 256:14-15.

and importance. Also in a primarily rural society, some people do better than others. Notwithstanding statements to the contrary, the Israelite clan was not egalitarian.[53] We should therefore reckon with the presence in the clan of leading families, whose heads would naturally predominate in its council; they were the 'elders'. By implication, the circle of 'elders' will normally have been smaller than that of 'the men of the town'.

The predominance of a single family could lead to the eclipse of the elders by the paterfamilias of the leading family. Though formally one of the elders, he would in reality have the position of a local chieftain. Such was the situation in the clan of the Abiezrites which looked upon Gideon as its leader (Judges 6-8). The Hebrew term that corresponds to the function of 'clan leader' or 'spokesman of the elders' is *nāśî'*.[54] A portrait of such a local chieftain has been preserved in the relatively late Book of Job.[55]

> When I went out to the gate of the town,
> and set up my seat in the city square,
> the junior men would see me and withdraw,
> the senior men would rise and stand;
> Chiefs would refrain from speaking,
> putting their hand to their mouth;
> the voices of the leaders would die down,
> and their tongues would cleave to their palate.
> Every ear would hear and bless me,
> every eye would see and approve me,
> when I came to the rescue of the poor who cried,
> of the fatherless who had none to help him.
>
> Job 29:7-12

The passage intimates that the chief did not owe his position to a formal election, but to the general recognition of his superiority. Because of the respect he commanded with the other 'chiefs' (*śārîm*) and 'leaders' (*nĕgîdîm*) of his town, his opinion prevailed and his words carried the greatest weight.

In the early period, the local chief could also be referred as 'the judge' (*šōpēṭ*), as in the Book of Judges. Even up to the days of Isaiah, there was an overlap between the offices of the *šōpēṭ* and the *śar*, the 'leader' (Isaiah 1:23). By extrapolation, the judge was probably also a political and military leader in earlier times. In cities where one of the elders tended to eclipse the others, the 'judge' would be a chief with administrative, judicial, and military

---

53 Cf. Kippenberg 1982[2]:36-37. Contrast the view of Mendenhall 1976:137 and Gottwald 1979:passim (cf. p. 853 s.v. Egalitarianism), who consider the Israelite clans to have been pragmatic and egalitarian.

54 See Thiel 1980:108.

55 On the sociological background of the Book of Job see Albertz 1981.

responsibilities.[56] Such chiefs are presented in the Book of Judges as national figures, leading Israel in battle and seeing their people through some difficult moments. It has long been acknowledged by biblical scholarship, however, that the judges were operating on a more local scale; they seem to have been the heads of their clans.[57] Theirs was not a formal function but a position; some facets of their leadership, such as their military role, were temporary.[58]

Family and Clan

The current Hebrew term for family, *bêt ʾāb* (plural *bêt ʾābôt*),[59] means literally 'the house of the father'.[60] It is the customary view among biblical scholars that it designates the extended family.[61] By common definition, the extended family embraces three to four generations: husband and wife, possibly one or two elderly parents, sons, both married and unmarried, single daughters, grandchildren in the paternal line, and in some cases unmarried uncles, aunts, or cousins. In addition to its consanguineous members, the family included slaves and retainers (e.g., manumitted slaves who had decided to stay with their former master), their wives, and their children, if any. The membership of the *bêt ʾāb*, thus defined, could run into more than fifty persons.[62]

It has been argued, in defiance of the prevailing opinion, that the *bêt ʾāb* refers to the nuclear family of about six or seven individuals.[63] If the *bêt ʾāb* was indeed 'the smallest social unit' in ancient Israel,[64] it is unlikely that it should only designate the extended family. Indeed, there are a number of

---

56 de Geus 1966.

57 See Sapin 1982:10.

58 Cf. Wilson 1983b:240. In exceptional circumstances, the city council could be forced to accept the leadership of someone who did not belong to the native families, but who might secure effective protection against attacks from marauders, see Reviv 1966.

59 Cf. Joüon/Muraoka § 136*n*. The construction **bātê ʾābôt*, used by some authors (e.g., Halpern 1983:242.243), is not found in the Hebrew Bible.

60 For literature on the *bêt ʾāb* see Pedersen 1926:46-60; Causse 1937:15-17; Rost 1938:43-59; Mendelsohn 1948; Elliger 1955; Chamberlayne 1963; Porter 1967; Rodd 1967; Andersen 1969; Weinberg 1973; de Vaux 1976[3].1:37-43; de Geus 1976:133-156; Thiel 1976; Gottwald 1979:285-292; Thiel 1980:110-116; Scharbert 1982; Lemche 1985:245-290; Stager 1985b:18-23; Meyers 1988:128-138; Westbrook 1991:12-14. For comparative purposes the social organization of Arab groups, modern and ancient, is frequently adduced, see Henninger 1943; Tannous 1944; Ashkenazy 1949; Dostal 1956; Scharbert 1958:72-87 (with extensive bibliography); Ammar 1970.

61 Thus, e.g., de Geus 1976:134; Thiel 1980:110; Scharbert 1982:213-237.

62 Gottwald 1979:285: 'a thriving *bēth-ʾāv* might easily comprise from fifty to one hundred persons.'

63 Lemche 1985:245-290; 1988:93-99.

64 So de Geus 1976:134.

texts in which the term *bêt ʾāb* is used for the nuclear family. Thus in Judges 14:19 the term refers to Samson and his parents, a family of just three persons (cf. *vv.* 2, 9). Admittedly, the *bêt ʾābôt* mentioned in the Bible are frequently large. It could be objected, however, that many biblical figures are men of importance who were able to support such households; their families need not be representative of those of ordinary Israelites. To do justice to such considerations, we should not seek to impose our sociological categories upon the Hebrew term. An exhaustive analysis of the usage of *bêt ʾāb* leads to the conclusion that the term can designate the nuclear family, the extended family, or the lineage.[65] The term, in other words, cuts across the current anthropological classifications.

Since the term *bêt ʾāb* is susceptible of different definitions, it is necessary to step back from the lexicographic problem in order to establish the usual family situation of the Israelites. One of the biblical passages providing us with some details about the size and structure of the Israelite household is Leviticus 18:6-16.[66] Though the text does not use the term *bêt ʾāb,* it is directed against acts of promiscuity committed in the context of the Israelite family. The chapter addresses the Israelite male in the prime of his life, head of his family, his aged parents still alive. In a series of injunctions, all sexual contacts with individuals related by kin (*bāśār*, literally 'flesh') are prohibited. Mother, sister, granddaughter, half-sister, maternal aunt, paternal aunt, daughter-in-law, and sister-in-law are listed as illicit sexual partners for a man; father and paternal uncle are prohibited as sexual partners for a woman. On the assumption that the law forbids those contacts for which there were ready occasions, the chapter proves the actual co-residence of the family group.[67] The prohibitions show that the family, comprising up to four generations in the direct line, actually lived together.

The inference from Leviticus 18 appears to be at odds with the statement that 'the main part of the [Israelite] populace consisted of small nuclear families.'[68] It would also seem to contrast with the archaeological evidence which shows that only very few structures in the Early Iron Age settlements were large enough to accommodate an extended family of the size adumbrated in Leviticus 18. The ground plans of excavated Iron Age dwellings indicate that twenty persons was the absolute maximum which a house might accommodate.[69] Pillared houses in the hill country possessed an interior

---

65 Lemche 1985:251-259.
66 See in particular Elliger 1955; Porter 1967.
67 Porter 1967:9.
68 Lemche 1988:93.
69 de Geus 1976:135.

space of less than fifty square metres; for those in the steppe the interior space did not exceed seventy-five square metres.[70] According to ethno-archaeological research on the relation between floor area and household size in traditional societies, about ten square metres of roofed dwelling area is needed per person.[71] This would mean that the average Israelite house could accommodate about four persons: father, mother, and two children.[72] It is physically impossible that a kin-related group of about twenty or so persons would share the same domestic quarters.

If the idea of the extended family as a domestic unit must be abandoned, then, what about the physical proximity of the kin-related persons mentioned in Leviticus 18? New insights into the residential patterns of the ancient Israelites may provide an answer. The archaeology shows that the individual Israelite house was often linked to one or two others by common walls. Though in close contiguity, each house had a separate entrance that could be reached from a courtyard shared by the others. Such clusters of dwellings are characteristic of the residential organization at places like Raddana and Ai. Compounds of this kind from the later Iron Age can be isolated in such settlements as Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell Farᶜah, and Tell en-Naṣbeh. It has been suggested that these compounds were inhabited by an expanded family or a group of interrelated families.[73]

Ethno-archaeological parallels based on modern and early modern Arab residential patterns can be adduced in support of this reconstruction. Some authors point to the phenomenon of the *zaᶜila*, 'joint family', consisting of father, mother, children, wedded sons and their wives and children, unwed paternal aunts, and sometimes even unwed paternal uncles. The *zaᶜila* tends to occupy a compound of dwellings built close together or even attached to one another. The land it owns is farmed collectively; upon the death of the paterfamilias it is divided among the heirs. In agricultural villages, this is the usual organization; in towns and cities the nuclear family is more important.[74]

The description of the Arab joint family matches many of the characteristics generally attributed to the extended family in early Israel. The relatives that make up the *zaᶜila* compare to the persons mentioned in Leviticus 18. When the archaeological evidence is added to the ethno-archaeological evidence and the biblical descriptions, it becomes very likely that the Israelite *bêt*

---

70 Stager 1985b:17-18.
71 Naroll 1962.
72 Stager 1985b:18. Cf. Adams 1981:144.
73 Stager 1985b:18-23.
74 See Stager 1985b:18, 20 (with references to Tannous 1944:537 and Luftiyya 1966:142-143).

ʾāb was often, in fact, an expanded family. Though its members did not live in the same house, they lived in close proximity to each other. Many activities were performed in common; the residents of the multiple family compound formed a unit; they were 'one flesh'.[75]

It is now possible to look afresh at the terminological issue. Though the *bêt ʾāb* can refer to the nuclear family (Judges 14:19), it is usually larger: it includes, in addition to the parents and their children, the spouses of the sons and their offspring, and possibly unmarried relatives, servants, and retainers (Judges 18, cf. 17:5.12; Micah 7:5-6). In most instances, then, the *bêt ʾāb* consisted of a compound of two, three or four houses, in which the brothers 'dwelt together' (Deuteronomy 25:5; Psalm 133:1).[76] The one 'house of the father' consisted of more than one actual house. While it is true that most Israelites lived in small nuclear families, it is equally true that most *bêt ʾābôt* were expanded or joint families. The size of the *bêt ʾāb* will have depended on a number of factors: the fertility of the couple, the health of the children, the presence of male offspring, and last but not least the financial resources of the paterfamilias. The regular clusters of two or three houses, attested for the Early Iron Age, suggest an average of about fifteen persons per *bêt ʾāb*.[77]

A 'house' in the Hebrew terminology is both a social unit and a material structure. To illustrate the two levels of meaning of the term *bayt,* 'house', the story of Micah and the Danites may be quoted (Judges 17-18). The Danites convinced the Levite who was acting as a priest to Micah that it would be preferable for him to be the priest of an entire 'tribe and clan' (*lĕšēbeṭ ûlĕmišpāḥâ*) than of 'the house of one man' (*lĕbêt ʾîš ʾeḥād*, Judges 18:19). The 'house' of one man is clearly a reference to Micah's family. His one 'house' was spread over a number of buildings, though: hence the use of the plural in Judges 18:14 ('Do you know that in these houses there is an ephod with teraphim and a metal-coated image?') for the more usual singular elsewhere (cf. Judges 17:4, according to which the image was 'in the house of Micah'). The relation between the plural and the singular is made explicit in Judges 18:22: Micah's family (i.e., his sons and their families) lived in 'the

---

75 For a description of dwelling patterns of family groups on the basis of some biblical texts see Gottwald 1979:291.

76 Thiel argues (1980:113) that these texts, in their very allusion to the co-residence of the extended family, indicate that the prevailing patterns of dwelling had become based on the nuclear family. They would idealize a past situation. Thiel works on the mistaken assumption, however, that extended family co-residence should occur in undivided dwelling-spaces (1980:110).

77 Cf. the estimated number of about twelve to fourteen persons per extended family in antiquity, see Burch 1972.

houses that were adjacent to (*ʿîm*, i.e., clustered around) the house of Micah'. Since Micah was a man of wealth, his family (his 'house', Judges 18:25) probably comprised a significant number of males, though they were no match for the six hundred men of the tribe of Dan (Judges 18:26, cf. *v.* 11).

The very designation *bêt ʾāb* implies patriarchy.[78] In this respect, the Israelite family reflects the male-dominated character of the ancient Near Eastern world. Women were almost invisible in the Israelite society. Whereas men might be seen discussing in the city gate or at the local sanctuary, it was considered inappropriate to address a woman in the public areas of the city. Only outside the gate, in the fields or at the well, might women be spoken to.[79] The traditional place of the women was at home and in the family. Here too, however, they did not freely mingle with the men of the household. Especially in the upper classes, women had their own quarters in the house, presumably in the upper storey.[80] Like her Babylonian sister, the Israelite woman was expected to remain indoors most of the time. For many hours of the day her principal form of contact with the outer world was visual; through the lattice of the window she could look at life in the streets below.[81]

Leadership within the family lay with the paterfamilias or, should he be too old, his first-born son, the *bĕkôr*. The latter is referred to as the 'brother' or 'eldest brother' by his own generation, and as the *dôd*, 'senior paternal uncle', by the next. David's family was convened by his 'brother' (1 Samuel 20:29); the leadership of Saul's family lay with his *dôd* (1 Samuel 10:14-15), to be identified with Ner the father of Abner and son of Abiel (1 Samuel 14:50-51). In connection with the term *dôd*, it should be noted that it is not a mere equivalent of *ʾaḥi ʾāb*, 'brother of the father', but a designation of the oldest brother of the father having the status of paterfamilias.[82] It is in this capacity that he can act as president at the sacrificial meal of the family (1 Samuel 10:13-16),[83] as director of family burials (Leviticus 10:4; Amos 6:10), and as redeemer (Leviticus 25:49).[84]

---

78 On patriarchy in Israel see Mace 1953:65-75.

79 See de Geus 1995:77.

80 de Geus 1995:80.

81 See Judges 5:28; 1 Samuel 19:12; 2 Samuel 6:16; 2 Kings 13:17; Jeremiah 9:20; Joel 2:9.

82 For discussions of the term *dôd* see Pedersen 1926:74; Stamm 1960; Ap-Thomas 1961; Rodd 1967:20; Sanmartín Ascaso 1977.

83 On his return to Gibeah Saul reports to his *dôd*, not his father. The name of Saul's *dôd* is Ner, a brother of his father and a son of Abiel, according to 1 Samuel 14:49-51. It is perhaps due to the leading position of Ner that he is made the father of Kish and hence the grandfather of Saul in 1 Chronicles 8:33; 9:39.

84 The Hebrew term *dôd* is the etymological correspondent of Amorite *dādum*, and the

The Israelite family was patrilineal and patrilocal. Upon her marriage, the woman adopted the family name of her husband (Isaiah 4:1; Tobit 2:8) and—sometimes after an intermediate stage during which she periodically received her husband in the house of her parents[85]—moved in with her in-laws. Male descendants, whether wedded or unwedded, remained in the family household. It was not until the death of the paterfamilias that the *bêt ʾāb* would normally split: the ancestral estate (*naḥălâ*) was divided between the sons, with a preferential portion for the first-born.[86] If the circumstances did not dictate otherwise, it was the first-born, too, who inherited the family compound and succeeded his father as paterfamilias. The division of the *bêt ʾāb* led usually to the creation of new *bêt ʾābôt*, often located in the vicinity. Only when the arable land grew insufficient to feed the interrelated families was there a need for some of them to move and found a new settlement (sometimes referred to as a 'daughter' settlement) where they could cultivate new land. This situation would repeat itself periodically—though not too often, considering the average of between two and three children per family.

There were firm ties between the *bêt ʾāb* and its *naḥălâ*, inheritance, the term used for the parcel of land that the family owned. The inheritance was the 'inheritance of the fathers' (*naḥălat ʾābôt*, 1 Kings 21:3). It could not simply be sold or exchanged, even if its sale would be to the material advantage of the family (1 Kings 21:1-4). An important reason why the family land was inalienable was that fact that the ancestors were buried there.[87] Upon his death, the Israelite was to be buried 'in the grave of his father (and mother)' (Judges 8:32; 2 Samuel 2:32; 17:23; 19:37; 21:14). Continuation of the cult of the ancestors, hardly less important among the Israelites than among their neighbours, was contingent upon the continued possession of the estate. Attachment to the land was thus inspired not only by sentimental motives, but also by considerations of family piety. The land was more than an economic asset; it represented the family, joining the ancestors with their progeny and objectifying the irreducible bonds of kinship and descent upon which the early Israelite society was founded.[88]

Clan and Tribe

According to Joshua 7:14-18, the *bêt ʾāb* is part of a larger social group called the *mišpāḥâ*. Though the latter term is frequently rendered as 'family'

---

semantic equivalent of Sumerian p a b i l g a.

85 See van der Toorn 1994a:73-74.

86 See Mendelsohn 1959; Henninger 1968; Tsevat 1973.

87 Schaeffer 1915:43. Cf. Westbrook 1991:24-35.

88 Freely after Fortes 1987:125 in an analysis of the Tallensi homestead.

in English, the word 'clan' seems more appropriate.[89] In spite of the occasional parallelism between *bêt ʾāb* and *mišpāḥâ* (Genesis 24:38-41[90]; Exodus 6), the two terms stand for distinct realities.[91] In the social fabric of ancient Israel a central role devolved upon the *mišpāḥâ*. A correct understanding of the term is essential for the reconstruction of the early Israelite society.[92]

In the systematic of Joshua 7:14-18, the *mišpāḥâ* is a collection of related *bêt ʾābôt*. In current anthropological terminology it might be called a 'lineage', i.e., a group of interrelated but autonomous families.[93] The binding element of the lineage group is descent from a common paternal ancestor. If the lineage persists for a sufficient amount of time and thus acquires permanent significance, it becomes a clan. The change in terminology follows from the inevitable doubts surrounding the reality of the kinship claims. The clan in traditional anthropological usage is a unit of putative rather than demonstrable common descent.[94] The Hebrew terminology does not have a one-to-one correspondence with the modern anthropological jargon. By our standards, a large *bêt ʾāb* might be a clan. It would not do, however, to write off the Hebrew terminology for being inconsistent; as a rule, the *bêt ʾāb* designates the joint family, and the *mišpāḥâ* the clan.[95]

The *bêt ʾāb* cannot subsist without the *mišpāḥâ*. Whereas the former is exogamous, the latter tends to be endogamous: most people married outside their immediate family, but inside their clan.[96] Though both biblical and comparative evidence shows that intermarriage did occur between leading families of different clans,[97] clan exogamy remained an exception. Custom encouraged a man to marry a woman from among the girls of his clan (his 'brothers' and his *ʿam*, 'people', Judges 14:3).[98] One of the considerations in favour of endogamy was economic: the marriage money would thus

---

[89] *Pace* Gottwald, whose rejection of the translation 'clan' is based on the idea that the clan is by definition exogamous, which cannot be proven for the *mišpāḥâ* (1979:301, 315). Gottwald concedes, though, that the *mišpāḥâ* was in a variety of ways functionally comparable to the clan (1979:315-318).

[90] See on the terminology used here Westbrook 1991:21-22.

[91] *Pace* Pedersen 1926:47 who states that there is no sharp distinction between the two; though perhaps not sharp, the distinction is real enough.

[92] For literature on the *mišpāḥâ* see, in addition to the studies mentioned in note 60, Rogerson 1978:86-101; Gottwald 1979:257-284; Thiel 1980:101-105; Halpern 1983:242-244; Levine, B. E. 1983; Zobel 1986; Meyers 1988:126-128.

[93] See, e.g., Sahlins 1968:15.

[94] Sahlins 1968:52.

[95] For the Hebrew terminology see Wolf 1946a; 1946b.

[96] de Geus 1976:135-137; cf. also the discussion by Gottwald 1979:301-315, who emphasizes that the Israelite *mišpāḥâ* was not exogamous.

[97] See Scharbert 1958:82 and n. 37.

[98] Cf. Neufeld 1944:138.

remain within the clan;[99] so would the paternal inheritance of orphaned women (Numbers 36:1-12).[100] Hardly less important, perhaps, was the social motive. The choice of a marriage partner followed the principle that the woman should not be too far removed from the family of the man, lest she introduce foreign elements. In practice this meant that marriage partners tended to belong to the same social group, in terms of both clan and class.[101] Also geographical proximity played a role: men were likely to marry a girl from their town or neighbourhood; since town or neighbourhood were usually coextensive with the clan, the marriage was likely to be within the clan as well. In the post-exilic era, endogamy acquired religious value. The virtuous Israelite married within his or her tribe (*fylē*) and lineage (*patría, sperma tēs patrias*, Judith 8:2; Tobit 1:9; 3:15; 4:12-13; 7:12).

The clan had to defend the interests of its constituent families.[102] The practice of the redemption of land is a case in point. Each family had the usufruct of a *naḥălâ*, a plot of land considered to be its ancestral inheritance. Under normal circumstances, the family lived off its land; in times of penury, though, it could be forced to sell the land. Should this come to pass, it was incumbent upon the nearest kin in the clan to buy it, according to the custom of the *gĕʾullâ*. Because the buyer, known as the 'redeemer' (*gōʾēl*), belonged to the clan, the land remained within the kinship group (Jeremiah 32:6-15). For the same reason, members of the *mišpāḥâ* had both the right and the duty to redeem the land of their 'brothers' that had been sold to outsiders (Leviticus 25:48). The *mišpāḥâ* ultimately bore responsibility for enforcing the right of vengeance (2 Samuel 14:7). The clan was a body with a corporate responsibility in juridical and ethical matters (Leviticus 20:5; 25:10.41; Numbers 27:11). In addition to these functions, the clan periodically engaged in religious community rituals (see 1 Samuel 20:6.29; cf. Exodus 12:21; Zechariah 12:12-14; Esther 9:28).[103]

Perhaps the core element of cohesion in the clan was the common title to the land. Though the ancestral real estate was linked to the *bêt ʾāb*, the outer limit of the right of inheritance was the *mišpāḥâ*. If a man died childless, his land passed to his nearest relative in the *mišpāḥâ* (Numbers 27:8-11). The relationship between the family and its *naḥălâ*, as compared to that of the clan and the *naḥălâ*, is perhaps best expressed by saying that the *bêt ʾāb* had

---

99 On the significance of the *mōhar* see Burrows 1938.

100 Cf. Gottwald 1979:265-267.

101 Cf. Pedersen 1926:64.

102 Cf. Gottwald's definition (1979:257) of the *mišpāḥâ* as a 'protective association of families' and a 'community of shared interests'.

103 See also Zobel 1986:91-92.

the usufruct of its parcel, whereas the *mišpāḥâ* owned it. What was inherited by the son was the land's possession, not its ownership.[104] As a corporate group, the clan had shared access to certain facilities, such as a communal cistern, a threshing floor, and a winepress, all implements whose possession would be somewhat of a luxury for the individual family. The system has been compared with that of the *musha* in the modern Middle East, based on the communal property of the land which is allotted every two years. The parallel has no probative value, but it is suggestive of the possible customs prevailing in the clan system.[105]

Since the common ties to the land were so important a factor in the *mišpāḥâ*, the clan was necessarily limited in size and mobility. The distance between the land which a family farmed and the place where it lived could not be too great, lest the time spent in traveling exceed the time spent labouring. Since a minimum amount of land is needed per person for subsistence, the *mišpāḥâ* could not grow indefinitely. The estimated figure for the population of a farming village in the later Iron Age is between three hundred and five hundred persons.[106] In the Early Iron Age settlements a figure of between a hundred and two hundred persons seems reasonable.[107] If the entire village were part of the *mišpāḥâ*, as often happened, the ordinary clan would not comprise more than five hundred persons, children, slaves, and retainers included.[108] Members of the clan would normally be tied to its main settlement because of their links with the land. Absence from the settlement was exceptional and usually temporary; for important events one returned to one's town of origin (cf. 1 Samuel 20:29).

One of the differences in connotation between *bêt ʾāb* and *mišpāḥâ* is the diachronic dimension of the former and the synchronic dimension of the latter. The difference is one of nuance, though: the *bêt ʾāb* is also a synchronic reality, just as the *mišpāḥâ* is diachronic reality as well. Yet when the emphasis lies on descent from a famous ancestor the favourite term is *bayt*, 'house, family, dynasty'. Josiah is from the 'house' of David (1 Kings 13:2); one would hardly say that he is from the 'clan' of the Davidides (but cf. Jeremiah 33:24, with a reference to the *mišpāḥâ* of David). Likewise, the descendants of Jonadab ben Rechab constitute 'the house of the Rechabites'

---

104 On the undivided inheritance see Westbrook 1991:118-141.

105 See de Geus 1983:220-225.

106 Cf. Köhler 1953:56-57.

107 Stager 1985b:23.

108 By this count, the clan of the Abiezrites was exceptionally large, since Gideon is said have commanded three hundred men (Judges 7:8; 8:4), which would mean a total population figure of well over a thousand. The figure of three hundred may be fictive, though, *pace* Thiel 1980:122 n. 44.

(Jeremiah 35:2.3); they are never referred to as a *mišpāḥâ*. The latter term, on the other hand, is used in the post-exilic period for guilds or corporations of craftsmen living in close proximity to each other (1 Chronicles 4:21).[109] Co-residence is essential to the *mišpāḥâ*; it lies at the basis of the extension of the term in post-exilic times.[110]

The role of the *mišpāḥâ* in ancient Israel, especially in the time before and during the early monarchy, was important. It is not true that 'its influence on the daily life of its members is quite limited.'[111] The individual Israelite may not have had his clan foremost in his mind; yet it is through his clan that he found his social, juridical, and religious identity. Certainly in the early period the nation did not play that role. The people with whom the individual identified were not his compatriots; his 'people' (*ʿam*) were primarily the members of his clan.[112] When the woman from Shunem assured Elisha that she was perfectly happy because she lived 'among (her) own people' (*bĕtōk ʿammî*, 2 Kings 4:13), she was not alluding to her nationality but to the fact that she was surrounded by her clan, and thus well-protected.[113] Likewise, when the young girls from Ramah told Saul that their people (*ʿam*) had a sacrificial meal (*zebaḥ*), they were referring to their clan (1 Samuel 9:12). The priest who had to marry a girl 'from his own people' (*mēʿammāyw*) had to marry inside his clan (Leviticus 21:14).[114]

An interesting example of the use of the—by itself very general—term *ʿam* in the sense of 'clan' is found in the story of the seduction of Dinah (Genesis 34). Shechem, the seducer of Dinah, was a son of Hamor, the chief man (*nāśîʾ*) of the 'land' (*ʾereṣ*), that is the territory, of the city of Shechem (Genesis 34:2). At the bidding of his son, Hamor tried to convince Jacob of the advantages of a connubium between the two families. They would become 'one people' (*ʿam ʾeḥād*, Genesis 34:16, 22), that is one clan. The mutual advantages of the fusion of two clans into one is the extension of the pool of marriage partners (Genesis 34:9, 16, 21) and the increase of the common property, consisting in land, livestock and cattle (Genesis 34:10, 23). Indeed, the clan is endogamous—whereas the family is exogamous—and shares the ownership of the territory. The clan of which Hamor is the chief is conterminous with 'the men of the city' (Genesis 34:20), an indication of the actual identity of clan and city. If *ʿam* in this story refers to

---

109 de Vaux 1976³.1:120-121.

110 Cf. Causse 1937:18 'Le lien du sol tend à remplacer le lien du sang.'

111 *Pace* Lemche 1988:96.

112 On the *ʿam* as a consanguineous unit, see Halpern 1981:194-198.

113 Cf. Weinfeld 1977:68. Shunem, a border town in the territory of Issachar (Joshua 19:18), belonged to Israel (cf. 2 Kings 8:1-6).

114 Cf. Elliger 1966:290. Note that the LXX reads ἐκ τοῦ γενους αὐτοῦ.

a clan, it may well do so too in the Book of Ruth. When Ruth identifies with her widowed mother-in-law's 'people' (Ruth 1:15), she does so in response to the injunction to go to the 'house' of her own mother (Ruth 1:8); the contrast between Ruth's *bêt ʾēm* and Naomi's *ʿam* suggests that the latter designates the clan.

In early Israelite society, the principal forms of organization were the joint family and the clan; they constituted the social world of the individual, the milieu in which he moved.[115] The larger unit of the 'tribe'[116] was less significant a factor in the daily life.[117] A comparison of the roles of the clan and the tribe will readily illuminate this point. The clan has its judiciary—not so the tribe. When dissatisfied with the judicial proceedings at the level of the clan, one had to ask the king to intervene (2 Samuel 14:4-11; 15:1-6; 2 Kings 8:1-6) since there was no court of appeal at the level of the tribe. The clan engaged in corporate rituals (1 Samuel 20:6.21)—not so the tribe. All the local sanctuaries mentioned in the Bible or discovered by archaeologists appear to have been clan or town sanctuaries. Though sometimes attracting worshippers from villages in the region, they were never designed as tribal centres of worship. Nor can the existence of amphictyonic sanctuaries, serving the needs of a confederation of tribes and supported by them, be convincingly demonstrated.[118]

A majority of scholars agree that the genealogical model imposed on the tribal system is a fiction; the very variations in the names of the tribes, as well as the uncertainties whether a given group is a tribe or a clan, demonstrate the artificiality of the system. The tribal names are first of all territorial indications: names such as Ephraim, Judah, and Naphtali are originally not personal but geographical.[119] Those tribal names which are derived from anthroponyms, such as Manasseh, might still owe their use as a tribal designation to the fact that they had come to be associated with certain territories. Tribal identity, then, though expressed in terms of consanguinity, is primarily based on territorial co-residence. This means, as a matter of course, that

---

115 Cf. Mendenhall 1976:144: '... peasant societies beyond the immediate kin or village group tend to be nonexistent ....'

116 On the imprecision of the term see Rogerson 1978:86-101.

117 The amount of literature on the Israelite tribes is staggering. Among the more important publications see de Geus 1976; Thiel 1976; Gottwald 1979:245-256; Thiel 1980:105-110; Halpern 1983:109-183; Lemche 1985:274-285; Levin 1995. All these works contain more or less extensive bibliographies on the subject.

118 See, e.g., Thiel 1980:108-109. The failure of the hypothesis of pre-monarchic Israel as a tribal league has been demonstrated by de Geus 1976 and Lemche 1985. See also Engel 1983.

119 Thiel 1976:156-157; Ahlström 1986:37-43.

the tribal system is in no way 'nomadic' or 'semi-nomadic': it could hardly have come into existence before the Israelite settlement.[120]

Summary

The archaeological and textual study of early Israelite society shows that the expanded or joint family and the clan were the most prominent forms of social organization. They usually coincided with the resident groups of the modest Early Iron Age settlements in the central hill country. Except for the one reference to Israel in the Merneptah stela (whose interpretation is admittedly difficult), the only evidence for the existence of effective social structures at the level above the clan (such as the tribe or the nation) is literary. It is widely assumed to be an interpretation of geographical realities in terms of genealogical connections. In correspondence with the sociological picture of early Israel, the predominant forms of the early Israelite religion were presumably those of family religion.

120 See, e.g., Meyers 1983.

CHAPTER NINE

A HIDDEN HERITAGE: THE ISRAELITE CULT OF THE DEAD

Most of the early Israelites were originally uprooted Canaanites. Though their culture gradually developed specifically Israelite traits, the early forms of their architecture and pottery reflect continuity with the older Canaanite period. Also in respect to their religious culture, the Early Iron Age settlers of the hill country were the heirs of the West Semitic religious traditions as reflected in the texts from Ugarit and Sam'al. Since the family religion which is adumbrated in these texts by and large conforms to the Old Babylonian family religion, early Israelite family religion can be regarded as a variant of ancient Semitic family religion in general; which means that it consisted, like family religion elsewhere in the Semitic world, of an ancestor cult and the devotion to a local god. This chapter will explore and analyse the characteristics of the early Israelite ancestor cult.

Patrilineal Inheritance and the Cult of the Ancestors

Although the biblical records have largely been cleansed of references to a cult of the dead, the social framework within which this cult had its function has left its imprint on a multitude of passages. Family, descent and patrilineal inheritance are key notions in many a narrative. Thus the originally unconnected traditions about Abraham and Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph have been joined together by a fictitious genealogy: the one patriarch is presented as the son and heir of the other. The common inheritance is the divine blessing of Abraham, programmatically stated in Genesis 12:2 ('I will make you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great ...'). This blessing is described as though it were a mysterious endowment bringing fortune and success to its possessors.[1] At Abraham's death, God transferred the blessing to Isaac (Genesis 25:11, ברך pi^{c}el), and Isaac in turn transmitted it to Jacob (ברך pi^{c}el, Genesis 27:27-29). Of the twelve sons of Jacob it was Joseph who eventually inherited the patriarchal blessing (Genesis 39:2-6). The blessing, passing from father to son to grandson, constituted the link between the generations.

---

[1] Cf. Scharbert 1973:829-832, 836-838.

In the patriarchal narratives the ancestral blessing fulfils the role that normally devolves upon the ancestral estate. The ancestral estate was the concrete blessing which successive patrilineal generations inherited. It was the 'inheritance of the fathers' (*naḥălat ʾābôt*, 1 Kings 21:3), and as such sacred property. To sell it to someone outside the family, even though he be the king himself, would amount to a religious offence, as the story of Naboth's vineyard exemplifies (1 Kings 21:1-4). One of the customs designed to prevent the alienation of the ancestral estate was the 'levirate marriage'. If a man died without leaving a son, his wife was not allowed to marry outside the family. One of her husband's kinsmen had to take her as his wife, and their first son was reckoned as the son of the dead husband himself. The procedure was designed to keep the land in the family.[2] By the same token, the name of the deceased was to be kept alive (cf. Deuteronomy 25:6). The two goals were intimately related owing to the fact that the dead were buried 'with their fathers' in the tract of land inherited by the family (Judges 8:32; 2 Samuel 2:32; 17:23; 19:37; 21:14; 2 Maccabees 12:39). If the family parted with the land, then, it would abandon its dead.

The intimate link between the land and the ancestors has left traces in many of the Palestinian toponyms. A fair number of both Canaanite and Israelite place names were originally personal names. The sites Jiphthahel (יפתחאל, some eight kilometres east of Nazareth, Joshua 19:12, 14), Jezreel (יזרעאל, Joshua 19:18, modern Zerin), Ibleam (יבלעם, Joshua 17:11-12; Judges 1:27, between Ephraim and the Jezreel valley), Jokneam (יקנעם, in the Jezreel valley), and Jokmeam (יקמעם, 1 Chronicles 6:53[68], in Ephraim) are all anthroponyms in origin.[3] If Judah is included in the survey such place names as Joktheel (יקתאל, Joshua 15:38, near Lachish; perhaps the same town as Jekuthiel, 1 Chronicles 4:18), Jokdeam (יקדעם, Joshua 15:56, in the south-central hill country of Judah) and Jekabzeel (יקבצאל, or Kabzeel, in southern Judah, Nehemiah 11:25) could be added.[4] These places were

---

2 By marrying the wife of his deceased brother, and providing her with offspring, a man acted contrary to his own interests, for he forfeited the inheritance of his brother to the son born of the levirate union. This may have been a consideration in the Deuteronomic legislation, where it is stipulated that an indispensable requirement for the performance of the levirate duty was that brothers should dwell together on the unpartitioned family estate (Deuteronomy 25:5-10; see Davies, E. W. 1981). A similar concern to that of the Israelite Levirate marriage is reflected in the inheritance texts from Emar, see Arnaud 1987, 16:31-33; Tsukimoto 1991, 23:38. Compare the testamentary text from Nuzi in which the heir is forbidden to give the property *ana* ^{lú}*na-ka$_4$-ri*, see Lacheman 1976, 2:35 [IM 6818:35].

3 Jiphthahel means 'May-El-open(-the-womb)'; Jezreel, 'May-El-produce-seed'; Ibleam, 'May-the-Ancestor-...'; Jokneam, 'May-the-Ancestor-Create(-Offspring)'; Jokmeam, 'May-the-Ancestor-Establish (scil. the family line)'.

4 Joktheel and Jokdeam are of uncertain meaning, cf. Borée 1930:99-100. Jekabzeel means 'May-El-gather'.

apparently named after the ancestors whom later inhabitants believed had lived there. Their personal name was connected with their inheritance, presumably because their veneration played a role in the tradition of the population of these towns.

The concern for the survival of the name of the dead was deeply rooted in the mind of the early Israelites. To die without leaving a son was feared as a major misfortune. If there was no male offspring, a man had to take proper measures to ensure that the regular rites of commemoration would nevertheless be performed after his death. An anecdote about Absalom provides an illustration.

> During his lifetime Absalom had taken a pillar and erected it for himself in the King's Valley, for he thought, 'I have no son to invoke my name.' He named the pillar after himself, and it is called Absalom's monument to this day.[5]
>
> 2 Samuel 18:18

The text, referring to a 10th century BC Judahite practice, bears a close resemblance to the funerary rituals known from the Ugaritic and the Sam'alite texts. The parallel with the Duties of a Son in the Aqhat Epic suffices to show that Absalom's pillar was not to take the place of a son; it was the duty of the son to erect his father's pillar, and it is this task which Absalom took upon himself. Once the pillar was erected, the role of the son would be 'to invoke the name' (*lĕhazkîr šēm*) of his father. The analogy with the Sam'alite funerary inscription, in which successors to the king are enjoined to invoke the name of the dead Panammu, is not fortuitous.[6] The practice was known all over the Semitic world: one of the core duties of the living was to 'invoke' their ancestors.

In the texts from Babylonia, Ugarit, Emar, and Sam'al it is clear that the invocation of the dead was not limited to a verbal rite; the invocation was also an invitation to eat and to drink. To judge by the interdiction of offerings to the dead in Deuteronomy 26:14, the custom of offering food to the dead was not unknown in Israel. The Book of Deuteronomy was written by Ephraimite religious scholars during their Judaean exile after the fall of Samaria in 721 BC.[7] Many of the Deuteronomic polemics are addressed

---

[5] *wĕ'Abšālōm lāqaḥ wayyaṣṣeb-lô bĕḥayyāw 'et-maṣṣebet 'ăšer bĕ'ēmeq-hammelek kî 'āmar 'ên-lî bēn ba'ăbûr hazkîr šĕmî wayyiqrā' lammaṣṣebet 'al-šĕmô wayyiqqārē' lāh yád 'Abšālōm 'ad hayyôm hazzeh.* It is difficult to reconcile this information with 2 Samuel 14:27.

[6] For the Sam'alite phraseology see the section on the cult of the ancestors in Chapter Seven. An allusion to the idiom is perhaps to be found in Psalm 49:12, see Smith, M. S. 1993.

[7] For the provenance and ideological setting of the Book of Deuteronomy see Chapter Fourteen.

against native Israelite practices. Sacrifices to the dead were among these. At the payment of the tithe to the temple administration, Israelites had to make a formal statement about the ritual purity of their contribution:

> I have not eaten from it while in mourning, nor have I removed any of it while I was unclean, nor have I given any of it to the dead.[8]
>
> Deuteronomy 26:14

This declaration of innocence derives its sense from the practices it prohibits: feeding the dead with portions taken from the daily food of the living was a familiar custom to the audience of the Deuteronomists. Nor have the Deuteronomists been successful in eradicating the practice entirely. The 2nd century BC injunction to 'place one's bread on the grave of the righteous' (Tobit 4:17) shows that, centuries after the Deuteronomists, the piety toward the dead of some Jews still followed the time-honoured patterns.[9]

The Deuteronomic prohibition of food offerings to the dead is mentioned in one breath with the practice of the funeral repast in which the living participated. The phrase 'I have not eaten from it while in mourning' alludes to the banquet that was celebrated in connection with the burial of the dead. According to Jeremiah 16:6-8 this banquet was part of the normal funeral rites.

> Both great ones and small ones shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, nor shall they lament for them. People will not incise themselves or shave themselves bald for them. And they shall not break bread[10] on the occasion of the mourning,[11] to comfort him for the dead; nor shall they give them the cup of consolation to drink for his father or his mother. You shall not enter the bar to sit with them to eat and to drink.[12]

Some of these practices are denounced in the Book of Deuteronomy as incompatible with the privileged position of the Israelites as 'children to Yahweh' (Deuteronomy 14:1-2). The reason for their prohibition must be sought in the purpose of the rites: they were not merely expressions of grief,

---

[8] *lō᾽-᾽ākaltî bĕ᾽ōnî mimmennû wĕlō᾽-bi῾artî mimmennû bĕṭāmē᾽ wĕlō᾽-nātattî mimmennû lĕmēt.*

[9] The saying is to be compared with Syriac Aḥiqar (no. 10) which reads 'My son, pour out your wine on the graves of the righteous.' For a study of the saying see Greenfield 1990:199-201. See also Jesus Sirach 30:18 'Good things poured out upon a mouth that is closed are like offerings of food placed upon a grave.'

[10] Reading *leḥem* instead of MT *lāhem*, cf. LXX ἄρτος.

[11] Cf. the reference to the 'bread of mourning' (*leḥem ᾽ônîm*) in Hosea 9:4 (and Ezekiel 24:17.22, according to the emended text) which renders those who touch and eat it impure.

[12] Jeremiah 16 [6] *ûmētû gĕdōlîm ûqĕṭannîm bā᾽āreṣ hazzō᾽t lō᾽ yiqqābērû wĕlō᾽-yispĕdû lāhem wĕlō᾽ yitgōdad wĕlō᾽ yiqqārēaḥ lāhem* [7] *wĕlō᾽-yiprĕsû leḥem ῾al-᾽ēbel lĕnaḥămô ᾽al-mēt wĕlō᾽ yašqû ᾽ôtām kôs tanḥûmîm ῾al-᾽ābîw wĕ῾al-᾽immô* [8] *ûbêt-mišteh lō᾽-tābô᾽ lāšebet ᾽ittām* (MT *᾽ôtām*) *le᾽ĕkōl wĕlištôt.*

but attempts to bring about a ritual communion between the living and the dead. The living tried to reinvigorate the dead by infusing them with the substances that symbolized their own life: their hair, their blood, and their food. Such rites of *Selbstminderung* were ultimately meant to transfer a part of the vitality of the living to the deceased.[13]

The declaration of innocence prescribed by Deuteronomy 26:14, then, connects the offerings to the dead with the funeral meal of the living. Sacrificial rites in which the living and the dead conjointly participated are also alluded to in Psalm 16. In accordance with their preternatural state, the dead are referred to in this psalm as the 'holy ones' (*qĕdôšîm*) in the earth, that is, the nether world.[14]

> I have said to Yahweh: You are my Lord! I have nothing of value beside you.
> As for the holy ones who are in the underworld, the mighty ones ..... (...)
> I shall not bring their libations of blood, nor take their names on my lips.
> Yahweh is my allotted portion and my cup; you hold my lot.
> The lines have fallen for me in pleasant places, yea, my inheritance pleases me.[15]

The poet reacts against rituals for the dead in which libations were brought and the names of the dead were invoked. Whether blood was the actual substance of such libations may be doubted. Though the allusion is perhaps to acts of self-mutilation to make one's blood drip upon the grave, it is quite as likely that the substance of the libation is merely compared to blood. The mention of the 'portion' (*mĕnāt*) and 'cup' (*kôs*) of the poet suggests that he is thinking of a ritual in which the living enjoyed food (meat) and beverage (wine) as well. These are rites of communion with the dead by means of mutual ingestion.

A careful analysis of the relevant passage of Psalm 16 reveals the ideology behind the communion meals with the dead. In rather insistent manner, the poet uses the language ordinarily associated with the family inheritance. He speaks about his 'inheritance' (*naḥălâ*), his 'portion' (*ḥĕleq*), and his 'lot' (*gôrāl*); the 'lines' (*ḥăbālîm*) by which the limits of the family land were established have fallen for him 'in pleasant places' (*bannĕʿimîm*). The

---

13 *Pace* Spronk 1986:246-247, who emphasizes that the rites were an identification with the dead; their prohibition would be due to their association with the cult of Baal.

14 For ארץ in the sense of 'underworld' see Tsumura 1988:260. Note also the Ugaritic expression *rpỉ ʾarṣ*, 'the Rephaim of the underworld', in *KTU* 1.15 iii 3, 14.

15 Psalm 16 2 *ʾāmart* (read: *ʾāmartî*) *laYHWH ʾădōnāy ʾāttâ ṭôbātî bal-ʿālêkā* 3 *liqĕdôšîm ʾăšer-bāʾāreṣ hēmmâ wĕʾaddîrê* .... (text too corrupt for translation) 4 ... *bal ʾassîk niskêhem middām ûbal-ʾeśśāʾ ʾet-šĕmôtām ʿal-śĕpātāy* 5 *YHWH mĕnāt-ḥelqî wĕkôsî ʾattâ tômîk gôrālî* 6 *ḥăbālîm nāpĕlû-lî bannĕʿimîm ʾap-naḥălāt* (read *naḥălātî*) *šāpĕrâ ʿālay*.

terminology of inheritance and land allotment is used here metaphorically, however. The inheritance the poet claims to possess is spiritual: it is Yahweh himself. The man who is speaking here is a temple servant; as a priest he had 'no portion or inheritance with Israel'; Yahweh was his portion and inheritance (Deuteronomy 18:1-2; Numbers 18:20; Ezekiel 44:28-30)—which means that he lived off the income of the temple cult.

The use of the terminology of inheritance in combination with a polemic against the ancestor cult confirms the intimate link between the possession of the family inheritance and the cult of the family dead. By their sepulture in the family land, it was clear that the ancestors owned that land. Their offspring had received it from them; in a sense, the children lived off their forebears. By forsaking the cult of the ancestors (i.e., by not offering the libations due to the dead, and by failing to invoke their names), the living would lose the moral right to their land. Family estate, ancestral graves, and ancestor cult were closely intertwined realities; they could not very well be disentangled. For the layman whose portion and inheritance consisted of a solid piece of land, the cult of dead kin was one of the main duties of family religion; it was his way of asserting his title to the land. For the welfare of his family, he would be well-advised not to neglect the cult of his ancestors.

The Periodicity of the Offerings to the Dead

Having established the existence of an Israelite ancestor cult, we may proceed to investigate the periodicity of the rites in honour of the dead. A study of the Babylonian material yields evidence of a monthly ritual during the time of the moon's invisibility (the so-called interlunium). On this occasion, families came together for a festive banquet which included offerings to the ancestors. Once a year, moreover, the Babylonians celebrated a kind of All Souls' Day. Presumably owing to the hazards of our documentation, the texts from Ugarit and Sam^{3}al contain no reference from which a comparable calendar might be reconstructed. The sources on early Israelite religion are both more diverse and profuse than those from Ugarit and Sam^{3}al; in spite of their theological bias, they may contain references or allusions to the calendrical setting of the sacrificial meals for, and in communion with, the dead.

One of the most promising avenues of investigation concerning the calendrical setting of Israelite family rituals is the study of 1 Samuel 20. The chapter contains an episode of the story of Saul and David, situated in the time when David was still one of Saul's courtiers. The narrator explains that David, knowing the hostile intentions of his master, wanted to stay out of Saul's sight. As the *ḥodeš* approached, however, he was expected to join in

the banquet (*leḥem*) for the royal family (1 Samuel 20:5, 18, 24-26).[16] The banquet had a ritual character: the table arrangement was fixed (*v.* 25) and participants were to be ritually clean (*v.* 26). David's presence was tacitly taken for granted, which underscores the conventional nature of the ceremony. At the end of the month, so this passage suggests, it was common to have the family come together for a meal in which domestic servants were expected to join as well.

To justify his absence at the table of his master and father-in-law, David pretended that he had family obligations in Bethlehem, his home town. His excuse shows that at least once a year the monthly family banquet required the presence of all family members who could not attend the gatherings on a regular basis. The special occasion was referred to as the 'annual (or periodical) sacrificial meal for the entire clan' (*zebaḥ hayyāmîm lĕkol-hammišpāḥâ*, 1 Samuel 20:6). Jonathan had to tell his father that David had been summoned by his brother to come home for this event (*v.* 29). The coincidence of the *ḥodeš* and the *zebaḥ hayyāmîm* does not mean that the *ḥodeš* itself was an annual event.[17] It merely shows that the date of the annual clan meal was variable. It was fixed from year to year, in such a way as to coincide with one of the *ḥodeš* periods.

Before we discuss the nature of the 'sacrificial meal for the entire clan' and its connection with the ancestor cult, the calendrical significance of the word *ḥodeš* needs to be established. It is generally held that the word refers to the new moon or, more precisely, to 'the day on which the lunar crescent becomes visible again' (*HAL*[3] 282-283); since this moment marked the beginning of the month, *ḥodeš* came to mean 'month' by extension. Neither meaning, however, fits the use of *ḥodeš* in 1 Samuel 20. According to *v.* 5 David intended to hide himself during the *ḥodeš*, due to begin the next day, 'till the third evening' (cf. *v.* 12). Though *šĕlišît* is often regarded as a textual corruption,[18] the details of our story suggest that the feast which was celebrated on the occasion of the *ḥodeš* continued at least a second and a third day.[19] Verse 27 speaks of 'the second day of the *ḥodeš*' [20] and *vv.* 19 and 20 refer to 'the third day (of the *ḥodeš*)'.[21] If *ḥodeš* should have its

---

16 The proposed emendation of *yāšōb-ʾēšēb* into *yāšōb lōʾ-ʾēšēb* in *v.* 5 (Driver 1913[2]:161, following Wellhausen 1871, cf. LXX) is based on the assumption that the *ḥodeš* lasted but one day.

17 *Pace* Caquot 1960:11-12.

18 See, e.g., Driver 1913[2]:161-162, 164; Stoebe 1973:376.

19 McCarter 1980:341.

20 *Pace* Stoebe 1973:169, who admits that *haḥodeš haššēnî* is grammatically correct, but proposes to read *haḥodeš bayyôm haššēnî*.

21 See McCarter 1980:337-338.

generally assumed meanings, the author would have shifted from the meaning 'new moon' to the meaning 'month' within the span of a few verses. Such a sudden shift is quite unlikely.

In 1 Samuel 20, *ḥodeš* is best interpreted as the Hebrew equivalent of the Akkadian *bubbulum*, the interlunium.[22] Several biblical passages concerning the *ḥodeš* in the First Temple period support this solution. They show that the days of the *ḥodeš*, like those of the *bubbulum* in Babylonia, were considered unpropitious for business activities. According to the prophet Hosea, accumulated riches could be devoured by the *ḥodeš* (Hosea 5:7). Originally for fear of unlucky consequences, commercial transactions were interrupted during this period (Amos 8:5). Similar to the *bubbulum* days, the *ḥodeš* was a period of increased ritual activity. People might benefit from the interruption of their daily work by paying a visit to a religious specialist such as Elisha, as illustrated by the remark of the husband of the woman from Shunem ('Why are you going to (the man of God) today? It is neither *ḥodeš* nor sabbath,' 2 Kings 4:23). The few days off were frequently spent in religious feasts (Isaiah 1:13; Hosea 2:13).

Unlike the Babylonian *bubbulum*, the Israelite *ḥodeš* is generally thought to fall at the beginning of the month, not at its end. The grounds for this common assumption are not very solid. In fact, both the early computation of days, from morning to morning, and the transfer of the Maṣṣôt-Festival from the 15th (Leviticus 23:6) to the 14th of the first month (Exodus 12:8), suggest that the Israelites used to follow the Egyptian custom of counting the months beginning from the disappearance of the last quarter of the moon.[23] In the early calendrical system, the interlunium was considered the official beginning of the month. The habit of counting the month beginning from the appearance of the new moon is a later development. The Akkadian expression *rēš warḫim* shows that the Babylonians also associated the 'beginning of the month' with the interlunium.[24] The story of 1 Samuel 20 would indeed make better sense if *ḥodeš* referred to the interlunium rather than to the first quarter of the moon.

In order to compare the rites of the Israelite *ḥodeš* with those of the Mesopotamian *bubbulum*, descriptive data dealing with the Israelite side of the matter are needed. The only passage alluding to festivities that are explicitly said to occur during the *ḥodeš* is 1 Samuel 20. The details given in the text concerning the 'sacrificial meal for the entire clan' are few, however. What we learn from the passage is that there was a communal meal at which

---

22 See the section on 'The Care and Feeding of the Ancestors' in Chapter Three.

23 See de Vaux 1976[3].1:278-279.

24 See Whiting 1987:62-63; Durand, *NABU* 1987, 73.

meat was eaten (the *zebaḥ*); that the 'entire clan' (*kol hammišpāḥâ*) had to be present; that it was celebrated in Bethlehem, the home town of David, presumably because this was the place where the clan had its inherited land in which the ancestors lay buried; and that David had been summoned by his brother, even though his father was still alive (1 Samuel 20:29; 22:3), which suggests that one of David's brothers—presumably the eldest—acted as the paterfamilias of his clan. On the basis of these data, it has been suggested that the *ḥodeš* clan sacrifice was in fact 'the occasion on which genealogical accounts were employed to invoke the names of dead ancestors.'[25] The hypothesis certainly fits the pattern of the ancestor cult elsewhere in the ancient Near East.

To illuminate the nature of the clan festivities mentioned in 1 Samuel 20, the data there obtained may be compared to the account of Saul's search through the hill country of Benjamin, his meeting with the seer at Ramah, and his return home (1 Samuel 9:1-10:16).[26] Among the series of narratives sometimes referred to as the 'Saul Cycle' or the 'Samuel-Saul Complex',[27] the story of Saul's search for the asses of Kish represents the earliest layer in the tradition.[28] If the record does not date from Saul's own lifetime,[29] its ultimate origins go back to at least the 9th or 10th century BC.[30] The outlook of the Saul Cycle betrays distinct affinity with the Ephraimite ideology of leadership: Saul is pictured as a ruler by divine designation (10:1) who proves himself worthy of his calling by his acts of military prowess (10:27-11:15). Thus Saul continued the tradition of the charismatic 'judges', and foreshadowed such figures as Jeroboam and Jehu. A Benjaminite himself, he is presented in the light of a Northern ideology.[31] The Ephraimite origin of the narrative, in addition to its antiquity, justifies its use as a source of information about early religious practice in the central hill country.

Saul is presented as the son of a landed aristocrat (a *gibbôr ḥayil*) from

---

25 Malamat 1968:173 n. 29; cf. Malamat 1989:105.

26 For a survey of the relevant literature see Campbell, A. F. 1986:18-19 n. 2. My interpretation of the passage assumes that Saul's meeting with the seer at Ramah, his participation in the sacrificial meal, and the curious events on his way home belong to the original strand of the narrative.

27 See Ishida 1977:27-28.

28 So already Wellhausen 1889^2:245; 1905^6:247-251.

29 So Ishida 1977:43 'It would seem that the fundamental unity of the narrative and its ultimate origin from the time of Saul cannot be contested.'

30 Schmidt, L. 1970:95-97 (the original narrative—9:1-8 and 10:2-4—was further elaborated around 850 BC); McCarter 1980:27; Campbell, A. F. 1986:18-21 (old narrative with 9th century prophetic redaction); Gordon, R. P. 1986:29.

31 McCarter 1980:27; Campbell, A. F. 1986 argues that the story is part of an early document, extending from 1 Samuel 1:1 to 2 Kings 10:28, and deriving from Ephraimite prophetic circles toward the end of the ninth century BC.

the territory of Benjamin (9:1-2). As he set out on a search for the stray asses of his father, he crossed over into the hill country of Ephraim, passed through the land of Shalishah, the land of Shaalim (i.e., Shual, see 13:17), the land of Imnah (1 Chronicles 7:30;[32] not 'the land of Benjamin'!), and the land of Zuph (9:3-5).[33] Here he made a halt at Ramah (cf. 7:17), also known as Ramathaim of the Zuphites (1:1), to consult a local seer (9:6-10) identified as Samuel.[34] Saul's stay at Ramah coincided with the time of the sacrificial banquet (*zebaḥ*) celebrated at the local shrine (*babbāmâ*; 9:12).[35] The population was not present in its entirety: only the men, about thirty in number, assisted at the meal (9:22). Samuel acted as the master of ceremonies; he 'blessed' the sacrifice prior to its consumption, and gave directions to the cook as to which portion was to be given to each of the participants (9:13.22-24). What was being celebrated was apparently the regular sacrificial meal for the 'people' (*ʿam*), i.e., the clan;[36] participation was mandatory for all its male members (cf. 20:6, 29).

The calendrical setting of the clan sacrifice of the Zuphites is not explicit in the text; it must be deduced from the context. It was a moment, apparently, of heightened ritual activity. Within the span of two days all sorts of cultic events took place. On the morrow of the clan banquet at Ramah, Saul met two men by the 'tomb of Rachel' at Zelzah (10:2),[37] three others by the 'oak of Tabor', going up to God at Bethel (10:3), and finally a band of prophets at Gibeath-elohim (10:5).[38] Back in his home town, Saul went directly to the local sanctuary (*bāmâ*), where the senior brother of his father enquired after the reason for his belated arrival (10:14-16). It is striking that most commentators of these chapters make no attempt to explain this—at first sight unlikely—coincidence of local religious events.[39] It is here suggested that they all are connected with the period in which the story is set, namely the interlunium.[40]

---

32 Curtis & Madsen 1910:155; Edelman 1988:49.53-54.

33 For a reconstruction of the itinerary of Saul see Edelman 1988.

34 The identification is often regarded as the work of a later redactor, Schmidt, L. 1970:71-73; Campbell, A. F. 1986:19.

35 For an interpretation of *bāmâ* as 'sanctuary' see Barrick 1975; 1980.

36 For the use of *ʿam* with the meaning 'clan' see Halpern 1981:194-198 and the discussion in the preceding chapter. There is no discrepancy between the reference to the participants in the sacrificial meal as the people (*ʿam*, *v.* 12) and as the 'invited guests' (*haqqĕrūʾîm*, *v.* 13), *pace* Campbell, A. F. 1986:19.

37 Tsevat 1962:112 reads צלח instead of צלצח on the basis of the Septuagint (or its *Vorlage*).

38 Gibeath-elohim seems to be identical with Geba, cf. 1 Samuel 13:3. It must be identified with Gibeon, see the section on 'Saul's Gibeonite Origins' in Chapter Eleven.

39 When an explanation is ventured, it is usually suggested that the events are connected with the new year festival in autumn, see de Moor 1972.1:12-14.

40 It is not excluded that the description of the encounter with the band of ecstatic prophets (*vv.* 5-6, 10-13) is a later addition incorporating one of the aetiologies of the saying

Excepting the sacrificial ceremony at Gilgal (which is mentioned in a secondary layer of the narrative), the ritual activities described or referred to in this passage are connected either with different local *bāmôt* or with ancestral graves. Alongside the description of a sacrificial banquet presided over by Samuel in the *bāmâ* of Ramah, there are references to *bāmôt* ceremonies in Gibeath-elohim and in the home town of Saul (the two being either identical or in close proximity to each other).[41] Also the journey of the three men to God at Bethel implies a ritual gathering at the local sanctuary. Two burial spots are mentioned: the 'tomb of Rachel' (10:2; cf. Genesis 35:19-20)[42] and the 'Oak (*ʾēlôn*) of Tabor' (10:3) near Bethel. The latter is most likely identical with the 'Oak (*ʾallôn*) of Weeping' (Genesis 35:8) or, as it is called in *Jubilees* 32:30 and the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, the 'Oak of Weeping for Deborah', near Bethel. Here, according to an ancient tradition, Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried; possibly the word *tābôr* in 10:3 is a corruption of the name *dĕbôrâ*.[43] In later times, these graves were centres of popular devotion.[44] At the time reflected in the Saul narrative they seem to have been so already. In any event it is hardly likely that they are mentioned as mere topographical indications.

The author of our passage, then, intimates that Saul's meeting with the seer at Ramah took place at the beginning of a period, covering at least two days, of increased ritual activity combining sacrificial meals at local *bāmôt* with pilgrimages to ancestral graves. Since the text does not mention the period in which the events are situated, its identification rests on a few implicit clues. The comparative evidence from Mesopotamia situates the combination of mortuary rites with a communal repast in the days of the interlunium. We have seen that the *ḥodeš*, the Israelite counterpart of the Babylonian *bubbulum*, lasted up to three days. The length of that period would seem to agree with the data furnished by 1 Samuel 9-10. The absence of an explanation of the background of the cultic activities suggests, moreover, that the practices described were quite familiar to the readers, thus requiring no further comment. Such considerations qualify the interlunium as their most likely setting.

---

about Saul and the prophets (cf. Schmidt, L. 1970:111-117). Saul's return to his home town (*vv*. 14-16) is an integral part of the narrative, however, *pace* Campbell, A. F. 1986:20.

41 On the relation between Gibeah of Saul and Gibeath-elohim see Chapter Eleven.

42 Tsevat 1962 makes a case for the identification of the site of the grave as Kiriath-jearim (also known as Baalah).

43 Bruno 1923:57 cites the reference to Tabor, Shittim, and Gilgal in Hosea 5:1 and suggests that these three places were Benjaminite sanctuaries.

44 See Jeremias, Joachim 1958:75-76, 119.

The assumption that Saul's anointment coincided with the beginning of the *ḥodeš* is corroborated by the otherwise unexpected move of the protagonist on his return. Instead of going home and reporting to his father, he first visited the local *bāmâ* where he was interrogated by his uncle. Surprised by what they find to be a strange home-coming, various commentators have proposed to read ויבא הביתה instead of ויבא הבמה in 1 Samuel 10:13.[45] Also the term *dôd* (usually translated as 'uncle') has been considered a textual corruption; some of those who maintain the Masoretic text urge that the word refers here to a Philistine official.[46] In the light of what we know about the family rituals held at the end of the month in other places of the ancient Near East, the Masoretic text makes perfect sense, however, without our having to posit a meaning of *dôd* other than the usual one. Saul hastened to the *bāmâ* to join in the family banquet presided over by his *dôd*, i.e., the senior brother of his father. The *dôd* was no mere uncle, but the brother of the father that acted as paterfamilias; he had social as well as religious duties (cf. Leviticus 10:4; 25:49; Amos 6:10).[47] In his capacity as paterfamilias, the *dôd* was responsible for the organization of the sacrificial meal during the *ḥodeš*; it was only natural, therefore, that Saul reported first to him and not to his father. This interpretation explains, too, why Saul was so anxious to put an end to his—until then unsuccessful—search for the she-asses of his father: he wanted to go home (1 Samuel 9:5) because he was expected to be back in time for the family banquet. Being one day late, he apologized to his *dôd*.

The interpretation of the clan sacrifice at the *bāmâ* as a ritual communion with the ancestors calls for a reassessment of a hypothesis championed by Albright and his students since the middle of the 1950s.[48] They took the view that the Israelite *bāmôt* were centres of hero worship. Though now generally abandoned,[49] the idea does contain elements of truth. The term 'hero worship', with its allusion to the beliefs and customs of the ancient Greeks, is infelicitous; family ancestors are not heroes in the generally accepted sense of the word.[50] Albright furthermore marred his case by building it largely on passages which he was forced to emend before he could use

---

45 See, e.g., Driver 1913²:83; McCarter 1980:172.

46 See Ap-Thomas 1961, Ackroyd 1971:86; Ahlström 1982:21. The fact that Saul explains the reasons of his delay to his uncle, not his father, does not mean that Gibeon ('Gibeah') was not his home-town, *pace* Schunk 1963:118 n. 41. Stoebe 1973:212 proposes to interpret the term *dôd* as 'closest friend'.

47 Cf. Stamm 1960:176-177.

48 See Albright 1957.

49 See Vaughan 1974; Barrick 1975; Fowler, M. D. 1982; Spronk 1986:45-48.

50 Albright's parallel with Greece was intentional, see Albright 1957:253-254.

them. Nevertheless, the idea according to which local sanctuaries were used for purposes of the ancestor cult (in addition to the worship of local gods) is quite plausible. In the Samʾalite inscription of Panammu, the soul of Panammu is expected to feed on the sacrifices in the company of Hadad.[51] The Tell Fekherye inscription implies that the offerings to the dead were presented first to the family god.[52] According to the Ugaritic catalogue of the Duties of a Son, moreover, the ancestor symbol was to be erected 'in the sanctuary' (*bqdš*). Such data suggest that the cult of the ancestors could be actually performed in a local shrine.

A combination of the data from 1 Samuel 20 with those from 1 Samuel 9-10 provides a glimpse into the social and religious significance of the family gatherings at the end of the month, between the time of the moon's disappearance and the observation of the new moon. The available material points to a remarkable similarity between Babylonia and Israel in respect to the periodicity of the sacrifices for the ancestors, although there are also differences. Unlike the Babylonian *kispum* ritual, the mortuary rites hinted at in the First Book of Samuel take place outside the family home, viz. at graves and in local sanctuaries. The latter practice, especially, unknown in Mesopotamia except in connection with deified kings, may reflect specifically West Semitic customs, as it is also alluded to in texts from Ugarit, Samʾal, and Tell Fekherye.

The Teraphim

The use of the 'high place' (to maintain for a moment the conventional rendering of *bāmâ*) as the location for sacrifices to the ancestors implies that the dead were somehow present in the *bāmâ*. Two possibilities are conceivable: either the *bāmâ* served as, or found itself close to, a cemetery; or the *bāmâ* contained symbols of the dead.

The possibility of the *bāmâ* being near, or even coinciding with, the ancestral tomb finds support in the Panammu inscription, which was written on a statue of Hadad placed next to Panammu's grave. By force of analogy, one might assume that the *bāmâ*, being a sanctuary where sacrifices to the dead were brought, was normally near the cemetery. No archaeological evidence has been found to confirm this supposition. The second possibility, according to which the *bāmâ* harboured symbols of the ancestors, finds support in the Ugaritic texts. According to the Aqhat Epic, a paterfamilas had to erect (*nṣb*) a symbol (*ztr*) of the—dead—kinsmen (*ʿm*) of his family 'in the

---

51 *KAI* 214:17-18.

52 See Chapter Seven, n. 70.

sanctuary' (*bqdš*, *KTU* 1.17 i 26 and parallels). Considering the parallelism in the bicolon, the location also applies to 'the stela of his deified ancestor' (*skn ʾilībh*).[53] There is evidence, both archaeological and textual, to the effect that the installation of ancestor images in the local sanctuary was an Israelite practice as well.

The archaeological evidence is admittedly slim. The so-called Stelae temple at Hazor might be cited as one of the rare examples of a sanctuary containing ancestor symbols. The schematic statues found *in situ* have been interpreted as ancestor images.[54] They are quite small, measuring about 20-25 cm in height; in some cases the lower portion was carved as a base so as to suggest a seated posture. In corroboration of their interpretation as ancestor symbols one could refer to the somewhat similar anthropoid busts, found in ancient Egyptian houses, which evidently had a function in the cult of the dead.[55] The Israelite images also resemble the pre-Islamic Arabian ancestor statues; they are about the same size, schematic in form, and usually in a seated position.[56] At Gozan (Tell Halaf) in East Syria graves were found between cult places; both graves and cult places were simultaneously used. The Iron Age city also harboured a sanctuary with a mixed assortment of images, some of humans and some of gods.[57]

The hypothesized presence of ancestor statues in the local sanctuaries of central Palestine finds textual support in a study of the teraphim (*tĕrāpîm*). Based on parallels in cuneiform texts from Nuzi, the teraphim are usually interpreted as household idols, similar to the Roman penates. However, the teraphim are not found in a domestic context only. In the local temple (*bêt ʾelōhîm*) of Micah in the hill country of Ephraim, there was an ephod with teraphim beside a precious silver-coated statue of a god (Judges 17:5). Though Micah's sanctuary was in origin a family chapel (Judges 18:19), the presence of a full-fledged divine image and the services of a professional priest conferred regional importance upon the shrine. According to Hosea 3:4, an ephod and teraphim belonged to the normal equipment of an Israelite cult place. As will be demonstrated below, these teraphim were ancestor statuettes.[58]

The word *tĕrāpîm*—invariably in the plural[59]—is found fifteen times in

---

53 For a discussion of the passage see Chapter Seven.
54 Beck 1990.
55 See Demarée 1983:289-290.
56 Rathjens 1955:61-78.
57 Hrouda 1971:602.
58 On the teraphim see van der Toorn & Lewis 1995 (with references to earlier literature).
59 Note the occurrence of the plural marker in 1 Samuel 19:13, 16, where clearly a single object is meant. Johnson, A. R. 1962^2:32 n. 4 suggests that some forms of the plural may be

the Bible.[60] Analysis of the relevant texts shows that the word refers to a concrete object. The *tĕrāpîm* can be 'made' (עשׂה, Judges 17:5) and 'removed' (בער, pi^{c}el; 2 Kings 23:24). In Genesis 31:19, 30-35, Rachel is reported to have 'stolen' (גנב, Genesis 31:19) her father's *tĕrāpîm.* The story of Michal's substitution of the teraphim for her sick husband (1 Samuel 19:11-17) strengthens the conclusion that the *tĕrāpîm* was a material object. The narrator wished his audience to understand that the *tĕrāpîm* found itself upon the bed, and was mistaken for the body of David.[61] The interpretation of the *tĕrāpîm* as a cultic mask in this text is unconvincing. Were the *tĕrāpîm* merely a representation of the human head, it would be redundant to use the term *mĕra*$^{\flat}$*ăšôtāyw*, the suffix of which refers back to *tĕrāpîm* (1 Samuel 19:13).[62]

The object which Michal used to deceive the enemies of David must have been roughly anthropomorphic as regards the upper part. The likeness to the human figure was nevertheless imperfect, since Michal had to take the precaution of putting the *kĕbîr hā*^{c}*izzîm* over the head of the figurine. The Hebrew expression refers most likely to a net of goat's hair (*HAL*^{3} 437), while the definite article indicates that it was an object normally to be found in an Israelite household. The suggestion that it served as mosquito netting is attractive.[63] We should picture it hanging over the head of the *tĕrāpîm* as a more or less transparent curtain. The rest of the *tĕrāpîm* was covered by a *beged* (mantle, piece of cloth). Both the *kĕbîr hā*^{c}*izzîm* and the *beged* were to prevent Saul's messengers from recognizing the *tĕrāpîm* for what it was by fencing it off from direct visual contact. The substitute would naturally stand the best chances of successfully passing for a human figure if it were life-size.[64] We cannot be sure, however, that such was the case. From Genesis 31:34 one gains the impression that the object was relatively small (30-35 cm), since it could be hidden in a saddlebag (*kar*). Michal's teraphim may have been of a similar size. In the dimness of the bedroom, Saul's messengers

---

occurrences of the singular with mimation.

[60] Genesis 31:19.34.35; Judges 17:5; 18:14.17.18.20; 1 Samuel 15:23; 19:13.16; 2 Kings 23:24; Ezekiel 21:26[21]; Hosea 3:4; Zechariah 10:2.

[61] The author's use of $^{\flat}$*el* (*vv.* 13, 16) cannot be used as a decisive argument against the assumed presence of the *tĕrāpîm* on David's bed. Although the preposition ^{c}*al* is more common in connection with *miṭṭâ*, 'bed', Genesis 49:33 and 1 Samuel 28:23 show that $^{\flat}$*el* is used when something is placed upon the bed. Also, should the object have stood *beside* the bed, the messengers would have had no cause for wonder. Michal's stratagem was easily detectable, but she did not aim at a long-lasting delusion. She put the *tĕrāpîm* onto the bed to create temporarily the impression that her husband was indeed bed-ridden.

[62] Cf. Hoffmann & Gressmann 1922:100.

[63] Hoffmann & Gressmann 1922:100.

[64] So Gordon, C. H. 1962.

looking from a distance for fear of contagion, a half-concealed statuette stood a fair chance of being taken for the shape of a human patient.

The data concerning the external form of the *tĕrāpîm* suggest that it refers to a statuette, which seems to be confirmed by the translations of the term in the Targumim (*ṣlm* or *ṣlmn*ᵓ) and the Vulgate (normally *idola*, sometimes *statua* or *simulacra*). Analysis of the textual evidence also gives a clue to its place within the house. Judging from the stories of Rachel's theft and Michal's ruse, the location of most *tĕrāpîm* was not conspicuous. Laban took some time to discover the disappearance of his teraphim; the transfer of the *tĕrāpîm* in the home of David was not noticed by Saul's messengers. This unawareness of any change could be explained by assuming that the *tĕrāpîm* normally stood inside the *ḥeder*, the dim bedroom at the back of the house.

There are a few passages in the Hebrew Bible which hint at a secondary function of the bedroom as sanctum of the household. According to Isaiah 26:20 the Israelites were to go to their *ḥădārîm* for prayer.[65] The choice of this place is natural, insofar as it guaranteed a certain amount of privacy. Also in the Ugaritic Epic of Kirtu, the protagonist withdraws to the *ḥdr* when he wants to pour out his heart to his god.[66] The relative seclusion of the bedroom made it a privileged place for ritual activities, and, one may add, for the installation of religious images. In Isaiah 57:8 it is said that some people had placed their *zikkārôn* 'behind the door and the doorpost'. Considering the prominence of the bed (*miškāb*) in the rest of the passage, we have to think of the entry to the bedroom. In the context of Isaiah 57:8, the *zikkārôn* probably refers to a 'memorial' for the dead.[67]

Having established that the domestic teraphim were statuettes normally placed near the entrance of the bedroom, we must still ascertain whether they represented gods or humans. The answer would seem simple enough. Since Laban referred to the stolen *tĕrāpîm* as his 'gods' (*ᵓelōhāy*, Genesis 31:30), the figurines apparently represented divine beings.[68] The simplicity of the answer is deceptive however. In biblical Hebrew the term 'god' is not applied exclusively to super-human beings who, according to the beliefs of a certain age, direct the course of the world. Deceased humans could be qualified as 'gods' as well. As the witch of Endor had summoned the spirit of Samuel to appear, she saw 'a god coming out of the earth'.[69] This 'god'

---

65 Cf. Psalm 84:11a, according to the text as emended in the BHS.

66 *KTU* 1.14:26, cf. Greenfield 1969:62. For a discussion of the context see Chapter Seven.

67 Note the funerary language in the rest of the passage. For a detailed analysis see Ackerman, S. 1992:101-163, esp. 143-152.

68 So, e.g., Draffkorn(-Kilmer) 1957:222-223.

69 1 Samuel 28:13 *ᵓelōhîm rāᵓîtî ᶜōlîm mīn-hāᵓāreṣ*.

was none other than the ghost of Samuel (1 Samuel 28:14). Another occurrence of the word 'gods' for ancestors is found in Isaiah 8:19, according to which the Judahites claimed that it was only natural for a people to consult 'its gods'; in a context of necromancy, these 'gods' must be identified with the dead, as the parallel expression ('the dead on behalf of the living') shows.[70] The isolated qualification of the teraphim as 'gods' does not necessarily imply therefore that the teraphim represented gods such as Baal and Astarte.

To decide between the alternative gods or ancestors it is necessary to consider the comparative evidence from the ancient Near East, on the one hand, and the functions ascribed to the teraphim, on the other. Some of the comparative data have already been passed in review in earlier chapters of this study. The most illuminating parallel to the biblical teraphim are the *ilānu* mentioned in the Nuzi texts (*ca.* 1400 BC). Ever since 1926, when some of the first Nuzi texts were published,[71] they have been called to the rescue to illuminate the significance of the teraphim.[72] On the strength of the parallel with the Nuzi *ilānu* it was concluded that the *tĕrāpîm* were household gods.[73] One fact which has largely been ignored, though, is that the Nuzi tablets do not only mention the 'gods' (*ilānu*), but also the *eṭemmū* (spirits of the dead) and the cultic lamp (dz á l a g - m e š). Leaving aside the cultic lamp,[74] we note that in three texts the *eṭemmū* are mentioned alongside the *ilānu*. Two of them are documents of disinheritance. In JEN 478:6-8 we read that the disinherited son shall not 'have access to' (*alāku ina* or *ana*) the (household) gods (d i n g i r - m e š) or the *eṭemmū*, nor to the fields or the houses.[75] In the second text, HSS 19, 27, a grandfather solemnly declares that his grandson no longer has access to his possessions, nor to 'my (household) gods and my *eṭemmū*' (obv. 11). In the third text, a 'deed of inheritance', the testator stipulates that after his wife's death the one of his three daughters who will then live in the parental home is to 'honour' (*palāḫu*) 'the gods and my *eṭemmū*'.[76]

The terminology which these records use in connection with the house-

---

70 Isaiah 8:19 *wĕkî-yō'mĕrû 'ălêkem diršû 'el-hā'ōbôt wĕ'el-hayyiddĕ'ōnîm hamĕṣapṣĕpîm wĕhammahgîm hălô'-'am 'el-'elōhāyw yidrōš bĕ'ad haḥayyîm 'el-hammētîm*, 'And when they say to you: Consult the ancestors and the soothsaying spirits that chirp and mutter; should a people not consult its gods, the dead on behalf of the living?' For a discussion of the passage see Müller 1976.

71 Gadd 1926, especially no. 51:10-17; see *ANET*[3] 219-220.

72 See, e.g., Smith, S. 1932; Gordon, C. H. 1940; Speiser 1964:250.

73 So Draffkorn(-Kilmer) 1957.

74 See Deller 1981:62-71; Oppenheim 1956:339, Sm 1069 ii 1-2; 343, 79-7-8,77 r. 17.

75 Cf. Deller 1981:72.

76 YBC 5142:30'-31'; cf. Paradise 1987.

hold gods and the *eṭemmū* suggests that they are concerned with figurines (note especially the expression 'to have access to', *alāku ina* or *ana*). This interpretation is supported by the fact that another text prohibits the production of other, substitute 'gods'.[77] Apparently, the domestic religion at Nuzi placed the care for the *eṭemmū* on the same footing as the cult of the *ilānu*, performed in the presence of the sacred lamp. Moreover, the texts make it clear that the responsibility for the continuation of this domestic cult is linked not so much with the rights of primogeniture, but with the habitation of the family home.[78]

The nature of the Nuzi 'household gods' is illuminated by the references to the 'gods' in inheritance texts from Emar (modern Meskene). They show that the heir who received the main house also inherited the responsibility of the domestic cult. This cult consisted of the invocation and care of the ancestors, referred to in the Emar texts with the hendiadys 'the gods (*ilū*, d i n g i r - m e š) and the dead (*mētū*, b a - u g $_x$ - m e š)'.[79] In view of this hendiadys, it would seem possible that *ilānu* (gods) and *eṭemmū* (ghosts) in the Nuzi texts are used as synonyms as well. Since the heir was responsible for the funerary rites and the food offerings to the family dead in Babylonia in general, one would expect a reference to the ancestor cult rather than to the cult of anonymous *numina loci*. Another argument in favour of the interpretation of *ilānu* as ancestors is the reference to funerary offerings (*kipsātu* = *kispātu*) 'to the gods'.[80] If the parallel between the biblical teraphim and the Nuzi *ilānu* has any validity—as the contextual resemblance suggests—the teraphim would best be understood as ancestor figurines. The fact that they are referred to as gods is quite in consonance with the linguistic practice reflected in the texts from Nuzi and Emar.

Biblical confirmation of the interpretation of the teraphim as ancestor figurines can be found in their function in divination. According to Zechariah 10:2 the teraphim could be expected to 'speak (דבר, pi^{c}el) vain things', in which capacity they compared to 'soothsayers' (*qōsĕmîm*) with unreliable visions. Ezekiel 21:26[21] presents the consultation of the teraphim (*šā^{ɔ}al battĕrāpîm*) as a mode of divination resorted to by the Babylonian king during a military expedition. It is mentioned alongside other divinatory methods such as the shaking of arrows (belomancy, a practice well attested for the pre-Islamic Arabs[81]) and the inspection of the liver (hepatoscopy),

---

77 HSS 14, 108: 23-42; cf. Deller 1981:73-74.
78 Cf. Paradise 1987:211 n. 30.
79 See van der Toorn 1994b.
80 Tsukimoto 1985:96-98.
81 See Wellhausen 1927^{3}:46-47, 132-133.

the three of them being subsumed under the more general category of 'soothsaying' (קסם). Against this background it becomes likely that the condemnation of the 'iniquity of teraphim' (*ʾāwen tĕrāpîm*, according to the emended text of 1 Samuel 15:23) is also directed against a form of divination, in view of the parallelism with 'the sin of soothsaying' (*ḥaṭṭāʾt-qesem*).

Caution forbids us to say, on the basis of Ezekiel 21:26[21], that the consultation of the teraphim was a Babylonian divination method. Yet the text contains one clue that illuminates the nature of this divinatory practice. Not only in Ezekiel 21:26[21], but also in 1 Samuel 15:23 and Zechariah 10:2, divination by means of the teraphim is related to the notion of קסם, 'soothsaying'. In pre-exilic writings this term is frequently associated specifically with necromancy, as can be seen in such texts as Deuteronomy 18:10-14, 1 Samuel 28 and Micah 3:6, 11.[82] This fact makes it plausible that the 'consultation of the teraphim' was a type of necromancy, which implies in turn that the teraphim are more or less the equivalent of the Rephaim, the spirits of the dead. The principal difference between the two resides in the fact that the teraphim were images; they were statuettes representing the dead.[83]

An important argument in favour of the identification of the teraphim with ancestor statuettes, finally, results from a comparison between 2 Kings 23:24 and Deuteronomy 18:11. The first text has recorded that Josiah 'destroyed the ancestor spirits and the soothsaying spirits and the teraphim' (*wĕgam ʾet-hāʾōbôt wĕʾet-hayyiddĕʿōnîm wĕʾet-hattĕrāpîm ... biʿēr yōʾšiyyāhû*). The second text (Deuteronomy 18:11) looks like the programme underlying Josiah's action. It enumerates various forms of divination that are deemed incompatible with the purity of Israelite faith. The author mentions 'the one who consults an ancestor spirit, and a soothsaying spirit, and the one who takes counsel with the dead' (*wĕšōʾēl ʾôb wĕyiddĕʿōnî wĕdōrēš ʾel-hammētîm*). In this list the 'dead' (*mētîm*) parallel the teraphim of 2 Kings 23:24. The parallelism is hardly fortuitous, considering the links between Josiah's Reform and the Book of Deuteronomy. The actual method of obtaining an oracle from the teraphim eludes us.[84]

An investigation into the nature of the biblical teraphim leads to the conclusion, then, that the early Israelites were well acquainted with the

---

82 Cf. Stolz 1973:22-25.

83 A similar conclusion was already drawn by Schwally 1892:35-37; Charles 1963²:21-23; Wohlstein 1961:37-38. See also Lods 1906.1:231-236 ('primitivement ... les esprits des ancêtres').

84 Mainly on the basis of comparative evidence from ancient Egypt, Hoffmann & Gressmann 1922 have suggested that the teraphim were expected to give oracles by nodding or inclining their head (*Winkorakel*). Nothing in the Hebrew texts supports their assumption.

phenomenon of ancestor figurines. Such images were found both in the houses of the Israelites and in their local sanctuaries.

The Israelite Attitude Toward the Dead

Though the biblical records have been largely purged from references to the dead in their capacity as preternatural beings, there can be no doubt that in early Israelite religion they were considered to be 'gods'. Nor were such views mere theoretical beliefs. The dead received a regular cult, performed in the early period, it seems, in the local sanctuary where the ancestors were symbolically present by means of images (*tĕrāpîm*) or stelae (*maṣṣēbôt*). The domestic teraphim, moreover, were a daily reminder to the family of its own past. Owing to the presence of the ancestors, buried nearby and represented by the teraphim, the different generations of the family lived side by side in a community embracing both the dead and the living. To their descendants, the dead were very much alive.

The Israelite cult of the dead is in many ways a hidden heritage—hidden because deleted from, or at least disguised and obfuscated in, the written records. Though the fact of the ancestor cult can be established beyond reasonable doubt, it is no easy matter to gauge the feelings and sentiments which this cult inspired in the living. The religious scholars responsible for the collection, selection and editing of the biblical books were not particularly happy with references and allusions to the veneration of the dead in which their forefathers had indulged. They therefore endeavoured to eliminate or disarm any hints of a positive appreciation of the cult of the dead. The Masoretic vocalization of the customary word for spirits of the dead (רפאים) as *rĕpā'îm*, 'impotent ones', instead of the original *rōpĕ'îm*, 'benefactors' (Ugaritic *rāpi'ūma*), is just one indication to that effect.[85] The biblical texts as we have them are intended to suggest that most of the Israelites looked upon the dead as bleak shadows without power or influence. The impression conveyed by the authorized version of Israel's past is inconsistent, however, with the prominence of the ancestor cult. The mere performance of such a cult shows that there must have been a time when other feelings prevailed. A detour along the relevant evidence allows some of those feelings to be recaptured.

A largely untapped source of information on the Israelite ancestor cult are the personal names found in the Bible. Though the Hebrew scriptures give a tendentious view of Israel's past, the proper names they contain have hardly

---

[85] Note that the LXX has ιατροι (i.e., *rōpĕ'îm*) for MT *rĕpā'îm* in Isaiah 26:14 and Psalm 88:11.

been affected by its bias. Some names have been tampered with, it is true; the comparison of Ishbaal ('Baal-is-present') with Ishboshet ('Shame-is-present') evinces a case in point. Yet most names are authentic. Those containing the name of a deity (the 'theophoric' names) are particularly interesting to the historian of religion, since they allow an occasional glimpse of a religious life that has vanished from the rest of the written record.

Among the theophoric personal names found in the Hebrew Bible, there are a significant number that use certain kinship terms (such as 'father' or 'brother') instead of a divine name. The theophoric character of such names is evident from a comparison of the names containing the elements *ʾāb* and *ʾāḥ* with those having the element *ʾēl* (El or 'god') or the name of a deity (mostly Yô or Yehô). The correspondence is striking. Note for instance the names Abinadab (אבינדב), Ahinadab (אחינדב) and Jonadab (יהונדב). They show that 'father' (Abi-) and 'brother' (Ahi-) actually functioned as the designation of a deity (Jo-, or rather Yeho-, the abbreviated form of the name Yahweh). The interpretation of the Hebrew kinship names as theophoric is confirmed by comparative evidence from cuneiform sources. Amorite anthroponymics are a particularly rich mine of data. They contain various kinship terms serving as theophoric element, including **ʾab* (father), **ʾaḥ* (brother), **dād* (paternal uncle), **ḫāl* (maternal uncle), **ʿamm* (clan), and **lim* (people).[86] The theophoric use of kinship terms was apparently common in West Semitic name-giving.

The fact that kinship terms could be put on a par with divine names in theophoric personal names can be explained in various ways. Martin Noth, one of the first biblical scholars to seriously study the phenomenon, believed the kinship terms referred to the anonymous tribal god of the worshippers. He argued that the religion of the tribe was originally monolatrous; the members considered themselves related by blood to the one anonymous god they worshipped.[87] The idea squared with the work of his teacher Alt on patriarchal religion.[88] From an analysis of the accounts in Genesis, Alt concluded that the patriarchs never knew Yahweh. They worshipped family gods, referred to as 'the God of the Father' or 'the God of So-and-so.' These anonymous patriarchal gods seemed very similar to the anonymous clan gods postulated by Noth. The link between the two groups was established by Albright in 1940, when he suggested that the expression 'Fear of Isaac' (*paḥad Yiṣḥaq*), analysed by Alt as a designation of Isaac's tribal god, should be understood as 'Kinsman of Isaac', on the basis of

---

86 Huffmon 1965:154, 160, 181, 194-195, 196-198, 226-227.
87 Noth 1928:66-82, esp. 73-75. See also Noth 1927.
88 Alt 1929; 1940.

Palmyrene *paḥdâ* ('family, clan, tribe') and Arabic *faḫiḏ* ('next of kin').[89] The suggestion shows that Noth's interpretation of the kinship terms as references to tribal deities was consonant with a widely accepted reconstruction of the early stages of Israelite religion.

The issue of theophoric names constructed with kinship terms was tackled in a different manner by Stamm. Stamm wrote a book on Akkadian onomastics that in many ways paralleled the work of Noth on Hebrew names.[90] He too had to deal with the kinship names. In his analysis, Stamm departed from Noth on two counts. First he decided that not all kinship names were in fact theophoric. Quite a number of them had to be analysed as substitute names (*Ersatznamen*). The latter were given to children considered to be a substitute or a reincarnation of (recently) deceased kin.[91] The substitute names do not exhaust the entire range of kinship names, however. Also in Stamm's view, there remained a significant number in which the element *abī* 'my father' designates a god and not a human father. Stamm quotes in example such names as Abī-nāṣir, 'My father protects', and Abī-iddinam, 'My father has given (a child) to me'. The god who is referred to as 'father' in these names need not be an anonymous tribal deity, however. The term *abī* ('my father') is a common title given to major gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon. It must be supposed, therefore, that the term *abī* served as a substitute for the real name of the deity—which does not imply that the god was otherwise anonymous.[92]

Stamm's position has been adopted by other scholars as a way of coming to terms with some of the Hebrew kinship names. Rainer Albertz is one of these scholars. Whereas Stamm restricted his interpretation to personal names constructed with the element *abī*, Albertz widens the category so as to include names with the element 'my brother' (אחי) and 'my uncle' (עמי) as well. He regards these names as 'the remains of a primeval type of personal devotion'.[93] They show that the early Israelites (and the ancient Near Eastern peoples in general) conceived of their personal god as their 'father', their '(older) brother', or even as their 'uncle'. The names attest to the reality of 'personal religion' (*persönliche Frömmigkeit*—perhaps better rendered in English as 'private devotion') among the Israelites. This type of religion

---

89 Albright 1946[2] (1940[1]):188-189. Albright's interpretation was adopted by quite a number of scholars. For a refutation see Hillers 1972. For other interpretations see Koch 1980; Puech 1984; Malul 1985.

90 Stamm 1939.

91 Stamm 1939:278-306, § 40.

92 Stamm 1939:54-55.

93 Albertz 1978:74 (and also n. 402).

drew its terms and concepts from the feelings and experiences of family life.[94]

In spite of its general acceptance, it is doubtful whether Stamm's explanation is correct. His recognition of the *Ersatznamen* is brilliant, even though he may have included too many names in this category. Yet his interpretation of those kinship names that are truly theophoric is difficult to maintain. It is true that *abī* can serve as an epithet of gods—though the one example which Stamm quotes is a bad choice since the text refers to 'the god of my father' rather than to 'the god, my father'.[95] Yet except the speculated cases in personal names, gods are never referred to as 'brother' or 'uncle' in relation to humans. Stamm parries the objection by restricting his interpretation to the *abī* names. In view of the similarity between the latter and those in which the elements *aḫī* and *ḫammī* are used, the separation is artificial. Also, it can simply not be proved that *abī* stands for a known deity. That would be the case only if one and the same individual were referred to now as Abī-iddinam now as Marduk-iddinam (or something similar). Thus, even though Stamm is more prudent than Albertz (who interprets *ʾaḫî* and *ʿammî* also as titles of known gods), there is insufficient evidence in support of his theory.

It seems strange, in hindsight, that neither Noth nor Stamm gave serious attention to the possibility that their explanation should be reversed. They were convinced that the kinship terms served as designations of a god—though they disagreed as to whether this god was an anonymous clan deity or an identifiable member of the pantheon. Yet their line of reasoning errs at a more fundamental level. In the eyes of the ancients, death was not a complete annihilation of the human person but a transition to another state of being. It is therefore possible that a deceased member of the kin group (father, brother, or uncle) be referred to as a god. The opposition which Noth and Stamm perceived was spurious to the ancients. To Noth and Stamm, a term like 'father' designated either someone's actual father or a god—the title being used metaphorically in the latter case. If fathers, brothers, and uncles were posthumously deified, however, it would be perfectly natural to have the terms occur as theophoric elements in personal names.

Since it has been established that the deification of dead kin was not uncommon in the ancient Near East, there is good reason to return to the position which Hugo Winckler took as early as 1898. He argued that the theophoric kinship names were evidence of an early Semitic ancestor cult.[96]

---

[94] Albertz 1978:76.

[95] Stamm 1939:54-55. For the correct interpretation of YBT 2, 141 (usually referred to nowadays with the abbreviation YOS 2, 141) see Groneberg 1986:106.

[96] Winckler 1898.

More recently, a similar view has been expressed by others. Discussing the Hebrew word *ʿam*, Lipinski writes that the proper names with the element *ʿam(m)* reflect 'an ancestor cult whose traces have apparently been deleted in the texts that were incorporated in the Bible.'[97] Indeed, if the theophoric elements *ʾāb*, *ʾāḥ* and *ʿam* refer to deified kin, the artificial separation of the *ʾāb* names from those using the elements *ʾāḥ* and *ʿam* becomes unnecessary. Nor is the fact that gods are never referred to as 'brother' or 'uncle' an issue any longer. The gods referred to in these theophoric names are not gods in the usual sense of the term, but deified ancestors.

Assuming that the interpretation of the theophoric kinship names as evidence of an early ancestor cult is correct (and everything points in that direction), what do they tell us about the nature of this ancient cult? First, it would seem, that the cult was addressed predominantly to male ancestors. The usual Hebrew kinship terms occurring as a theophoric element are *ʾāb*, *ʾāḥ* and *ʿam*. The interpretation of the former two as 'father' and 'brother' is beyond doubt. The word *ʿam*, traditionally interpreted as 'paternal uncle', might very well refer to the apical ancestor who gave his name to the clan or family. That would explain why the word could develop the sense of 'clan' and—subsequently—'people'.[98] The Amorite equivalent of Hebrew *ʿam* is *ḫammu*, as in Ḫammu-rabi.[99] Other Hebrew kinship terms used theophorically are perhaps *dôd* ('father's senior brother,' cf. the names Dodai, Dodavahu, Dodo) and *lĕmû* (in the name Lemuel, Proverbs 31:1.4). Both elements are also known from Amorite personal names; the one as Dādu (e.g., Dādu-rabi) and the other as Līm (e.g., Zimrī-Līm), etymologically connected with Hebrew *lĕʾôm*, 'clan, people'.[100] The occurrence of *ḥam* ('father-in-law') as theophoric element is doubtful.[101] In Hebrew anthroponymics there is not one feminine kinship term used as a theophoric element, in spite of the veneration of certain women such as Rachel (1 Samuel 10:2; Jeremiah 31:15). The ancestor cult was therefore apparently concerned primarily with patrilineal ancestors.

These ancestors were not just supplied with food offerings—they were indeed worshipped as gods. The often made distinction between the care of the dead and their veneration is unfounded with respect to the early Israelite ancestor cult. Many of the theophoric kinship names are names of adoration that throw into relief the exalted nature of the ancestor. 'The father is

---

97 Lipinski 1989:185.
98 So Lipinski 1989:181.
99 Ḫuffmon 1965:196-198 s.v. ḪMM.
100 See Krebernik 1987; Beyer 1988.
101 Noth 1928:79. The possible equivalent in Amorite personal names is not *emu* but (d)Am, see Huffmon 1965:166 s.v. ʾM.

excellent' (אביתר, Abjathar, cf. Amorite Abī-watar[102]), 'My brother is exalted' (אחירם, Ahiram), 'My Brother is (sheer) goodness' (אחיטוב, Ahitub), 'My Ancestor is lofty' (עמיזבד, Ammizabad, 1 Chronicles 27:6). The divine nature of the ancestor is made explicit in the name Ammiel: 'My Ancestor is god' (עמיאל, cf. אליעם, Eliam, 'My god, the Ancestor'). A similar significance is to be attributed to the name Ammishaddai (עמישדי), which proclaims the ancestor to be one of the Šadday gods, chthonic deities that were credited with powers of protection.[103]

Deified ancestors might intervene in the life of their descendants in more than one way. They 'know' their descendants (YD^{c}; אבידע, Abida, Genesis 25:4), and are ready to 'help' them (^{c}ZR, אביעזר Abiezer, אחיעזר Ahiezer) and to 'come to their rescue' (YŠ^{c}, אבישע Abishua; cf. Amorite Aḫī-yašuḫ and Ḫammi-ešuḫ[104]). Their help consists in 'support' (אחיסמך Ahisamach, 'My Brother Offers Support'—Exodus 31:6) and kind judgement (DYN, אבידן Abidan). One of the specific blessings that ancestors may grant is offspring, as may be inferred from the name Abiasaph (אביאסף), 'The Father Has Added (a Child to the Family)'. The names Jeroboam, Rehabeam and Jokneam ('May the Ancestor create [scil. offspring]', Joshua 12:22; 19:11; 21:34) also refer to the multiplication of descendants and the extension of the family by the deified ancestors. Perhaps names formed with the root NDB ('to give freely') have to be interpreted in a similar fashion (Abinadab, Ahinadab, Amminadab); possibly, though, they are to be understood as 'My Father (Brother, Ancestor) is Noble'.

It must be admitted that the names give only a slight idea of the 'theology' of the ancestor cult. What they do show, however, is that dead kin were regarded as kind and benevolent. Ancestors were not vengeful beings that had to be kept at bay by all means. They were indeed 'benefactors', as the original vocalisation of the term Rephaim (*rōpĕ^{ɔ}îm*) implies. The kinship names reveal the sentiments of respect and dependency people felt towards their patrilineal ancestors. The dead were believed to take care of their descendants from beyond the grave. Having reached a preternatural state, they used their powers for the good of their family. Not only did they symbolize the identity of that family; in the final analysis, they were also responsible for its continuing growth and welfare.

In view of the importance of the ancestor cult in Iron Age Israel, there is little reason to dismiss the theophoric kinship names as insignificant relics of

---

102 See Buccellati 1966:128.

103 On the Šadday-gods see Hackett 1984:85-89.

104 Huffmon 1965:215 s.v. YŠḪ. Alternatively, the name Abishua might be interpreted as 'My Father is noble', see Becking 1993:24.

a distant past. As Jeffrey Tigay has demonstrated in his work on early Hebrew anthroponyms, the Israelites were usually aware of the religious significance of their personal names.[105] This is why, as the worship of Yahweh became the religion of state, the names of deities other than Yahweh gradually disappeared from the Hebrew onomasticon. If the cult of the ancestors had been condemned by the population during the First Temple Period, it might be expected that the theophoric use of kinship names would have been abandoned as well. The fact that it was not indicates that these names must be taken as a reflection of the ideas and feelings concerning the dead in pre-exilic Israel.

Powers and Functions of the Dead

Attempts have been made in the past to delineate the powers and functions which the early Israelites attributed to the dead. It has been suggested that the two principal virtues ascribed to the dead were healing powers and foreknowledge.

The ancestors have been thought to play a part in healing ceremonies because of the etymology of the verb רפא, from which the name Rephaim is derived. As רפא can have the meaning 'to heal', the Rephaim (or rather **rōpĕʾîm*) might arguably be understood to be 'healers'. In defence of the notion of the Rephaim as 'healers' some authors have speculated that King Asa's seeking help (דרשׁ) from 'doctors' (רֹפְאִים, 2 Chronicles 16:12) was criticized by the Chronicler, because the doctors in question were in reality the dead (רְפָאִים). The principal argument in favour of the emended vocalization supposes that seeking help from doctors does not exclude trust in God, whereas consulting the dead would—in the eyes of the later orthodoxy at least.[106] However, the change in vocalization is possible but not compelling. Since elsewhere in the Bible the skill of physicians is implicitly contrasted with God's healing powers (cf. Exodus 15:26), the two may have been judged incompatible in some circles.[107] Should the emendation nonetheless be accepted, the text would point to a consultation (דרשׁ) of the dead, i.e., necromancy, rather than their being implored as 'healers'.

To strengthen the case for the interpretation of the Rephaim as 'healing spirits', authors have also adduced the story of Michal's use of the teraphim in connection with David's—pretended—illness. This, they suggest, is an example of a ritual in which a teraphim is used for healing purposes. Those

---

105 Tigay 1986; 1987.
106 See Smith, M. S. 1990:130.
107 See van der Toorn 1985:76.

who defend this idea argue that the story is incoherent in its present form. The incoherence would only disappear if the text is understood as the cryptic description of a magical healing ceremony.[108] Here, too, etymology is marshalled to support the reconstruction, because it is argued that the word תרפים goes back to the root רפא.[109] Such explanations are unconvincing, however. The story of Michal makes perfect sense in its present form, and the chances that תרפים comes from the root רפא are very slim.[110] It should also be remembered that, though the scarcity of our data favours the resort to etymology, its importance is easily overrated. The connection between רפאים and רפא is indubitable, but the significance of that connection for the Israelite understanding of the dead is unclear. Until further information becomes available, caution suggests that we stay with the less specific meaning of 'benefactors' for Rephaim.

King Asa's suspected consultation of the Rephaim would be an instance of necromancy rather than a healing ritual under the auspices of the dead. There is certainly good evidence in our written records of the practice of necromancy.[111] In addition to the well-known example of necromancy reported in 1 Samuel 28 (Saul's visit to a female medium at Endor), there are various references to Judahite necromancy in the Book of Isaiah.[112] Also the women who sought to capture 'flying souls', described in Ezekiel 13:17-23, were necromancers: the 'souls' for which these 'prophetesses' hunted were spirits of the dead.[113] The divinatory use of the teraphim (שאל בתרפים) fits this picture. The dead had access to information beyond the reach of the living; they (or some of them) were *yiddĕʿōnîm* (from ידע, 'to know') as the

---

108 Rouillard & Tropper 1987. Cf. Barnes 1929:179 who claimed that the *tĕrāpîm* was used to 'warn the would-be intruder that there is sickness about'.

109 So de Ward 1977:5-6; Rouillard & Tropper 1987:357-361; Tropper 1989:335. Albright 1968:146 n. 43 suggests that *tĕrāpîm* is a 'contemptuous deformation of a hypothetical noun (**tarpaʾu*?) from the stem *rpʾ*, from which the name of the Rephaim is derived.' See also Loretz 1992:138-139.141-142.148-151.167-168. For a critique of this etymology see Hoffner 1967:233-234; 1968:62.

110 Following a suggestion made by Benno Landsberger, Hoffner (1967; 1968) has argued in favour of an etymological connection between *tĕrāpîm* and Luwian/Hittite *tarpi(š)* which denotes a spirit that can on some occasions be regarded as protective and on others as malevolent (cf. Seybold 1976:1057). In lexical lists *tarpi(š)* is sometimes rendered by the Akkadogram *ŠEDU*, ' (protective) spirit', which meaning seems to fit the biblical *tĕrāpîm* in more than one respect (*CAD* Š/2 256-259). In the absence of any convincing etymology of *tĕrāpîm* based on the Hebrew lexicon, Hoffner's view has gained wide acceptance. For a fuller discussion see van der Toorn & Lewis 1995.

111 See especially Tropper 1989.

112 See van der Toorn 1988:209-210.

113 For the interpretation of *nepeš* ('soul') in the sense of 'spirit of the dead', 'ghost', see Michel, D. 1994. Note also the use of *nbš* (which corresponds to Akkadian *eṭemmu*) in the Panammu inscription *KAI* 214. For a discussion of Ezekiel 13:17-23 see van der Toorn 1994a:123.

texts say, 'wizards' possessing extraordinary knowledge. The polemics against necromancy are testimony to the popularity of a practice which seems to have flourished throughout the monarchic period.

The occurrence of necromancy in early Israel does not imply that the consultation of the dead was an essential part of early Israelite family religion. Though there are many interpreters throughout history who have asserted that Rachel's motive for stealing Laban's *tĕrāpîm* was to prevent him from using them in a divinatory fashion so as to detect Jacob's escape,[114] there is no unambiguous evidence for necromancy by lay people. The documented cases always involved one or more specialists. Though it cannot be excluded that necromancy was practised in the context of family religion, there is no proof to this effect. Nor is there reason to believe, in spite of the attempts to read a reference to necromancy in the Ugaritic catalogue of Filial Duties,[115] that necromancy was part of the ancestor cult in other Near Eastern civilizations.

If recourse to the ancestors for necromantic or therapeutic purposes occurred in the context of family religion (for neither of which we have compelling evidence), it was subservient to the far more fundamental function of the ancestors as providers and symbols of identity. The dead were honoured in the first place on account of their role as ancestors and forebears. They were the ones who had bequeathed the family estate and the family home to the living. The estate was the 'inheritance of the fathers' (*naḥălat ʾābôt*) or, to use an equivalent expression, the 'inheritance of the gods' (*naḥălat ʾelōhîm*, 2 Samuel 14:16).[116] Cursing those 'gods'—as one might curse a father or a mother (Exodus 21:17)—is prohibited in the same breath as cursing one's *nāśîʾ*, i.e. clan leader (Exodus 22:27). Piety toward the dead fostered a sense of unity and solidarity among the living comparable to the social peace that followed from respect for the head of the clan. Piety toward the dead was a social virtue; it could be seen as an extension of the honour paid to one's parents.[117]

The role of the ancestors as embodiment of the family identity is thrown into relief in a rule laid down in the so-called Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22-23:33).[118] In the oldest section (21:1-22:16), which goes back to the early

---

114 Greenberg 1962:239 n. 2. Examples include *Tanḥûma Wayyēṣēʾ*, *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*, Rashbam, Ibn Ezra, Qimhi; cf. Sarna 1989:216.

115 See the discussion in Chapter Seven.

116 Lewis, T. J. 1991.

117 Cf. Loretz 1990:137.

118 For the Covenant Code as a document from the Northern Kingdom see Eissfeldt 1976[4]:290-291.

first millennium BC,[119] the legislators deal with the case of a Hebrew slave having served his master for six years. In his seventh year he is to be manumitted. Should the slave voluntarily decide to stay with his master, the latter is to perform a ceremony by which the servant becomes part the family.

> Then his master shall bring him to the gods, and he shall bring him to the door or the doorpost; and his master shall pierce his ear with an awl; and he shall be his servant for life.[120]

It is instructive to compare this text with the reformulated prescription in Deuteronomy:

> Then you shall take an awl, and thrust it through his ear into the door, and he shall be your servant forever.[121]

The most striking difference between the two texts concerns the absence of the 'gods' in the Deuteronomic passage. The author apparently felt the reference to the gods to be incompatible with the undivided loyalty to Yahweh as Israel's one national god. Yet the gods in question were not gods in the same way as Yahweh, because they were ancestors.[122] Their images were present 'near the door or the doorpost', as a glossator has added.[123] What we have here is a rite of passage in a case of adoption. By waiving his right of manumission, the slave entered his master's family for good. As a new member of the family he was to be presented to its forebears; he was bodily marked in their presence, and henceforth indissolubly part of the family.[124]

The rule concerning the adopted slave illustrates in paradigmatic manner the central place of the ancestors in Israelite families. In the early Israelite culture where individual clan settlements enjoyed a great deal of independence, the ancestor cult is bound to have played a major role in the day-to-day religion. In this respect the early Israelites did not differ from the ancient Babylonians or the people of Ugarit. Like them, they honoured their

---

119 Eissfeldt 1976[4] § 33 [& lit.].

120 Exodus 21:6 *wĕhiggîšô ʾădōnāyw ʾel-hāʾelōhîm wĕhiggîšô ʾel-haddelet ʾô ʾel-hammĕzûzâ wĕrāṣaʿ ʾădōnāyw ʾet-ʾoznô bammarṣēaʿ waʿăbādô lĕʿōlām.*

121 Deuteronomy 15:17 *wĕlāqaḥtā ʾet-hammarṣēaʿ wĕnātattāh bĕʾoznô ûbaddelet wĕhāyāh lĕkā ʿebed ʿôlām.*

122 So, too, Schwally 1892:37-39; de Moor 1990:242 n. 102; Niehr 1991a:304. Cf. Lods 1906.1:236-238 ('*originairement* les ancêtres').

123 The secondary nature of the phrase והגישו אל הדלת או אל המזוזה can be inferred from the repetition of the verb.

124 An interesting parallel in reverse is found in the texts from Nuzi. Here we have textual evidence for the disherison of a son by breaking his 'clod' (*kirbānu*) in the presence of a symbol of the household gods—who are presumbly to be identified with the ancestors. The text in question is JEN 478:4-48; for a discussion see Malul 1988:81.

ancestors in words and acts and thereby asserted their sense of genealogical identity. The possession of the teraphim may indeed be regarded as a kind of legitimation, as earlier studies of the teraphim have stressed.[125] By keeping the cult of its ancestors, the family proclaimed its right to the land. The presence of the ancestors in the local *bāmâ*, moreover, could be regarded as the visible recognition of the fact that their descendants rightfully belonged to the civic and cultic community of the place. The celebration of the past justified the present.

125 For a survey see Greenberg 1962:240-241.

CHAPTER TEN

RELIGION BEFORE THE MONARCHY: THE GODS OF THE FATHERS

As in Babylonia and Ugarit, family religion in early Israel had two components: the cult of ancestors and the worship of local gods. The village sanctuary was a centre for both of these. The inhabitants of the Israelite settlements gathered periodically at their cult places for celebrations which were in part a display of piety toward the ancestors. Yet these sanctuaries were not mortuary chapels but holy places devoted to a god. Each Israelite settlement of some size had a deity to protect it; the god in question was venerated by the local population in the—usually modest—local Bamah (sanctuary). It is this second aspect of early Israelite family religion that will be described and analysed in this chapter. The emphasis of the investigation will lay on the two centuries preceding the rise of the monarchy under Saul. It is often referred to, following the biblical idiom, as the time of the Judges.

Unedited Evidence: Place Names

The search for the Israelite religion in the premonarchic period is ridden with problems, most of which follow from the nature of the biblical sources. Being the authorized version of Israelite history, the Bible illuminates the time and interests of its editors and revisers at least as much as the time and views of its authors. Unfortunately, the stages of writing, reviewing and redaction cannot always be clearly distinguished. An additional problem is the date of the written records; their original form is seldom older than the eighth or ninth century BC. Even a document as archaic as the Song of Deborah (Judges 5) is unlikely to be premonarchic[1]—in spite of assertions to the contrary. To speak about any historical period on the basis of written sources postdating that period by at least two-hundred years is always hazardous—even if the texts are to be seen as the repository of oral traditions of much greater antiquity. Human memory is unreliable; when eye-witness accounts are subject to doubt after only a few weeks, as forensic psychologists have demonstrated, how much more doubt should be attached to traditions spanning several generations.

---

[1] Ahlström 1977a; Soggin 1981a; Ahlström 1986:80; Axelsson 1987:52; Bechmann 1989.

These necessary cautions are not to be construed as a plea against the use of the Bible in the history of Israelite religion. In fact, the Hebrew scriptures remain of eminent value to the historian—on condition that they be used with intelligence and discrimination. One of the ways in which such discrimination can be exercised is by comparing the biblical information on a given period with relevant data that have not been subject to subsequent alterations. Evidence of this kind is available for the time of the Judges in the form of names, personal as well as topographical, and archaeological remains. By themselves onomastics and archaeology would be insufficient to provide the data needed for a remotely comprehensive view of early Israelite religion. In combination with the relevant biblical material, however, they yield significant insights into the religious climate reigning among the early Israelites in the central hill country.

The names that are relevant to the investigation of premonarchic religion fall into two categories: they are personal names, on the one hand, and place names, on the other. The main source for both is the Bible. The latter fact might seem to invalidate the argument that the testimony of the names can be used as an index of the reliability of the biblical information. The impression is deceptive, however. As argued in the previous chapter in connection with the 'kinship names' (that is, personal names in which a kinship term serves as a theophoric element), names have a life of their own. They are usually left unchanged, even when the narratives in which they occur have been submitted to substantial revision. Take such names as Bethlehem and Beth-shemesh. Both are theophoric, the one referring to the 'house' (that is, the temple) of the god Laḥmu (לחם),[2] and the other to the house of Šemeš (שמש, the equivalent of the Babylonian sun god Šamaš). The names were retained (though presumably reinterpreted) long after the cult of the deities in question had become extinct in these places. They are still witnesses, however, of a time in which the towns had temples for these gods.

The examples just given illustrate the importance of correctly dating the place names, since they reflect ideas and notions from the time the names were first used. The necessity of dating the names is less stringent when it comes to personal names. By naming a child, parents reconfirm the relevance of the message which the name of their choice conveys. The name itself is usually not original; in nearly every civilization people tend to select the names for their children from a traditional stock. Yet the active onomasticon (as distinguished from the passive one, consisting of names that are no longer in use) changes from the one period to the other. Studies of Israelite

---

[2] Borée 1930:77 § 21 no. 23. On Laḥmu see Wiggermann 1982.

anthroponyms have evinced changing patterns of name-giving.[3] One of the most striking discoveries of recent years, for instance, concerns the predominance of the name Yahweh as theophoric element in Israelite personal names, in the Bible as well as in epigraphical texts, during the monarchic period (*ca.* 1000-550 BC). This bears testimony to the wide recognition of the pre-eminence of Yahweh among Ephraimites and Judahites of the time. Though the onomasticon is a conservative element in any civilization, then, it is not impervious to change. Religious developments are reflected in the names actually given.

On the basis of the assumption that Israelite names of a certain period reflect the ideas and moods of that period, a study of the theophoric names of Israelites from before the monarchy can be expected to yield some insight into the religious loyalties of the early inhabitants of the central hill country. The relevant data, conveniently assembled elsewhere,[4] can be condensed in the form of a statistical analysis. If the results are to apply to the initial phase of Israelite religion, the onomastic researches must be limited to the names of persons belonging to the tribes of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin, since they constitute the core of the later State of Israel. The investigation has been based upon a scanning of all the biblical documents except 1 & 2 Chronicles, since the late date of these books throws serious doubt upon the authenticity of the names they give for the early period.

Of the thirty-three theophoric names from the period of the Judges attested for the areas of Manasseh, Ephraim and Benjamin, only seven refer to Yahweh as god; sixteen have the name El as theophoric element; and ten contain a reference to various other gods, most notably Baal (Jerubbaal, Judges 6:32; Ishbaal, 2 Samuel 2:8).[5] Though the sample is admittedly small, it contains the unmistakable suggestion that the worship of Yahweh—who was to become the national god of Israel in the tenth century BC—was the religion of a minority of the population. The majority of the earliest Israelites (or proto-Israelites) were devoted to a god they referred to in their personal names as *ʾēl*. Though the noun *ʾēl* is occasionally used as a generic designation, it functions mostly as a proper name in texts from the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Ages. A similar observation is valid in respect to the term *baʿal*, 'lord'. In view of the historical context of the names it must be assumed that important groups of the early Israelites worshipped the gods El and Baal.

The anthroponymic evidence must be interpreted in the light of the

---

3 Note the studies by Tigay 1986, 1987; Fowler, J. D. 1988; de Moor 1990:10-41.
4 de Moor 1990:13-34.
5 Figures based on de Moor 1990:31.

Palestinian place names which originated between 1200 and 1000 BC.[6] They are found by selecting those biblical toponyms which do not occur in materials from before 1200 BC, such as the Egyptian Execration texts, the Amarna archives, and Egyptian royal lists.[7] Analysis of the names which meet this criterion shows that some name types were far more popular in the period of the Israelite settlement than they were before (e.g., the names formed from the root גבע, 'to be high', such as Geba, and Gibeah), while other types were simply not attested at all in the records prior to the Iron Age (e.g., such names as Baal-NN, Mizpah, Mizpeh-NN, Ataroth-NN, and Ramah).[8] When the places which bear names of these types are plotted on the map, they nearly all prove to be situated in the hill country, which confirms their analysis as predominantly, or even specifically, Israelite names. They constitute a source of information illuminating both the nature of early Israelite society and certain characteristics of early Israelite family religion.

The toponyms confirm the principal inferences drawn from the archaeological record as regards the socio-economic conditions prevailing in early Israel. Names containing such elements as *geba*^{c}, *gib*^{c}*â*, *rāmâ* ('hill' or 'height') and *miṣpâ* ('look-out', from צפה, 'to observe') indicate that the early Israelite settlements were often located on hilltops. Names containing the elements ^{c}*ăṭārôt*, 'enclosed encampments' (from the verb עטר, 'to surround'),[9] *geder* or *gĕdērâ*, 'enclosed (sheep)fold',[10] and *ḥāṣēr*, 'farm' or 'enclosure' show that the inhabitants came from a pastoralist tradition. Characteristically these elements occur in conjunction with a clan or family name. Examples include Ramathaim-Zuphim, 'Height(s) of (the clan of) the Zuphites' (1 Samuel 1:1; cf. 9:5),[11] Atroth-Shophan, 'Encampments of the Shophan family' (Numbers 32:35), Hazar-Addar, 'Farm of the Addar family' (Numbers 34:4), and Gibeath-Phinehas, 'Hill of the Phinehas family' (Joshua 24:33). The names are evidence of the close connection between settlement and family, land and lineage, co-residence and clan.

In the discussion of the early Israelite place names, toponyms beginning

---

[6] The major studies of early Israelite toponyms are Borée 1930; Isserlin 1957; Rainey 1978; Aharoni 1979:105-130; Mazar, B. 1986:46-48.

[7] The Palestinian place names in Egyptian texts have been collected and analysed by Aḥituv 1984. The work has received a very critical review by Knauf & Lenzen 1989 ('The reviewers do hope that somebody else will succeed where Aḥituv has failed.')

[8] Isserlin 1957:135. Rainey 1978:3 misrepresents the view of Isserlin when he maintains that the occurrence of the element *geba*^{c} is not limited to the Israelite period, as if Isserlin 1957 had not already said as much.

[9] For the term see Borée 1930:85; Mazar, B. 1986:46 n. 32.

[10] For the meaning of the term see Mazar, B. 1986:46 n. 32.

[11] The *-ayim* ending probably has locative force, see Rainey 1978:5.

with the element *baʿal* have sometimes been dismissed as non-Israelite.[12] The judgment is apparently based on the view that Baal is a non-Israelite deity, and could therefore not be referred to in the names the Israelites gave to their first settlements. For obvious reasons the argument is unsound. The *baʿal* toponyms meet the criteria set for defining a place name as specifically Israelite. It must be assumed, therefore, that they are genuinely Israelite.[13] In fact, it is precisely these names which yield information about the religion of the early Israelites. The optional variant Beth-baal-meon (בית בעל מעון) for Baal-meon (בעלמעון)[14] suggests that the *baʿal* toponyms are short for *bêt-baʿal* names, which means that they imply the presence of a house (that is, once again, a temple) for a god referred to as *baʿal*.[15] These names betray a predilection on the part of some of the early Israelites for the cult of the Canaanite storm god. Though *baʿal* can be used as an epithet for many gods (also Yahweh can be referred to as *baʿal*, see Hosea 2:18[15]), the religious milieu from which many proto-Israelites sprang favours the understanding of *baʿal* as a proper name. The Baal toponyms refer to a local manifestation of the storm god Baal.

Baal is not the only god found as a theophoric element in pre-monarchic Israelite toponyms. Another god with some popularity—judging by the frequency of his name as theophoric element—was El. Bethel (Genesis 12:8), Irpeel (ירפאל, Joshua 18:27), Jabneel (יבנאל, Joshua 19:33, in Galilee), Jezreel (יזרעאל, Joshua 19:18, in the territory of Issachar), and Jiphtahel (יפתח־אל, Joshua 19:14, in Galilee) can be mentioned as examples.[16] The occurrence of El toponyms is hardly surprising in view of the prominence of the god in theophoric personal names. Unlike the Baal toponyms, the El toponyms are not specifically Israelite. Most of them are pre-Israelite. They were simply maintained in the early Israelite period, which suggests, also in view of the El anthroponyms, religious continuity in the worship of El on the

---

12 Isserlin 1957:135.

13 The element *baʿal* is not attested in pre-Israelite place names. Syro-Palestinian toponyms compounded with Baal are attested only in Neo-Assyrian records of the first millennium BC. The hill country of Canaan is rarely mentioned in the Egyptian sources of the second millennium BC and we still do not know whether any of the biblical Baal toponyms antedate the Iron Age. But since most of them are located in the hill country, which was quite depopulated in the Late Bronze Age and was settled only in the Iron Age, most (or even all) of these sites must have been founded and named only at that time.

14 The name Baal-Meon occurs in Numbers 32:34; Joshua 13:17; 1 Chronicles 5:8; and Mesha's inscription (*KAI* 181:9). Beth-Baal-Meon (Joshua 13:17; *KAI* 181:30) and Beth-Meon (Jeremiah 48:23) are variants. The place is generally identified with Khirbet Maʿin, about 8 km southwest of Madaba. Since no Iron Age remains were found in the course of excavations there, Baal-meon's exact location has yet to be established.

15 So Rainey 1978:6.

16 See Borée 1930:99.

part of the early Israelites.[17] The complete absence of the name Yahweh from the Early Iron Age toponyms is striking.[18] Since theological considerations fail to explain this fact,[19] it must be taken as a reflection of the relative unimportance of the worship of Yahweh among the early Israelites.

The early Israelite Baal toponyms often consist of two elements (if we neglect for the moment the optional element *bêt*), viz. *baᶜal* followed by a proper name. This name is frequently the name of a family or a clan. Somewhere in 'the land of Shalishah' lay Baal-shalishah, the cultic centre of the Shalishah clan (2 Kings 4:42), perhaps to be identified with Khirbet el-Marjame.[20] Other names which belong to the same type of toponyms are Baal-Hazor (2 Samuel 13:23) and Baal-Perazim (2 Samuel 5:20; 1 Chronicles 14:11). Baal-Judah (according to the emended text of 2 Samuel 6:2, cf. 1 Chronicles 13:6) and Baal-Tamar (Judges 20:33) were also early Israelite cult centres in the hill country.[21] Possibly the name Baal-Gad (Joshua 11:17; 12:7; 13:5) could be added to the catalogue. In all of these cases a local manifestation of Baal is defined by his relationship with a certain family, lineage, or clan. The compounded Baal names correspond with the non-theophoric toponyms carrying the name of a family or a clan. If the latter indicate that the early Israelite settlements were kin-based villages, the former tell us that the locally worshipped god was a family or clan god. The Baal toponyms refer to 'family cult places'.[22]

Put together, the onomastic evidence from early Israel suggests a pattern of religion which is both localist (to use a term that is free from the derogatory overtones of the qualification 'parochial') and family- or clan-orientated. The Israelite settlers of the central hill country lived as families or groups of related families (clans) in small compounds, where they cultically honoured a god whom they referred to as 'lord' of their family or clan. The parallel with Old Babylonian family religion is almost too obvious for comment, though one difference should be noted. Whereas the early Israelites seem to have combined the ancestor cult and the worship of a local god in one and the same sanctuary (though the statuettes of ancestors in their homes may have

---

17 In addition to Baal and El, the toponyms refer to other gods as well. By and large, however, the gods El and Baal predominate in the relevant data.

18 Excepting the reference to the Šosū of Yahweh, mentioned in Egyptian texts. These people are to be situated in Southern Edom, however, not on Canaanite soil. For a discussion of the Šosū see 'Who Were the Israelites?' in Chapter Eight.

19 *Pace* Isserlin 1957:137, 'It looks as if YHWH, a jealous god, did not lightly permit his name to dwell in any place.' Isserlin is followed by de Moor 1990:39.

20 See Mazar, A. 1976:138.

21 Rosen 1988, *pace* Seow 1989:9 whō argues that Kiriath-jearim was also known by the name '(Mount) Baᶜalah'.

22 Mazar, B. 1986:48.

been the object of some form of veneration as well), the Babylonians knew a topographical separation between the cult of the ancestors (performed in a domestic context) and the worship of their patron gods (performed in the neighbourhood temples or, in the case of the Amorites, the amphictyonic sanctuaries).

Archaeological Remains

The witness of onomastics may be compared now with the archaeological data on sanctuaries whose foundation or use can be confidently traced to the period known as the Early Iron Age, i.e., ca. 1200-1000 BC.[23] In anticipation of a survey of the evidence, it may be said that only a very small number of cultic sites from the Early Iron Age have been found. Their number increases when earlier cultic areas which remained in use are included. Yet when strict criteria are applied—a necessary measure in the light of the inclination to speculate on the part of some archaeologists—the material remains of a proto-Israelite cult in the Samarian highlands are scarce. The lack of monumental structures is especially noteworthy; with the possible exception of the Migdal temple of Shechem, the excavations have yielded no traces of religious buildings designed to accommodate large groups of people.[24] The archaeological record conveys the image of a religion practised at a local level by relatively small communities. In continuity with the earlier periods, the gods they worshipped could be represented by theriomorphic and anthropomorphic images. Traces of a sanctuary that might possibly have served as a national cult centre have not been found.

The survey of the evidence will focus first on the holy places of the Canaanite cities which were still used in the Early Iron Age. In conformity with the prevailing opinion among modern archaeologists, it appears certain that the Middle Bronze Age traditions concerning the location of cultic sites were preserved among the Israelites—which is hardly surprising in view of the Canaanite background of many of the proto-Israelite settlers. Thus the fortified sanctuary of Megiddo, built in the Middle or the Late Bronze Age (stratum VIII) was re-used in the Early Iron Age (stratum VII-A).[25] Beth-shean, to give another example, has yielded remains of a number of Late

---

[23] For surveys of the material remains of Israelite cult centres (from both Iron I and Iron II) see Shiloh 1979; Ottosson 1980; Dever 1983; Ahlström 1984; Wenning & Zenger 1986:83-84 n. 23; Dever 1987; Holladay 1987; Weippert, H. 1988:407-410; Zwickel 1994 (reference courtesy M. S. Smith; Zwickel's study was inaccessible to me).

[24] The Arad temple from the 10th or the 9th century BC remains the earliest instance of an Israelite temple—and that temple is Judahite.

[25] Loud 1948:57-105; Aharoni & Shiloh 1993:1011-1013.

Bronze Age temples that were functioning in the Early Iron Age.[26] Neither place is situated in the central hill country, however. Even if we would not give credit to the statement that the cities in question became Israelite only in the era of the United Monarchy (Judges 1:27; 1 Kings 4:11-12), it must be admitted that they were peripheral in respect to the heartland of the Israelite settlement.

Cultic continuity in the central hill country is attested at Tirzah and Shechem. At Tirzah (Tell el-Far^{c}ah) the continuity concerns the city-gate. The Bronze Age construction continued to be used in the Iron Age. Its cultic function is evident from the presence of a basin (presumably used for libations) and four hewn stone pillars set on a base (presumably stelae or *maṣṣēbôt*) along the stretch of road that led from the inner gate to the town. The installation is most plausibly interpreted as a space for cultic activities. In biblical terminology, it was probably known as a 'high place of the gate' (2 Kings 23:8).[27] The cultic interpretation of the Iron Age building directly above the Middle Bronze Age subterranean sanctuary near the gate of Tirzah is less certain. Defended by Roland de Vaux,[28] it has been seriously contested by Mervyn Fowler.[29] The presence of two terracotta chalices could imply some cultic function of the building. If so, it would have served as a place of 'worship incorporated in domestic life'.[30]

The evidence for Shechem (Tell Balaṭa) is complex.[31] In the Early Iron Age, the new settlers of the hill country seem to have mixed with the native inhabitants, which means that the Early Iron Age evidence does not reflect strictly Israelite practices.[32] Stratum XI suffered massive destruction around 1100 BC, after which the site lay virtually unpopulated during the eleventh century. Several Bronze Age sanctuaries have been identified by the excavators. One of them would have continued to function in the early Iron Age until 1100 BC. This is the so-called *migdal* or tower-temple, associated by archaeologists and biblical scholars with the temple of El-Berith mentioned in Judges 9:4,46.[33] Though the interpretation of the Shechem tower building

---

26 Rowe 1940:6-35, figs 3-5,9; Mazar, A. 1993:217.

27 See de Vaux 1967b:377; 1975:401; Chambon 1993:439.

28 de Vaux 1957:576-577.

29 Fowler, M. D. 1981.

30 Chambon 1993.

31 Major studies on Shechem are Wright, G. E. 1965; Wright, G. R. H. 1968; Jaroš 1976, reviewed by Weippert, H. 1978; Toombs 1979; Campbell, E. F. 1993 (with extensive references to further literature).

32 Cf. Toombs 1979:73-75.

33 Mazar, B. 1962:634-635; Wright, G. E. 1965:123-128; 1967:360-361; Wright, G. R. H. 1968:16-26; Wright, G. E. 1978:1090.1092; Weippert, H. 1988:277; Campbell, E. F. 1993.

as a temple has been questioned in view of the absence of contemporary cultic objects within the edifice,[34] its cultic function must be considered a serious possibility.

The temple of Shiloh (Khirbet Seilūn) is a problematic example of a sanctuary in the central hill country inherited by the proto-Israelites from the Canaanites, because the evidence for it is entirely circumstantial.[35] In a layer dated to the Middle Bronze Age (MB III) the excavators found cultic stands, small votive bowls, and a vessel in the form of a bull. They concluded that there must have been a sanctuary on or near the summit of the mound.[36] Its presence remains conjectural, however. Shiloh was destroyed by the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Some finds from the Late Bronze Age that have been interpreted as votive offerings led the excavator to postulate the continued use of the—still undiscovered—temple of Shiloh.[37] This hypothesized sanctuary would have served as a cultic centre in the Iron Age as well.[38] Alluring though this suggestion is, there is no firm evidence to support it. The most one can say is that the postulated temple makes sense of some of the evidence and fits with the biblical accounts. If there was indeed a sanctuary, however, it may well have been one of local importance only; the idea of Shiloh as a national religious centre in the Period of the Judges is entirely based on a historical reconstruction made in the Deuteronomistic History.[39]

In addition to traces of Israelite worship at traditionally Canaanite cult places, there is archaeological evidence of two open air sanctuaries built in the Early Iron Age. They could be regarded, so their discoverers claim, as the earliest examples of genuinely Israelite holy places. The one is located on Mount Ebal, north of Shechem,[40] on a site covering one acre. The oldest layer is surrounded by a stone wall; inside, on the highest point, there was a two metre wide installation which looks like the remains of a tower. In the

---

34 Fowler, M. D. 1983; Campbell, E. F. 1993:135a.

35 For the archaeology of Shiloh see Finkelstein, I. 1993. See also Finkelstein, I. 1988:205-234 (with references to earlier publications) and Schley 1989 (which is almost solely concerned with the textual data, though).

36 Finkelstein, I. 1988:216; 1993:377.

37 Finkelstein, I. 1988:219; 1993:381-382.

38 Finkelstein, I. 1988:228-234; 1993:384-385.

39 It is unlikely that the temple of Shiloh ever served as a national sanctuary. The author of Judges 21:12-21 considered Shiloh a minor cult centre, since he judged it necessary to specify that it was to be found 'north of Bethel, on the east of the highway that goes up from Bethel to Shechem, and south of Lebonah' (Judges 21:19). Shiloh's status as national religious centre existed only in the minds of later authors—more specifically in that of the Deuteronomists. See also van der Toorn & Houtman 1994:226.

40 Zertal 1985; Kempinski 1986; Zertal 1986a; 1987; 1988; Finkelstein, I. 1988:82-85; Soggin 1988.

youngest of the two strata (still Early Iron Age), there is evidence of a newly constructed wall. In the centre there was a rectangular structure of field stones, measuring about eight by nine metres, with massive outer walls. The interior space was filled with ashes, earth, stones and faunal remains. On the southern side of the building were two large rooms or courtyards. The excavator interpreted the rectangular structure as a large altar, connecting it with the biblical references to Joshua's altar on Mount Ebal (Deuteronomy 27:4; Joshua 8:30-35).[41] Others, accepting the cultic interpretation, suggest that this was in fact the tower-temple of El-Berith of Shechem (Judges 9:4, 46).[42] It must be stressed, though, that the cultic interpretation of the building is not certain.

The second Early Iron Age sanctuary in the central hill country is the so-called 'Bull Site' between Dothan and Tirzah.[43] In the 1970's archaeologists discovered here, on the summit of a high ridge, a twenty metre circle of large stones. The open air enclosure may have contained a sacred tree. Inside, to the east, stood an erected stone, presumably a *maṣṣēbâ*. In front of it was a pavement on which offerings were found to have been deposited. The sanctuary was furnished with a bronze bull image which originally had inlaid eyes of precious stone. The figurine served as an object of worship. No traces of permanent settlement were found at the site itself, but five early Iron Age settlements have been found at a distance of about one kilometre, surrounding the cult place in a semi-circle. It is presumably from these small settlements, rather than from the more distant cities such as Dothan and Tirzah, that the worshippers came.[44]

In addition to the possible cases of temples and open air sanctuaries, there is some evidence of domestic cultic activity. At Raddana, the excavators found a platform in one of the few buildings of a joint-family compound. They took it to be the remains of 'a primitive family altar'. Scattered fragments of two offering stands found nearby increase the likelihood of the cultic interpretation.[45] A house in Hazor stratum XI (Early Iron Age), dating back to the time when the site was still an unwalled village, contained a bronze figurine of a seated male deity and cultic utensils. The house has been interpreted as an Israelite high place, but one might as well speak of a

---

41 Zertal 1985; cf. Weinfeld 1988:281.

42 So Soggin 1984:282, see also Soggin 1988:116-117; Na'aman 1986a; de Moor 1990:181.

43 Mazar, A. 1982a; Zwickel 1984; Mazar, A. 1988.

44 Cf. Wenning & Zenger 1986 who suggest that the Bull Site served as the 'high place' (*bāmâ*) of the clan (*mišpāḥâ*) living in the five settlements surrounding it.

45 Callaway 1985:42.

domestic cult.[46] The remains of animal offerings in an eleventh century BC house in Tell Qirī (Ha-Zōrēa^{c}, north-west of the central hill country) also point to a domestic cult.[47] From the eleventh century, too, there are the remains of a court shrine at Tell el-Mazār in the Jordan valley.[48] Other examples of domestic shrines come from the tenth century BC. The cultic corners of Megiddo (locus 2081, stratum Va), with incense stands and upright stones at the entrance, might be mentioned in illustration.[49]

In sum, the archaeological evidence suggests that the early Israelite cult was consonant with a simple, agrarian, non-urban society; it did not require a large body of clergy nor an elaborate ritual.[50] In respect to the few examples of sacred architecture, there is both continuity and discontinuity between the Early Iron and the Late Bronze Age. Discontinuity is suggested by the sheer lack of major monumental temples in the central hill country. The area does not seem to have reached a degree of political unity where a central temple would have been functional. Continuity, on the other hand, is evident from the use of earlier sanctuaries, the practice of ritual activities in a domestic context, and the use of theriomorphic and anthropomorphic cult images. Combined with the evidence of the onomastic data, the archaeological record suggests that the early Israelites of the central hill country were self-sufficient in their religion. Their religion was a family or clan religion, with rituals conducted at local shrines, and focused on the patron god of the clan.[51] The principal gods who served as such were El, Baal, and Yahweh. The cult which they received, performed either at local open air sanctuaries or in one of the houses of the settlement, followed the forms of Canaanite worship.

The Sanctuary of Micah in the Hill Country of Ephraim

The onomastic and archaeological evidence of early Israelite family religion can be used to establish the plausibility of biblical data on local sanctuaries and rituals in the period of the Judges. The relevant texts are to be found in the Book of Judges, and some of them in the early sections of the First Book of Samuel. Three narratives in this corpus deal with local shrines: Judges

---

46 See Yadin 1961, Pls. 203-206, 345-347; 1972:132-134.

47 Ben-Tor 1979.

48 Yassine 1984.

49 Loud 1948:44-46, with figures 101-103; Shiloh 1979:149; Holladay 1987:252-253; Weippert, H. 1988:447-449; Ussishkin 1989.

50 Cf. Dever 1987:233.

51 So too Halpern, who characterizes the pre-monarchic cult as 'extremely locally oriented' (1983:224) and who emphasizes the importance of 'the clan- or local religion which seems to have persisted to the time when Assyria devastated the entire Israelite countryside' (1983:224-225).

17:1-18:31 tells about the 'house of God' and the divine image of Micah from the hill country of Ephraim; Judges 6-8 contains the story of the local shrine of Gideon (or Jerubbaal) at Ophrah of the Abiezrites; and 1 Samuel 9:11-24 describes the sacrificial meal of Samuel and Saul at the high place (the Bamah) of Ramah-of-the-Zuphites. The three texts shall be discussed in the order in which they have just been mentioned.

The traditions about a local shrine in the hill country of Ephraim form the background of a narrative that is meant to discredit the sanctuary at Dan, its cult, and its priesthood (Judges 17-18).[52] It has been incorporated as an appendix to the Book of Judges because the events are set in the period of the Judges. The redactional additions in 17:6 ('In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes') and 18:1 ('In those days there was no king in Israel') serve as a chronological frame (cf. 19:1; 21:25).[53] The actual date of the material is debated. Completely opposite opinions have been defended: while the text gives the one commentator 'the overall impression that the story originated in a very early (premonarchic) period',[54] the next interpreter regards the chapters as 'an example of late biblical narrative'.[55] What clues for dating does the narrative itself present?

The principal chronological implication of the narrative lies in its polemical intention. Two originally independent Micah stories[56]—the one about the origin of his silver-coated idol (Judges 17:1-4), the other about the origin of the priest who served in his house (Judges 17:7-13)—have been combined. A redactional seam in 17:5 ('And this man Micah had a shrine, and he made an ephod-cum-teraphim, and he consecrated one of his sons who became his priest') shows where the narratives have been connected. The combined stories were elaborated into a polemical aetiology of the temple cult at Dan according to which both Micah's image and his priest wound up at Dan (18:30). The bull image of Dan, known from one or two other biblical texts (1 Kings 12:29), was thus given an inglorious history: it had been made from stolen silver, and came to Dan by foul means. The Mosaic priesthood of Dan (the Levite from Bethlehem is identified as Jonathan the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, in 18:30) scarcely appears

---

52 For literature see Soggin 1981b:264; Gray 1986:222-224.

53 Talmon 1986:39-52 suggests that the indication means to say that the events occurred between the time of Joshua and the period of the Judges. The posited equivalence between 'king' (*melek*) and 'judge' (*šōpēṭ*) does not carry conviction, however.

54 Boling 1975:259.

55 Auld 1989:263.

56 Note, e.g., the long form *Mîkāyĕhû* in 17:1-4 as opposed to the shorter form elsewhere in the narrative. For a detailed source-critical analysis see Moore 1918[2]:366-370.

in a more positive light. It was the allurement of a steady income which convinced the priest that he should stay with Micah (17:10); greed for power and greater glory made him close his eyes to robbery and incited him to leave Micah for the Danites (18:19-20).

Though the satirical character of the narrative is evident, the identity of the party lampooning against Dan and its priesthood is a riddle. The solution must be based on the principle of *cui bono*: whose interests were served by this story? Various suggestions have been made. Many biblical scholars suppose the story has Judahite origins, because they construe it as a critique of the iconic worship current in Ephraim (and supposedly absent from the temple in Jerusalem). To say that the Book of Judges is 'a political allegory fostering the Davidic monarchy'[57] and for that reason critical of everything Ephraimite is the politicized version of this view. One could object, though, that one of the main targets of criticism in Judges 17-18 is a Levite from Bethlehem, precisely the place where King David came from. In fact, the expressions 'Bethlehem in Judah' (17:7) and 'Kiriath-jearim in Judah' (18:12) strongly suggest a northern provenance of the narrative. Why explain to a Judahite audience the location of places with which they would have been quite familiar?[58] An Ephraimite origin would explain the presence of these indications. If the narrative has indeed an Israelite background, as Martin Noth and others suggest, its authors must probably be sought among the priests of Bethel.[59]

A priest from Bethel might not appear to be the most obvious author of our story. On second thought, however, the possibility is less far-fetched than it seems. It is often not sufficiently realized that the sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel, though both apostate from a Judahite point of view, considered each other as rivals. Because the two of them were recognized as state sanctuaries by Jeroboam I (1 Kings 12:29-30), it is usually assumed that they were in sympathy with each other. The reality was different. The priesthood at Dan claimed Mosaic descent (Judges 18:30),[60] while the Bethel

---

[57] Brettler 1989:416.

[58] Noth 1962. So, too, Mayes 1974:45-46. Brettler's (1989:409 n. 79) dismissal of Noth's argument is too easy. He fails to take into account Judges 18:12, which invalidates his observation that 'a Judean writing for a general audience could have used this term to distinguish that place from others that are also named *bêt leḥem*.' While Noth's arguments in favour of an Ephraimite origin of the story are persuasive, his ultimate solution is not convincing. He believes it is the later priesthood of Dan which sought to consolidate its position by criticizing the previous priesthood.

[59] Also Gray 1986:224 considers the possibility of the story going back to royal priests at Bethel.

[60] Noth 1948:202; Schmid, H. 1968:98; Widengren 1970:36; Knauf 1988:158. Note that the name *Mĕnaššeh* ('Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh') should

priests looked to Aaron as their ancestor (Judges 20:26-28);[61] the antagonism between these two groups is well documented.[62] Judging by the biblical records, the prestige of Bethel was greater than that of Dan. The absence of Dan in such Ephraimite literary works as the Cycle of Elijah and Elisha (1 Kings 17-2 Kings 8.13) and the Elohist source is noteworthy.[63] Yet the popularity of Dan as a pilgrimage centre (Amos 8:14) will hardly have pleased the Bethel priesthood, since it must have gone to the detriment of their income. If the chapters were a polemic against the state cult in the Northern Kingdom, as it is often supposed, why is Bethel not mentioned at all? The most plausible solution, also in view of the other indications, is to regard the Bethel priesthood as responsible for the combination of the two Micah stories into a piece of anti-Dan propaganda.[64]

Assuming that two previously existing traditions about Micah from the hill country of Ephraim were combined and reworked before 734 BC (when Dan was captured by the Assyrians), the content of the once independent Micah stories must go back to at least the early monarchic era. Micah compares with other small or great judges in the sense that he was a local celebrity. Judging by the amount of money his—presumably widowed—mother possessed, he was from a wealthy family. The story suggests that he was the chief of a settlement in the hill country inhabited by people most of whom were related by kin; they can be referred to as the 'house' of Micah (Judges 18:25). Such a 'house', in the biblical idiom, could easily amount to eighty-five persons, women and children not included (cf. 1 Samuel 22:11.18). Having set out against five men, Micah soon discovered that the men of his clan were no party for a group of six-hundred armed men.

Micah owed his fame in part to the possession of a richly adorned shrine. Some believe this means he was 'a prince or a petty ruler'.[65] Yet though Micah was clearly a man of means, it is unwarranted to assume that he ruled over a small territorial state. Nothing proves that the building of a temple and the installation of a son as its priest were royal prerogatives.[66] What is

---

be read as *Mōšeh* (Moses), as the suspended *nun* (known as *tĕlûyâ*) indicates its precarious character in the scribal tradition.

61 Cross 1973:199 refers to Judges 20:26-28 as 'an archaic tradition'. See also Gunneweg 1965:90.

62 See Cross 1973:195-215.

63 On the Elijah-Elisha narratives see Chapter Twelve; for the Elohist source see below.

64 Sensing the difficulty of the absence of Bethel in Judges 17-18, Amit 1990 has suggested that the narrative contains a hidden polemic against Bethel: the shrine of Micah (called a *bêt ʾelōhîm*) should in fact be identified with Bethel.

65 Ahlström 1986:79; so already Ahlström 1963:25.

66 The phenomenon of a privately owned sanctuary has a parallel among pre-Islamic Arabs, where sanctuaries were usually in the possession of local nobility. The owner of the

presented as exceptional in the story is not the fact that Micah owned a shrine, but that this shrine had an expensive idol and was operated by a Levite, i.e., a professional from out of town. At the time in which the Micah traditions were spun, there was nothing extraordinary in the fact that a settlement of some size had a local shrine. Though owned by the town's headman, the chapel was apparently designed as a cultic centre for the entire population—a population that had kinship ties with the owner. If the shrine were a place of devotion for only a nuclear family, the consecration of a Levite priest would be slightly overdone. In this respect, then, the story reflects the religious situation adumbrated by the archaeological and toponymic record: religion in the early Iron Age was primarily a matter of the joint family or clan.

Unfortunately the story contains no detailed description of the paraphernalia and the organization of an early Israelite shrine. Yet a few points deserve to be noted. According to Judges 17:5 a shrine, in order to serve as a full-fledged sanctuary, had to be equipped with an ephod-cum-teraphim (*ʾēpôd ûtĕrāpîm*).[67] The significance of the expression was apparently lost in the process of textual transmission, in view of the fact that the terms are used as a hendiays in 17:5 and 18:14 (as they are, too, in Hosea 3:4), but torn asunder in 18:17, 18, 20.[68] The term 'ephod' would seem to be redundant in the present context, since the story speaks at length about the divine image which Micah possessed. Judging by the story of Gideon's altar at Ophrah, an ephod refers to an image of the god.[69] The teraphim are one or more ancestor statuettes.[70] Their presence in Micah's sanctuary confirms its function as a family shrine.

Micah's wealth is visible in the presence of a silver-plated image (allegedly made from the silver Micah had stolen from his mother, and which she had sanctified to God as a means of annulling her earlier curse over the culprit—whom she had not suspected to be her own son) and of a professional priest. Though framed as a lampoon, and bordering on a comedy of errors, the tale about Micah's shrine has a certain degree of historical plausibility. It compares with the information laid down in the Old Babylonian record of

---

holy place often appointed one of his sons as *sādin*, more a custodian than a priest. See Wellhausen 1927[3]:130; Henninger 1959:137.

67 The ephod-and-teraphim are presumably not variants of the image, but its accessories, see Gray 1986:222.

68 Something similar has occurred to the *pesel ûmassēkâ*, another hendiadys, referring to a metal-coated carved image. The construction was apparently misunderstood in Judges 18:17, 18, 20.

69 See on this subject van der Toorn & Houtman 1994:230.

70 See van der Toorn & Lewis 1995.

foundation of a chapel for Ḫaniš-and-Šullat.[71] The benefactor who donated this chapel to the god, had also appointed a professional priest to do service in the modest sanctuary. It is likely that the dedicant expected the sanctuary to be used by himself and his family, as well as by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Such a privately founded sanctuary, provided with a cult image and a priest, was a source of prestige among fellow citizens.

The Altar of Gideon

The second narrative to be considered is the story—or the collection of stories—about Gideon (Judges 6-8).[72] The complex character of the Gideon tradition becomes clear as soon as the relevant chapters are submitted to a literary-critical analysis. No division of the various episodes over two or more distinct sources has commanded general assent; there is only some agreement about the separation of the Deuteronomistic redaction from the earlier traditions.[73]

The chapters 6-8 are a heavily edited selection of older material, in consequence of which the narrative in its present form contains a fair number of doublets and internal tensions. Thus we have a hero with two different names: Gideon (*passim*) and Jerubbaal (6:32; 7:1; 8:29); two Yahwistic altars, one near the wine press under the terebinth (6:11-24), the other 'on top of the settlement'[74] (6:25-32); two requests to God for proof, one involving the miraculous combustion of an offering (Judges 6:17-24), the other involving a fleece of wool (6:36-40); two victorious battles, one against Oreb and Zeeb (7:25-8:3), the other against Zebah and Zalmunna (8:4-21). The latter were apparently held responsible for a killing among Gideon's clansmen at Tabor (8:18), an incident which has now disappeared from the narrative.

Outside the three chapters of the Book of Judges the name Gideon is unknown. The 'judge' from Ophrah is consistently referred to as Jerubbaal (Judges 9 *passim*; 1 Samuel 12:11) or—with intentional deformation—Jerubbesheth (2 Samuel 11:21). This fact suggests that the 'extended narrative of Gideon' was 'a re-telling of an earlier story (...) about Jerubbaal.'[75] The fact that Jerubbaal was provided with a literary alias bearing the name Gideon must be explained as an effort to clear Jerubbaal of all associations

---

71 See CT 6, 36a, Bu. 91-5-9,704, cf. Schorr 1913, 220; Renger 1969:114-115.
72 For literature see Soggin 1981b:102-103.
73 Cf. Richter 1966²:244-246; Soggin 1981b:105.
74 Correct *māᶜôz* into *māᶜôn* in 6:26, cf. BHS.
75 Auld 1989:266.

with the cult of Baal.[76] The ingenious etymology of the name Jerubbaal on which the episode about the altar destruction finishes strengthens the impression that the Jerubbaal tradition is original.

The picture of Gideon as a nocturnal iconoclast serves to prove his devotion to Yahweh. It was in the interest of the editors of the story to emphasize this point, lest they attribute heroic feats to an idolater. Two historical motifs have been combined in the story of Gideon's destruction of the altar, viz. that of local skirmishes between Baal devotees and worshippers of Yahweh,[77] and that of the hero who asserts his claim to leadership by erecting an altar. While both motifs were bred by historical experiences, their combination into Gideon's act of iconoclasm belongs to the realm of legend.

The historical kernel on which the Gideon narrative is based is the role of Jerubbaal as headman of Ophrah[78] and warrior against the Midianites.[79] Since the Midianite presence in Transjordania is most plausibly dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age,[80] the tradition must go back to the early Iron Age. Jerubbaal's family ranked among the foremost of the Abiezrites at Ophrah. Gideon's self-depreciatory comment at the moment of his calling ('my kin group [*ʾalpî*] is the weakest in Manasseh, and I am the youngest in my father's household,' 6:15) is merely a conventional display of modesty, since the man had more than ten servants (6:27). His wealth gave him a position of leadership (6:34). The family owned a shrine on top of the hill on which Ophrah was built. It had the basic furnishings of a local sanctuary such as an altar (6:20-24), and a tree or wooden pole (6:11) referred to as its Asherah (6:25). Even more spectacular was its golden ephod of about 1,700 shekel in weight (8:24-27), a valuable attribute which implicitly symbolized the prosperity of the town in general and of Jerubbaal's family in particular. Although it was the property of one family, the shrine was a matter of

---

[76] It should be noted that this interpretation of the two names does not imply that there were two distinct historical figures, the one bearing the name Gideon and the other Jerubbaal. On the identity of the two see Emerton 1976. Emerton suggests that one of the two names is a regnal name—which seems not very plausible. Whether the name Gideon was chosen for its association with the verb גדע, 'to hew down' (Deuteronomy 7:5; 12:3), as Auld holds, is doubtful. On the etymology of the name see also Noth 1928:227; Emerton 1976:308 and n. 1.

[77] See Richter 1966[2]:164 n. 18; Smend 1975:176.

[78] Ophrah in Manasseh should not be confused with its homonym in the territory of Benjamin (Joshua 18:23; 1 Samuel 13:17). Ophrah in Manasseh has been tentatively identified with ʿAffuleh (*IDB* 3:606-607; Soggin 1981b:114), Farʿata (Naʾaman 1989:14-16), Tell Ṣōfar (Donner 1990), and a host of other sites. On its location see also Knauf 1991:36-39.

[79] Cf. Knauf 1988:34-42, esp. 37: 'Es erscheint glaubhaft, dass es Gideon-Jerubbaal gelang, mit 300 Mann seiner Sippe Abiezer (. . .) eine Midianiter-Gruppe zu schlagen und aus der Beute seinem Heimatort Ophra ein Kultbild zu stiften (. . .).'

[80] See Knauf 1983; 1988:21-23.41.91-96; Cross 1988:57-59.

concern to all 'the men of the town' (6:27-28). Since all the inhabitants of Ophrah belonged to the clan of the Abiezrites (6:24; 8:32), the shrine must have done duty as a clan sanctuary.

The Sanctuary at Ramah-of-the-Zuphites

The third narrative (1 Samuel 9:1-10:16) has a Benjaminite as its protagonist. The reason for its inclusion in the present discussion is threefold: the story has a northern origin, is generally acknowledged to be very ancient, and deals with a clan sanctuary in Ephraim. The sanctuary was located in Ramah, a town belonging to the clan of the Zuphites. As the interlunium sacrifice was going to be celebrated at the sanctuary, the thirty men of the town assembled for a meal of plenty. Samuel presided over the celebration. With the exception of Saul and his servant, all participants in the ritual belonged to the clan or 'people' (*ʿam*) of the Zuphites. It was their sanctuary, and they were its cultic community.[81]

The narrative contains some clues to the location, structure, and functioning of a local shrine. The establishment, called a 'high place' (*bāmâ*), was situated just outside the gate at a point slightly above the level of the town itself (cf. 1 Samuel 9:11-14.18-19.25).[82] This may be compared to the location of the shrine at Ophrah 'on top of the settlement' (Judges 6:26 *ʿal rôʾš hammāʿôn*, according to the emended text). An elevated spot was perhaps characteristic of such local shrines. Though the Bamah was an open-air sanctuary, it could include some roofed space. In 1 Samuel 9:22 it is said that the sacrificial meal was served in a 'hall' (*liškâ*), probably a room with benches along three walls.[83] The same word is used to designate the place where Hannah ate and drank at the sanctuary of Shiloh (1 Sam 1:9 LXX; cf. *v.* 18).[84] Since the shrine at Ramah could accommodate a party of thirty men, the room must have been relatively large. The meal is referred to as a *zebaḥ*, which implies the presence of an altar. A major effect of the ceremonies performed at that altar was the consolidation of the ties among the male population; sacrificial worship fostered solidarity and a sense of community.

---

[81] For a discussion of the background of the story see the section on 'The Periodicity of the Offerings to the Dead' in Chapter Nine. Another biblical illustration of a sacrificial meal at a local sanctuary is found at 1 Samuel 16:2-5 in connection with Bethlehem.

[82] Cf. Naʾaman 1987:20.

[83] *HAL*[3] 509-510; Note also Passoni dell'Acqua 1981 about the Egyptian background of the LXX translation of Hebrew *liškâ*. For a possible connection with Greek λέσχα see Burkert 1993.

[84] Cf. the observations by Weinfeld *apud* Biran 1981:149.

Despite their differences in scope and setting, the three early biblical narratives yield a remarkably uniform picture of the role of the Bamah in the Early Iron Age. According to the story of Micah, the local sanctuary belonged to the most prominent family of the town. This may well have been the case as well in Ramah. Samuel's presidency at the sacrificial banquet was more likely due to his social position than to his spiritual gifts. It should be remembered that he came from a family in which there was no financial obstacle to polygamy (1 Samuel 1:1-8), which suggests it belonged to an upper-class milieu. Even if the sanctuary belonged to one family, it was not a domestic chapel but a local cult centre catering to the needs of the entire community. This community was conceived of as a lineage or a clan; their ties were putatively kin-based. In biblical parlance they were a *bêt-ʾāb* (Judges 17-18), a *mišpāḥâ*, or an *ʿam* (1 Samuel 9:12). Usually, they all lived in the town where the sanctuary was located; it is almost impossible to distinguish between clan, on the one hand, and settlement, on the other.

The basic structures of the picture emerging from the literary evidence correspond with the scant archaeological remains of the early Israelite cult, as well as with the onomastic data. At present, there is no instance where the literary and archaeological data interlock; the sanctuaries of Ophrah and Ramah cannot be identified as yet.[85] However, the presumed existence of a local cult functioning at the level of the clan is well attested in the biblical records. The towns, inhabited by different branches of a family or clan, were the main cultic communities. There is neither archaeological nor literary evidence for a domestic cult performed by single nuclear families. Related families constituted one cultic body, the paterfamilias of the foremost family acting as its head. It need hardly be stressed that the local shrine known as the 'Bull Site' fits at marvel in this context, assuming the five settlements which surrounded it at close quarters perceived themselves as a unity.

In the earliest phase of Israelite religion it would seem that religion was predominantly a matter of the family or clan. The settlers of the central hill country lived in self-contained and largely self-sufficient communities; they did not look beyond the borders of their cluster of hamlets, their town or their village for their worship. At the same time the townships were the main social horizon for the families that lived there. Family religion was focused on the god of the settlement. This god was the patron of the leading family

---

[85] Edelman 1988:56 makes a case for the identification of Ramah with Khirbet Raddana, excavated between 1969 to 1972 (cf. Callaway & Cooley 1971). The village of Raddana was situated on an arid hilltop. It consisted of five or six house compounds and had no fortifications. Considering its size, it is unlikely that the village ever had more than sixty inhabitants (see Callaway 1985:34).

and, by extension, of the local clan and the settlement. Allegiance to the clan god was concomitant with membership of the clan. The clan god was commonly a god of the Canaanite pantheon, El and Baal being the most widely worshipped. The occurrence of Yahweh as clan god seems to have been exceptional. The god was assumed to act as the patron and protector of the clan, and served as the symbol of its identity.

The Religion of the Patriarchs according to the Elohist

On the strength of the evidence gathered so far it can be said that early Israelite religion consisted of a variety of local forms of family religion. In conjunction with the cult of the ancestors, it exhibited the characteristics of family religion as reflected in the Old Babylonian, Ugaritic and Sam'alite sources. The one element that is still lacking in our reconstruction concerns the transmission of the veneration of the local family god by the one generation to the other. This aspect, too, is documented in the biblical records. It can be found in the patriarchal narratives that speak about Yahweh (in the Yahwistic tradition), El or Elohim (in the Elohistic tradition) or El-Shadday (in the Priestly tradition) as 'the god of the father'.[86] Since only the Elohist, as we shall call the author of the Elohistic parts of Genesis,[87] has an Ephraimite background,[88] the focus of what follows will fall on the traditions about Jacob and Bethel.[89]

The Elohist pictures the religion of the patriarchs as family religion.[90] An illustration of the role of kinship in the devotion to the god of the father is to be found in the last chapter of Genesis. The story tells how Joseph's brothers, fearing that Joseph might avenge himself on them now that their father has died, sent him a message:

---

[86] See Alt 1929; 1940. Supporters of Alt's view on the religion of the patriarchs include Maag 1980 (originally published in 1958); Rost 1960:353; von Rad 1962[4]:179-189; Fohrer 1969:20-26; Schmidt, W. H. 1979:30; Mettinger 1988:53-74. For a critique of Alt see Hoftijzer 1956; Diebner 1975; Schmid, H. H. 1976:119-153, esp. 144; Van Seters 1980; Köckert 1988.

[87] The largely undisputed Elohist passages bearing on the religion of the patriarchs are Genesis 20; 21:8-20; 33:18-20; 35:1-8.14-20; 43; 46:1-5; 50:15-20. A few other relevant texts are to be put on the account of the Elohist, though they betray traces of a Yahwistic redaction: Genesis 21:22-34 [33 J]; 22:1-14 [11 J]; 28:10-22 [13-16.21 J]; 31:1-54 [3.49 J]. Genesis 46:1-5 is a redactional unit meant to connect the patriarchal traditions with the sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus traditions, see Schmitt, H.-C. 1980:57-62.163-169; Köckert 1988:82-83. The reference to the Exodus does not imply that the passage is by definition later than the rest of the Elohist corpus, considering the place of the Exodus motif in the Book of Hosea.

[88] See n. 110.

[89] On the Cycle of Jacob as a self-contained group of narratives see Blum 1984:175-185; de Pury 1991.

[90] Cf. Rost 1960:352-356.

> Before his death, your father gave this command, 'Thus you shall say to Joseph: Please forgive the crime of your brothers and their sin, for they did evil to you.' Now then, do forgive the crime of the servants of the god of your father.
>
> Genesis 50:16-17

The passage shows that the expressions 'your brothers' and 'the servants of the god of your father' can be used in parallelism. Being a son of one's father means that one is a servant of his god. In a prayer to 'the god of my father Abraham and the god of my father Isaac' (Genesis 32:10[9]), Jacob calls himself a 'servant' of the same god (Genesis 32:11[10]). Patrilineal kinship entails a common religious devotion.

According to the Elohist, the god of the one lineage is not the god of the other. Most instructive on the particularism of the family religion of the patriarchs is the story of Jacob and Laban. Jacob is a servant of the god of his father Abraham, whereas Laban worships the god of his father Nahor. Whether the theological identity of these gods is ultimately the same or not does not matter; they would be differentiated anyhow by their ties with their worshippers. As Jacob and Laban pledge not to infringe on each other's territory, their respective gods are called upon as witnesses.

> And Laban said to Jacob: See this heap of stones and see this pillar which I have erected between me and you; This heap is a witness and this pillar is a witness—I shall certainly not go over to you beyond this heap and you shall not go over to me beyond this heap and this pillar, for harm. May the god of Abraham and the god of Nahor judge between us.
>
> Genesis 31:51-53

The verb used in the last phrase is in the plural (*yišpĕṭū*, 'may they judge' or 'they shall judge'), because the god of Abraham is not identical with the god of Nahor. The plural contrasts with the use of the singular in Genesis 43:23, where 'your god and the god of your father' is the single subject of the action (*nātan*). An editor has tried to smooth away the polytheism of Genesis 31:53 by the insertion of the gloss 'the god of their father'. A similar concern has inspired the transformation of the plural of the verb 'to judge' into the singular in the Samaritan version and the Greek translation of this passage. Yet the text clearly distinguishes the god worshipped by Jacob ('the god of Abraham') from the god worshipped by Laban ('the god of Nahor').[91]

The distinction is also evident from another passage in the same chapter. As Laban charges Jacob with the theft of his idol he says:

---

[91] See Alt 1929:29-31 (= *KS* 1:27-28).

> It is in my power to do you (plural) harm; but the god of your (plural) father (*ʾelōhê ʾăbîkem*) said to me last night: Beware not to speak to Jacob either good or bad. But now that you have gone away because you longed for your father's house, why did you steal my god (*ʾelōhāy*) ?
>
> Genesis 31:29-30

The question suggests that there is a close relation between 'the house of the father', i.e., the family, and 'the god of the father'. Jacob argues with his wives that he owes his fortune entirely to the god of his father and in no way to Laban (Genesis 31:5, cf. 31:42). The women observe that they have neither portion nor inheritance in their father's house; they have become strangers (*nokriyyôt*)[92] to their family (Genesis 31:14-15). They therefore agree to make the transfer to the house of Jacob's father, which implies that their religious loyalty will henceforth be directed to the god of his father (cf. Genesis 31:16). Also, they are included in the expression 'the god of your (plural) father' (Genesis 31:29). Still Rachel's embezzlement of the teraphim—which Laban calls 'my god(s)'—indicates her reluctance to break with her father's family religion (Genesis 31:19).

The Elohist narratives provide a clue concerning the identity of the god of the patriarchs, and more especially of Jacob, through the names of the various sacred sites founded or visited by the patriarchs. An important site in the Elohist narrative is the altar at Bethel. On his way to Haran, Jacob passes the night at Bethel and has a dream in which he sees angels ascending and descending a ladder reaching into heaven (Genesis 28:10-12). To mark off this place of revelation, Jacob sets up a stone, pours oil on top of it, and vows to pay tithes if he comes home in peace (Genesis 28:18-22). According to Genesis 28:19, Jacob 'called the name of that place Bethel', which literally means 'House of El'. The name suggests devotion to El. Additional evidence for worship of El is found in other toponyms. Jacob fought with God on the banks of the Jabbok in Peniel (also known as Penuel), 'Face-of-El' (Genesis 32:31 [30]). The standing stone[93] which Jacob set up at Shechem was called 'El-is-the-god-of-Israel' (Genesis 33:20). The altar at Bethel built after Jacob's return from Haran was reportedly called 'El-of-Bethel' (Genesis 35:7).[94]

---

92 Compare the use of the term *nakrum* in Akkadian texts to qualify the contrast between kin ('flesh and blood') and non-kin ('strangers'), see Chapter Two, n. 57.

93 The text erroneously has *mizbēaḥ* instead of *maṣṣēbâ*; the latter would be expected after the verb *wayyaṣṣeb*. See for the correction Holzinger 1898:212-213; Jaroš 1976:70; Westermann 1981:637.

94 Köckert 1988:85 and n. 186 objects that stelae are never given a name in the Bible, but fails to mention 1 Samuel 7:12 where the *ʾeben*, 'stone', which is named, is set up in the manner of a *maṣṣēbâ*. In the light of these names, the phraseology of Genesis 21:33 should probably be slightly altered. Instead of reading that Abraham called upon Yahweh ʾēl-ʿôlām

It should be noted that in Genesis 12-50 the word *ʾēl* is consistently used as a proper name. The appellative for 'god' is *ʾelōhîm*.[95] Thus the expression *ʾēl ʾābîkā* in Genesis 49:25 does not mean 'the god of your father', as it is often translated, but 'El your Father' (cf. Deuteronomy 32:6-7).[96] In the Blessing of Jacob it occurs in synonymous parallelism with Šadday.[97] The fact that El is a proper name has been obviated in some cases by the use of the definite article. Thus Genesis 31:13 has *hāʾēl bêtʾēl* versus *ʾēl bêtʾēl* in Genesis 35:7; Genesis 46:2 has *hāʾēl ʾelōhê ʾābîkā* versus *ʾēl ʾelōhê yiśrāʾēl* in Genesis 33:20.[98] It has been suggested that 'the article has been added in an attempt to destroy the titular use of the term here, altering its sense from "El" to "the god (of) . . .".'[99] This theological correction may be written on the account of the Yahwist.[100]

---

at the tamarisk at Beersheba, it is preferable to understand that Abraham called the sacred tree by the name of ʾēl-ʿôlām. It is instructive to compare the phraseology of Genesis 28:19; 33:20; 35:7 with Genesis 21:33:

(a) Genesis 28:19 *wayyiqrāʾ ʾet-šēm-hammāqôm hahûʾ bêt-ʾēl;*
(b) Genesis 33:20 *(wayyaṣṣeb-šām <maṣṣēbâ>) wayyiqrāʾ-lô ʾēl ʾēlōhê yiśrāʾēl;*
(c) Genesis 35:7 *(wayyiben šām mizbēaḥ) wayyiqrāʾ lammāqôm ʾēl bêt-ʾēl;*
(d) Genesis 21:33 *(wayyiṭṭaʿ ʾešel bibʾēr šābaʿ) wayyiqrāʾ-šām bĕšēm YHWH ʾēl ʿôlām.*

It has to be assumed that a Yahwistic redactor of Genesis 21:33 made a contamination with another phrase current in J, viz. 'And he built an altar for Yahweh and he called upon the name of Yahweh' (*wayyiben-šām mizbēaḥ laYHWH wayyiqrāʾ bĕšēm YHWH*, Genesis 12:8; 26:25; cf. 13:4). A Yahwistic reworking may also be suspected in Genesis 22. The narrative of Abraham's sacrifice stems from the Elohist, with an interpolation (*v.* 11) and some editing by the Yahwist. His editorial hand is visible in the name 'Yahweh-will-provide' (*YHWH yirʾeh*, Genesis 22:14). The very practice of naming cultic sites and objects is specific to the Elohist tradition; hence the original name will likely have been 'El-will-provide'.

95 *Pace* Rendtorff 1994.

96 See Wyatt 1978:101-102.

97 Cf. Smith, M. S. 1990:16-17. Because of the occurrence of El-shadday, Van Seters 1980:226 judges Genesis 49:25-26 to be a Priestly addition. Köckert 1988:79 n. 154 suggests that *wĕʾet* (thus the MT) is perhaps the correct reading after all.

98 Köckert 1988:83.86-87 denies that *ʾēl* is used as a *nomen proprium* in Genesis 33:20 and 46:3, but fails to explains the resulting redundancy of El and Elohim.

99 Wyatt 1978:103. Köckert 1988:83, who regards Genesis 46:1-5 as a later theological reflection, refers to Isaiah 42:5 (*hāʾēl YHWH*) as a parallel. The reference to Isaiah could be taken as a corroboration of the view which holds that by adding the definite article, the divine name was made harmless.

100 In agreement with Van Seters 1975 and Schmid, H. H. 1976, I take the Yahwist (if we stay with the term) to be later than the Elohist. A study of Genesis 28 is instructive for the relationship between E and J. The basic story of Genesis 28:10-22 consists of *vv.* 10-12.17-22, which must be ascribed to E because of the use of Elohim and the connection with Genesis 35:1-8 (Schmid, H. H. 1976:120), the latter passage being commonly ascribed to the Elohist (Otto 1976; 1979:72-76). The Yahwistic redaction is by definition posterior to the Elohist. Note also Rendtorff 1983, who agrees that *vv*. 23-25 are an addition but refuses to ascribe them to J, and prefers to speak of one or more 'theologische Bearbeitungsschichten'. Blum 1984:7-35 regards *vv.* 11-13a$^{\alpha}$ & 16-19a$^{\alpha}$ as the original basis of the narrative, but fails to see that the terminology of 13a$^{\alpha}$ is characteristic of 'J' (note that *ʿālāyw* in the

There is other evidence suggesting that the Yahwist tried to adjust the theological implications of the Elohist narratives to bring them into line with his own views. A key example is the Bethel foundation legend in Genesis 28. Not only did the Yahwist insert *vv.* 13-16, adding to a nightly vision of angels a dream theophany of the more orthodox kind, but he also changed the wording of *v.* 21. As it stands now, the verse has Jacob promise: 'If I return safely to my father's house, then Yahweh shall be my god.' In view of the prominence of El in the Elohist narratives, this pledge is odd; it is far more likely that in the narrative as the Elohist wrote it, El was to benefit from Jacob's devotion. On his return from Haran, Jacob informed his family that he would build an altar 'for El who answered me on the day of my need and who was with me on the road I have walked' (Genesis 35:3), which suggests that El was Jacob's god. According to Genesis 46:1-3, Jacob did indeed worship El as the god of his father and as his god.

The cult of El as family god, as pictured by the Elohist, is conducted at topographically fixed sanctuaries. Bethel is probably the most important one. In response to the revelatory dream Jacob had on his way to Haran, he set up a stone, anointed it, and vowed to pay tithes on his return (Genesis 28:18-22). When he did return from Haran he built an altar at Bethel (Genesis 35:1.3.6-7). After a second vision at Bethel, Jacob set up a second pillar on which he poured a libation and which he anointed (Genesis 35:9-15). Though the stories apparently draw on different traditions, which has led to a duplication of altars and pillars, they are consistent in connecting the sanctuary of Bethel with the god of Jacob. The second sanctuary is at Beersheba, where Abraham established a place of worship by planting a tamarisk tree which he called *ʾēl-ʿôlām*, i.e., 'El-of-eternity' (Genesis 21:33). Many years later Jacob visited Beersheba to 'offer sacrifices to the god of his father Isaac' (Genesis 46:1). The narrator of the story implies that El the god of his father was in some particular way present at the cult centre of Beersheba (Genesis 46:2-3). Bethel and Beersheba are precisely two of the sanctuaries Amos fulminated against in his Ephraimite prophecies (Amos 5:5).

According to the Elohist, the cult of the family god included vows and sacrifices. Vows are especially important in the Jacob tradition since the Elohist has used them as a theological motif by which he could connect Genesis 28, Genesis 31:4-16 and Genesis 35:1-5.[101] Note the following correspondences:

---

phrase *YHWH niṣṣāb ʿālāyw*, Yahweh stood by him', refers to Jacob, not to the ladder).

101 See Richter 1967:42-52.

> And Jacob took a vow saying, 'If God will be with me ... so that I come again to my father's house in peace, than 'El' shall be my god.
>
> Genesis 28:20-21

> The god of my father has been with me.
>
> Genesis 31:5

> I am El of Bethel, where you anointed a pillar and made a vow to me. Now arise, leave this land, and return to the land of your birth!
>
> Genesis 31:13

> Let us arise and go up to Bethel, that I may make there an altar for El, who answered me in my distress and has been with me wherever I have gone.
>
> Genesis 35:3

The artful use of the motif of the vow suggests that it is to be put on the account of the narrator. What it reflects, then, is the importance of vows as a means of personal religious involvement in the view (and time!) of the Elohist.

References to sacrifice are not lacking in the Elohist tradition, either. Jacob went to Beersheba to 'offer sacrifices (*zĕbāḥîm*) to the god of his father Isaac' (Genesis 46:1). The only other time 'sacrifices' (*zĕbāḥîm*) are mentioned in the book of Genesis is in Genesis 31:54 (also Elohistic), where Jacob is reported to have offered a sacrifice on the mountain near Mizpah. Set in the context of a covenant rite, this sacrifice has to be interpreted as a sacrificial meal. As such, it was consecrated by Jacob's invocation of the god of Abraham. Another type of cultic offering mentioned in the Book of Genesis is the 'burnt offering' (*ʿōlâ*) brought by Abraham on Mount Moriah (Genesis 22:13), also reported by the Elohist. Apparently, then, the Elohist did not deem it necessary to play down the cultic involvement of the patriarchs for theological reasons. He expected his audience to find no fault with the sacrificial worship of El as a family god.

By the standards of the Jewish community of the Second Temple period, the cult of the patriarchs was rather unorthodox. In addition to the mention of a sacrificial cult outside Jerusalem, the Elohist has Jacob erect a pillar (*maṣṣēbâ*) at various places (Genesis 28:18.22; 31:45; 33:20 [read *maṣṣēbâ* instead of *mizbēaḥ*[102]]; 35:14.20). These pillars cannot be regarded as mere memorial stones; the fact that they are anointed implies that they were believed to embody a divine presence (Genesis 28:18; 31:13; 35:14).[103]

---

102 See note 93.

103 On *maṣṣēbôt* in Iron Age Palestine see Mettinger 1995:140-168.

Jacob's vow to pay tithes over all his income is apparently made to the stone he had set up (Genesis 28:20-22). Evidence from the cities of Mari, Emar and elsewhere shows that the cult of stelas, which included offerings, was widely practised in second millennium Syria.[104] Such stelas were still worshipped in the first millennium.[105] They compare to the Hittite *ḫuwaši*-stones, set up in temples and in rural shrines as representations of the deity.[106] The role of erected stones in the Elohist version of the patriarchal history tallies with Near Eastern practices current in the second and first millennium BC, and fits both the archaeological and biblical evidence on early Israelite open-air sanctuaries (*bāmôt*).

The 'god of the father' described by the Elohist is neither anonymous nor itinerant. In this respect the classical view of patriarchal religion formulated by Alt in his influential monograph on 'the God of the Fathers' must be corrected. Alt posited a contrast between the personal god whom the patriarchs worshipped and who had no fixed abode (which led Maag to qualify the patriarchal deity as a *deus vagans* and a *deus migrans*),[107] on the one hand, and the various avatars of El bound to local Palestinian sanctuaries, on the other.[108] As argued by Eissfeldt and others, the patriarchal narratives (and especially the Elohist tradition) suggest that the family religion of many Israelites before the monarchy was focused on El.[109] In this respect, the witness of the Elohist agrees with the anthroponymic data, which showed a marked preference for El in theophoric names. It also corroborates the inference about the function of local sanctuaries drawn from the toponymic, archaeological, and biblical evidence.

The central importance of Bethel in the Elohist narrative supports the traditional view according to which the Elohist is from the Northern Kingdom—for which reason the traditional siglum E might as well be read to mean 'Ephraimite'.[110] Other considerations lead to the same conclusion.

---

104 See Durand 1985a; Dietrich, Loretz & Mayer 1989; Mettinger 1995:115-134.

105 See, e.g., Hoftijzer 1968:22-23; Teixidor 1977:38-39; Gamberoni 1984.

106 See, e.g., Carter 1962:26-50; Darga 1969; Gurney 1977:36-38; Popko 1978:123-127; Singer 1986; Hutter 1993.

107 Maag 1980:121.

108 Alt 1929:21-24 (*KS* 1:20-22).

109 Eissfeldt 1956; 1968a; 1968b. Among the other authors are Cross 1962:234-235; 1973:3-12.46-60; Gemser 1968:55; Koch 1988.

110 According to Craghan 1977:24 'The majority of authors still continues to place the Elohist in the northern kingdom in either the first half of the ninth century or the first half of the eighth century.' On the Ephraimite background of the Elohist see Cazelles 1966:810-812; Vriezen & van der Woude 1973[4]:164; Schüpphaus 1975:210; Eissfeldt 1976[4]:269-271 (undecided); Jenks 1977. Klein, H. 1977 emphasizes the place of Bethel in the Elohistic tradition, and suspects that the—now lost—Elohistic version of Exodus 32 (the story of the golden calf) framed Aaron in a positive light as the spiritual author of the image (Klein, H.

The Elohist ignores the role of Hebron, both as a sanctuary and as a patriarchal burial ground. Considering the importance of Hebron as a political and religious centre in Judah, its absence from the Elohist narrative implies that the Elohist was either unaware of any patriarchal tradition connected with Hebron or reluctant to mention it. Such ignorance or disinterest is inconceivable for an author from Judah. The fact that the Elohist does mention the Judahite town of Beersheba is directly related to its popularity as a pilgrimage centre among Ephraimites (Amos 5:5; 8:14). The Elohist has little eye for questions of geo-political interest. The one time he does allude to such matters, it is in connection with the border between Israel and Aram (Genesis 31:44-54). The issue was relevant primarily for Israelite, not Judahite, politics.[111]

The date of the Elohist narratives must fall in the first millennium BC. Although it cannot be entirely excluded that a rudimentary nucleus of Jacob sagas originated before 1000, the central place of Beersheba in the Elohist version of the patriarchal tradition makes it unlikely that the latter could develop before 900 BC, since Beersheba was of no importance before the ninth century.[112] Another consideration concerns the central place of Bethel in the Elohist narrative. There can be little doubt that the Elohist took Bethel to be the central sanctuary of the country, since it is implicitly designated as the place where tithes were to be brought (Genesis 28:22). This means that the Bethel he had in mind is the religious centre promoted by Jeroboam I after the division of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel in 922 BC. Once again, then, a full-blown patriarchal tradition with a geographical focus in Bethel is hardly conceivable before the end of the tenth century BC. It is rather to be expected that even after Bethel and Beersheba had reached their status as main sanctuaries, it would be quite some time before they occupied a central place in tradition.

Because the Elohist is of northern provenance, his work must have been written before 721 BC (the fall of Samaria). Assuming that a period of roughly a hundred years was needed for the Elohist tradition to become consolidated around the sanctuaries of Bethel and Beersheba, the period in which the Elohist narrative saw the light is narrowed down to the century between 825-725. A supplementary argument for bringing down the earliest date possible to about 825 concerns the question of the Aramaeans. The

---

1977:252).

[111] Jenks 1977:83-111 finds support for the thesis of a Northern provenance of E in its affinities with the early Northern prophetic movement as exemplified in such figures as Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha.

[112] Mazar, A. 1990:436-437. Note that Blum 1984:202-203 dates Genesis 25-32* to the late 10th century BC.

story of Jacob and Laban who settle a dispute and mark a border between them reflects a time in which the Aramaean siege of Samaria (2 Kings 6:24-7:20) and occupation of Gilead (Amos 1:3) still rankled as recent memories. Since the territorial conflicts between Damascus and Samaria started around 850 BC (see, e.g., 2 Kings 6:8-7:20; 8:28-29; 9:14; 10:32-33), the Elohist is best dated between 825 and 800.[113]

Another approach to the question of the time and milieu of the Elohist is the comparison of the Elohist tradition with the books of Hosea and Amos, Hosea being an Ephraimite prophet and Amos having worked in Ephraim. The Book of Hosea (*ca.* 750-725 BC) displays familiarity with the Elohist narratives—or at least the traditions they contain—as can be seen from the critical account of Jacob's biography (Hosea 12:1-15).[114] The prophet denounces the corrupt cult of Beth-aven (Hosea 4:15; 10:5) and Bethel (Hosea 10:15), the former being either a deliberate deformation of Bethel or the name of its cult centre. Also Mizpah (Hosea 5:1) and Shechem (Hosea 6:9) are mentioned unfavourably. The sanctuaries against which the prophet Amos (790-750 BC) inveighs are those of Bethel (Amos 3:14; 4:4; 5:5), Gilgal (Amos 4:4; 5:5), Samaria (Amos 8:14), Dan (Amos 8:14), and Beersheba (Amos 5:5; 8:14). The occurrence of Beersheba is particularly striking: it shows that the place of Beersheba in the Elohistic tradition reflects its status in the Northern Kingdom as a pilgrimage shrine. Another interesting correspondence between Amos and the Elohist is the fact that both mention Bethel as the place where tithes were collected (Genesis 28:22; Amos 4:4).[115]

There is a striking correspondence between the Elohist, on the one hand, and Hosea and Amos, on the other, about the identity of the Ephraimite sanctuaries. Their judgment about these sanctuaries does not seem to have been the same, though. Unlike the prophetic books, the Elohist narratives contain not a trace of critique against Bethel and Beersheba. And yet the Elohist, Hosea and Amos participate in a similar climate. Just like Hosea and Amos, the Elohist has a prophet's outlook: he regards Abraham as a prophet; the mode in which God communicates with men is in the manner of the prophetic dream revelation.[116] This suggests that the Elohist had a prophetic

---

113 So also Klein 1977:257.

114 See the section on 'The Exodus as National Charter Myth' in Chapter Twelve.

115 Amos 4:4 also mentions Gilgal as a centre were tithes were collected. Is this the same Gilgal as the Gilgal where the man from Baal-shalishah brought Elisha bread of the first fruits (2 Kings 4:42, cf. 38) ?

116 The Elohist regards Abraham as a prophet (Genesis 20:7), and Hosea alludes to Moses as a prophet (Hosea 12:14). There is a parallel, too, in the way in which God is said to have made Abraham wander away from his family (Genesis 20:13), and that in which he

background himself; he may well have been an exponent of a 'north-Israelite prophetical-levitical circle'.[117] This circle might be identified with 'the sons of the prophets who were in Bethel' (2 Kings 2:3), considering the role of Bethel in the Elohist narrative.[118]

Conclusions

The Elohist narratives show that the terms and concepts of family religion were familiar to an Israelite audience of the eighth century BC. Such familiarity does not necessarily mean that the beliefs and practices in question were a contemporary reality. If they were not, however, they did not belong to the distant past either, as they could effectively be called upon to validate the religious customs of those days, such as the tithe at Bethel, and the pilgrimages to Beersheba. Family religion, with its characteristic worship of 'the god of the father' was still alive, if not in fact then at least in the minds of the audience. When the evidence from the Elohist is put alongside the archaeological and toponymical data, on the one hand, and the stories of local shrines from the time of the Judges, on the other, it completes the picture of family religion drawn earlier in this chapter. The devotion to a local patron deity, characteristic of the early Israelite settlements, was in fact a devotion to 'the god of the father', passed on from father to son and to grandson.

Several rhetorical vestiges outside the patriarchal narratives confirm the existence of the type of family religion here described. In the Song of Miriam (Exodus 15) it is said

> Yahweh is my strength and my vigour,
> he has become my salvation;
> this is my god—I will praise him,
> the god of my father—I will exalt him.
>
> Exodus 15:2

The same parallelism between 'my god' (*ʾēlî*) and 'the god of my father' (*ʾelōhê ʾābî*) occurs in the passage explaining the name of one of Moses' sons. 'And the name of the other was Eli-ezer ('My god is a help'), for he said: The god of my father was my help ...' (Exodus 18:4). This equivalence between 'my god' and 'the god of my father' has to be understood against the background of the notions and practices of family religion.

---

has taken Amos away from behind the flock (Amos 7:15).

117 Jenks 1977:104 (Jenks errs when adding 'during the eleventh and tenth centuries'). It should be noted that the Elijah narratives contain no critique of Bethel either.

118 Another prophet living in Bethel is mentioned in 1 Kings 13:11.

Both the forms of the religion of the patriarchs as described by the Elohist and the rhetorical vestiges of family religion in other parts of the Bible point to the presence of a phenomenon in Israelite religion that so far has been little studied. Outside the narratives about Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (the patriarchs who were regarded as the ancestors of the 'people', *ʿam*, of Israel as a whole), family religion is largely ignored in the Hebrew Bible. Being based on the Bible as its main source of information, the historiography of Israelite religion has focused on Yahwism as a the national religion to the detriment of the study of family religion. Yet family religion was the ground from which national religion eventually sprang. Witness the Elohist tradition, the Israelites of the early monarchical era were still familiar with the phenomenon. For their fathers, religion had been conterminous with family religion; their devotion had been concerned with their ancestors and their local god. The later generations who lived under the monarchy faced a different situation: when they did not abandon the religion of their fathers, they had to reconcile it with a new type of religion, promoted and patronized by the state, and focusing on Yahweh as the god of the Israelite nation.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE PEOPLE OF YAHWEH: SAUL AND THE RISE OF STATE RELIGION

On the threshold of the tenth century BC, early Israel was transformed from a segmentary society into a national state.[1] Concomitant with the political change a new type of religion manifested itself. Alongside the family worship of local gods, the first kings of Israel propagated a state religion meant to underpin their authority and to cement their kingdom into a nation. The central figure in these developments was King Saul. Before him there had been men of prominence, such as Jerubbaal and Samuel, who occasionally acted as chiefs; yet chieftainship left clans and families a large measure of independence, in matters of both government and religion. The rule of Saul meant a break with the old order. Saul was a king—indeed the first king of Israel.[2] He founded of a territorial state, established an administrative apparatus, and maintained a standing military force. By a system of prebends and other privileges Saul succeeded in gaining the support of several groups in which power was traditionally vested, such as the landed aristocracy who controlled the lineages.[3]

Despite Saul's epoch-making role, he is one of the most underestimated figures of Israelite history. Owing to a major ideological revision at the hands of Judahite authors, Saul's rule is reputed to have been a tragic failure.[4] The biblical historians looked at David and Solomon as the great kings of olden times who had laid the foundations of the Judahite state and whose dynasty would stand forever (2 Samuel 7:16). Within this view there was no room for the recognition that David and Solomon were the heirs of Saul—a truth hinted at by several indications in the records. After all, one of David's first official acts after the establishment of his rule was the transfer of the ark from Kiriath-jearim, in the heartland of the Saulide state, to Jerusalem. David did not attach a pan-Israelite significance to the ark as though it were an amphictyonic symbol. What he had inherited was the religious symbol of the

---

[1] On early Israel as a 'segmentary' society (Durkheim) see Crüsemann 1978:200-205; Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1983:333-367; Frick 1985:51-70.

[2] See Edelman 1992:991-992.

[3] This is what Edelman 1986:35-36 calls 'decentralized patrimonialism', using an expression coined by Max Weber.

[4] On the anti-Saul bias of the biblical records see Evans 1983.

Saulide state; by giving it pride of place in Jerusalem David projected his kingship as the legitimate continuation of Saul's.[5] A similar intention may be detected in Solomon's visit of Gibeon at the beginning of his reign (1 Kings 3:4-15); Gibeon had been the capital of the Saulide state,[6] and to have the clergy of Gibeon endorse his kingship was a fact of political relevance.

This chapter will focus on the significance of Saul for the religion of Israel. Though the changes occurring under Saul's rule were first of all political, he had a major impact on Israelite religion. As the head of state he promoted his god to the rank of national god; his temple in the capital became the religious centre of the kingdom. Its priesthood, sworn to loyalty, was expected to serve the king's best interests. Priests became the civil servants of a state religion. Since the religion promoted by Saul was closely related to his origins, an investigation into the family background of Israel's first king will precede the discussion of his rule.

Saul's Gibeonite Origins

The Bible presents Saul as the son of a landed aristocrat (a *gibbôr ḥayil*) from the land of Benjamin (1 Samuel 9:1-2). His home town is not mentioned in the genealogy of 1 Samuel 9:1-2. Elsewhere it is reported, however, that Saul was buried in his family tomb in Zela (2 Samuel 21:14).[7] This town is currently identified with Khirbet es-Salah[8] near Gibeon (el-Jîb). Since the Israelites were normally buried in the land of their ancestors, it may be assumed that Saul's family came from the close vicinity of Gibeon; its ancestral estate was less than five kilometres to the south of the city. Saul's Gibeonite origins explain why he is later presented as a descendant of Jeiel (var. Jeuel) 'the father of Gibeon' (1 Chronicles 8:29-40; 9:35-44).[9]

Although the genealogical link between Saul and 'the father of Gibeon' is perhaps artificial, the Chronicler was correct in suggesting that the proximity between Saul and Gibeon was not merely geographical. There was indeed a close association between Saul's family and the Gibeonites; it was based,

---

5 See van der Toorn & Houtman 1994.

6 See Bruno 1923:48-59; Blenkinsopp 1974; Edelman 1992:994.

7 צלע, LXX εν τῇ πλευρᾳ, cf. Bruno 1923:49. The town was also known as Zela haeleph, mentioned at Joshua 18:28. LXX^{B} reads Σεληκαν and LXX^{A} reads Σηλαλεφ. For a discussion of the name and the site of this place see *ABD* 6:1072 (with references to further literature).

8 See Schunk 1963:118 n. 41; Blenkinsopp 1972:58-59; Edelman 1986:214.

9 Since the Chronicler ignores the fact that Saul belonged to 'the clan of the Matrites' (*mišpaḥat hammaṭrî*, 1 Samuel 10:21), and because Ner was Saul's uncle (1 Samuel 14:50, 51; 26:5, 14; 2 Samuel 2:8, 12; 3:25, 28, 37; 1 Kings 2:5, 32; 1 Chronicles 26:28) rather than his grandfather (1 Chronicles 8:33; 9:39), it may be that Saul's family tree has been secondarily grafted onto the Gibeonite list, see Edelman 1986:216.

ultimately, on ethnic affinity. This affinity can be indirectly demonstrated. There is, on the one hand, an overlap in the personal names attributed in 1 Chronicles 2:50-55 to the Gibeonites (including the inhabitants of Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim—with Gibeon the constituents of the Gibeonite enclave, according to Joshua 9:17) and those given in the Edomite genealogies in Genesis 36.[10] On the other hand, a similar overlap with these genealogies is attested for Saulide names.[11] The anthroponymic correspondences are hardly a case of mere coincidence. They point to the fact that both the Gibeonites and the Saulides belonged to a strain represented also among the early Edomites.[12] The position of Doeg the Edomite as trusted servant of Saul is in consonance with this 'Edomite connection'. So is the fact that Saul spares the Kenites in his campaign against Amalek (1 Samuel 15:6), since the Kenites are associated with the Edomites.[13]

Though Saul's family came from Zela near Gibeon, Saul had his usual place of residence in Gibeah (1 Samuel 10:26; cf. 22:6; 23:19; 26:1), also called 'Gibeah of Saul' (1 Samuel 11:4; 15:34; 2 Samuel 21:6; Isaiah 10:29). This Gibeah (or Geba[14]) is identified as either modern Jaba^{c}[15] (about fifteen kilometres east of Gibeon) or Tell el-Fûl (about ten kilometres south-east of Gibeon).[16] Both identifications are problematic, however, since neither of them fits the literary data concerning Saul's itinerary in 1 Samuel 10:1-16. This text gives two topographical points of reference along the road from Ramah (either Ramallah[17] or er-Ram[18]) to Gibeah: Rachel's tomb in the

---

[10] Hur 'the first-born of Ephrathah (= Kiriath-jearim)' (1 Chronicles 2:50) may be compared with Hori a descendant of Seir (Genesis 36:22); Shobal the 'father of Kiriath-jearim' (1 Chronicles 2:50) with Shobal the son of Seir (Genesis 36:20.29); the Ithrites, a clan in Kiriath-jearim (1 Chronicles 2:53) are reminiscent of Ithran son of Dishon son of Seir (Genesis 36:26); the Manahathites descendants of Hur (1 Chronicles 2:54) are reminiscent of Manahath son of Shobal son of Seir (Genesis 36:54).

[11] Saul himself bears the same name as Saul king of Edom (Genesis 36:37, 38; 1 Chronicles 1:48.49); Aiah father-in-law of Saul (2 Samuel 3:7; 21:8, 10, 11) is the namesake of Aiah son of Zibeon son of Seir (Genesis 36:24; 1 Chronicles 1:40); Jeush, a far descendant of Saul (1 Chronicles 8:39), is the namesake of Jeush son of Esau (Genesis 36:5, 14, 18; 1 Chronicles 1:35); Ishmael the descendant of Saul (1 Chronicles 8:38; 9:44) is a namesake of the better-known Ishmael son of Abraham and father of desert-dwellers (Genesis 35:12-18); the name of Hanan (1 Chronicles 8:38; 9:44) may be compared with Baal-hanan king of Edom (Genesis 36:38, 39); Saul's clan-name Matri (1 Samuel 10:21) is given as Ματταρειτ in LXX^{A}, which comes very close to Matred the daughter of Mezahab (Genesis 36:39).

[12] For a fuller discussion of this point see Blenkinsopp 1972:14-27.59-62.

[13] Both points are made by Blenkinsopp 1972:61.

[14] On Geba and Gibeah as variant designations of the same place see Miller, J. M. 1975; Arnold 1992a:1008. Contrast Bruno 1923:126-129.

[15] Robinson, E. 1856.1:577-579; Miller, J. M. 1975; Edelman 1986:210; Arnold 1992a.

[16] Albright 1923; 1933; Schunck 1963:21.

[17] Ewald 1853^{2}:19; Bruno 1923:53; Albright 1923:122. Ramallah is twelve kilometres

territory of Benjamin at Zelzah and the oak of Tabor. Saul's destination is Gibeath-elohim, i.e., Gibeah (*vv.* 5.10). It must have been close to the town of Saul, since it is here that his family group, led by his uncle (*dôd*), was celebrating a sacrificial banquet at the 'high place'.[19]

If Gibeah were to be identified with either Jaba[c] or Tell el-Fûl the itinerary of Saul would be incomprehensible. The journey from Ramallah (Ramah) to Tell el-Fûl is made along the main road between Bethel and Jerusalem. Going to Jaba[c], the traveller has to leave the Bethel-Jerusalem road at er-Ram and take the path leading to Jaba[c] in the east. However, both Rachel's tomb and the oak of Tabor were situated west of the main road,[20] which fact seems to rule out the identification of Gibeah with Jaba[c]. Rachel's tomb was located along the Wādi Dēr road that ran from Bethel to Gibeon and further south.[21] So was the Oak of Tabor.[22] Since Saul passed by both places, he must have followed not the main road to Jerusalem (which would take him to Tell el-Fûl) but the Wādi Dēr road to el-Jîb (ancient Gibeon) and Nebi Samwil (the elevation about 1500 meters south of el-Jîb). The description of the itinerary militates against the identification of Gibeah with Tell el-Fûl. The most plausible solution, it seems, is to understand Gibeah as a variant name of Gibeon (el-Jîb),[23] and to identify Gibeath-elohim in 1 Samuel 10:5 with Nebi Samwil where the 'high place' of Gibeon was probably located.[24].

In support of the identification of Gibeah and Gibeon it can be pointed out that גבעת האלהים ('Hill of God', 1 Samuel 10:5) is presumably identical with הר יהוה ('Mountain of Yahweh', according to the emended text of 2 Samuel 21:6, reading בהר instead of בחיר, cf. *v.* 9 בהר לפני יהוה). Though the Masoretic

---

north of Jerusalem. Ramah is perhaps to be identified more specifically with Ḫirbet Raddana, on the western edge of Ramallah, see Edelman 1988:56.

18 Arnold 1992b. Er-Ram is seven kilometres north of Jerusalem.

19 See Chapter Nine.

20 The tomb of Rachel must be situated between Bethel and Ephratah (Genesis 35:16-20), i.e. Kiriath-jearim (Psalm 132:6; cf. Delitzsch 1894[5]:763-765; Tsevat 1962; Cross 1973:94-95; Na'aman 1984).

21 Edelman 1988:55-56.

22 On the Oak of Tabor see 'The Periodicity of the Offerings to the Dead' in Chapter Nine. The tree must presumably be identified with 'the palm of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in the hill country of Ephraim' (Judges 4:5). Na'aman 1987:18 identifies it with Bochim (Judges 2:1), itself identical with Beth-aven, which Na'aman surmises to have been an early Israelite cult place just outside Bethel.

23 So Bruno 1923:53-56; Blenkinsopp 1972:59; Demsky 1973:27-28; Edelman 1988:57-58.

24 Blenkinsopp 1972:7, 110 n. 28 (with references to relevant literature). According to Blenkinsopp's description 'Nebi Samwil lies about a mile south of el-Jîb with an elevation above sea level of some 2,835 feet, more than 492 feet higher than el-Jîb.' The elevation 'must have seemed an ideal site for religious worship' (Blenkinsopp 1972:7).

text locates 'the Mountain of Yahweh' in Gibeah of Saul (בגבעת שאול), the Septuagint reads 'in Gibeon of Saul' (ἐν Γαβαων Σαουλ). Because 'Gibeah of Saul' is the standing expression, a correction of 'Gibeon of Saul' into 'Gibeah of Saul' is the most plausible cause of the discrepancy between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint.[25] The passage about the execution of Saul's sons demonstrates that the cult place ('before Yahweh') of Gibeon could be referred to as 'the Mountain of Yahweh' (see also *v.* 9: 'on the Mountain before Yahweh'), and that the place-name Gibeon might be tampered with and changed into Gibeah. The latter conclusion is confirmed by 2 Samuel 5:25 (MT גבע; LXX Γαβαων). Considering the correspondence between 'the Hill of God' and 'the Mountain of Yahweh', and in view of the cases in which Gibeah or Geba stands for Gibeon, it must be assumed that the Gibeah mentioned in 1 Samuel 10:10 refers in fact to Gibeon.

If Gibeath-elohim is Nebi-Samwil and Gibeah another name for Gibeon (el-Jîb), Saul's itinerary on the way home makes perfect sense. Having taken the Wādi Dēr road from Ramah-of-the-Zuphites (probably Ramallah or Khirbet Raddana rather than er-Ram, considering the proximity of Bethel), Saul arrives at the city of Gibeon (1 Samuel 10:5, 10) before he reaches its 'high place' situated south of the city (1 Samuel 10:13). This reconstruction is consonant with the fact that Saul's family was from Zela. One would expect a clan settled near Gibeon to celebrate its clan sacrifices at 'the great high place' of Gibeon (1 Kings 3:4) rather than to assemble at the hypothetical locations of Gibeah or Geba, viz. Tell el-Fûl or Jaba^{c}—both smaller settlements and situated at considerably greater distance from Saul's patrimonial estate.

There is strong evidence, then, that Saul came from the vicinity of Gibeon and that the 'high place' of Gibeon was the sanctuary which his family group visited for their regular rituals. This fact has been obscured by the Deuteronomist who substituted the name 'Gibeah' for 'Gibeon'. Throughout the Deuteronomistic History there is a strong anti-Gibeonite bias.[26] This polemical attitude may help to explain why Gibeon virtually disappears from the biblical records that describe the period between Joshua and David, though the city reputedly possessed a well-known 'great Bamah' (1 Kings 3:4). The possibility should be considered that elsewhere in the Books of Samuel, too, 'Gibeah' serves as a variant name for Gibeon.[27] In view of his

---

[25] Wellhausen 1871:209.

[26] Kearney 1973.

[27] Cf. Edelman 1986:211 n. 15. Walters 1991:75 n. 1 argues that the connection between Saul and Gibeon is made by the Chronicler to show that Saul had been unsuitable for kingship from the beginning. He does not decide whether or not the connection is historically correct, though he considers it possible that the Masoretic text of the Books of

links with the city, it is quite conceivable that Saul made Gibeon his royal residence and the capital of his kingdom. If Gibeon was his home base rather than Gibeah, the toponyms have to be changed accordingly in 1 Samuel 10:26; 11:4; 15:34; 22:6; 23:19; 26:1—unless it be assumed that Saul had a second residence in Gibeah which he made the seat of power in his kingdom.

The Beginnings of the Saulide State

Saul's attempt to establish royal rule in Israel was favoured by the circumstances. An important factor behind the formation of the Israelite state was the population increase between the beginning and the end of the Early Iron Age (1200-1000 BC). For the Samarian Highlands the demographic estimations reckon with almost a tripling.[28] The increase was the result both of natural growth and of the on-going process of sedentarization.[29] At the same time many of the small sedentary villages typical of the period of the Judges were abandoned, whereas others developed into towns.[30] As settlers grew in numbers and concentrated in towns they exerted increased pressure on the limited natural resources.[31]

Two ways were open for handling the problem of access to resources: larger settlements could either maximize the yield of the surrounding land and supply the rest of their livelihood through trade, or push the settlement frontier further afield so as to extend the area of productive soil. Both courses were actually taken. By the improvement of agricultural techniques (e.g., through terracing)[32], as well as the exchange of local handicraft for victuals, some of the hill country sites were able to accommodate a rather large population.[33] Other settlers moved westward to the ecological frontier area of the hill country. Here conditions were less favourable for agriculture; entering into commercial relations with other production centres was a condition for survival. Due to the higher natural risks in the frontier zone, the more recent settlements were much more dependent on one another for risk reduction than the earlier sites.[34]

Samuel was purged of references to Gibeon.

[28] In the Early Iron Age sites west of the Jordan the population figure went from 20,000 around 1200 BC up to 55,000 towards 1000 BC. See Finkelstein, I. 1988:330-335.

[29] Finkelstein, I. 1989:59.

[30] Mazar, A. 1990:387-390; Dever 1987:235.

[31] For this point see Frick 1985:82.

[32] See de Geus 1975; Stager 1985b:5-11. But see also Finkelstein, I. 1988:202.

[33] The city of Tirzah (Tell el-Far^{c}ah, north) might be quoted in example, see Mazar, A. 1990:389.

[34] Finkelstein, I. 1989:58.

Both the maximization of production and the move to the west were conducive to forms of socio-political organization with a greater degree of hierarchy and complexity than before. In towns that had intensified their agricultural activity and diversified their economy in order to feed their populations, moreover, the inhabitants began to differ in rank and riches. There arose what may be called a landed aristocracy. A factor favouring the emergence of local chieftains was the collision between the Israelite settlers on the fringes of the hill country and the Philistine inhabitants of the coastal plain. The military confrontations between Israelites and Philistines—as well as the Amalekites and the Ammonites—are best understood as the result of the expansion of the hill country settlement to the annoyance of its close neighbours. Armed conflicts call for leaders—and in that sense the classical explanation of the emergence of the Israelite monarchy as the result of the Philistine threat is still valid. Saul's rise to kingship is to be understood against this background.

The beginnings of Saul's rule are now lost to the historian. From the scant references in the biblical text, it would seem that Saul established his authority by successfully challenging the Philistine claims to lordship over Benjaminite territory.[35] He was able to do so, not only by virtue of his tactical mastery, but because he commanded one of the first—perhaps the first—standing armies in Israel. According to 1 Samuel 14:52, 'when Saul saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he attached him to himself.' Allured by the prospect of prebends consisting of fields and vineyards (1 Samuel 18:15; 22:7), privileges of power (1 Samuel 8:12; 22:7), and a share in the booty (cf. 1 Samuel 30:21-25; 2 Samuel 4:2), many men joined Saul's forces. These 'young men' (*nĕʿārîm*), as they were called (2 Samuel 2:12-17; 16:2), became Saul's professional 'servants' (*ʿăbādîm*; 1 Samuel 18:5; cf. 2 Samuel 2:12-17). In order to minimize the danger of disloyalty and revolt, the key positions in the military were given to family members of the king. The commander-in-chief of the army was Abner the son of Ner, Saul's

---

35 The story of Saul's being anointed king by Samuel is a retrospective attempt to legitimize his kingship, and the tale about Saul's designation by lot (1 Samuel 10:17-24) is historically suspect as well. A more plausible reconstruction of the events that led to Saul's kingship would have him prove himself a leader first by some military feat. According to 1 Samuel 11:1-15, Saul's first display of military prowess was the liberation of Jabesh-Gilead. It is unlikely, however, that an exploit in Transjordania would be the basis of Saul's authority in Benjamin. Though there is no compelling reason to doubt the historicity of the event, it must probably be placed at a later stage in Saul's career. The act which earned the first popular support for Saul's kingship was presumably the overthrow of the Philistine garrison at Gibeath-elohim, i.e., Gibeon (also known as Gibeah or Geba). Though Saul's son Jonathan was responsible for the defeat of Gibeah/Geba (i.e., Gibeon; 1 Samuel 13:2-4), the credit for the victory went to Saul.

uncle (1 Samuel 14:50); David, captain of Saul's bodyguard (1 Samuel 22:14 according to the Septuagint and the Targum; cf. 18:5), was bound to the king by marriage (1 Samuel 18:17-29). In addition to this professional army, Saul could summon a civil militia (1 Samuel 13:2).

The mercenary armed forces were not constantly engaged in battle; often enough they were content to make incursions into hostile territory for purposes of plunder (cf. 2 Samuel 4:2). Yet their principal task was the defence of Saul's kingdom and the extension of its sphere of influence. The Israelite state which Saul brought into being did not incorporate Judah and Galilee. According to 2 Samuel 2:9, the territory which Saul left as kingdom to his successor included Gilead, the land of the Ashurites, Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin—which amounts to the major part of Central Palestine and Central Transjordania. In addition to Saul's territory properly speaking there were treaties with foreign city-states; the alliance with Jabesh-Gilead can be quoted in example.[36]

The creation and support of a standing army, as well as the conscription of civic soldiers, required a certain logistic and administrative apparatus. Too little is known about Saul's reign to make a detailed estimation of the size and importance of this administration. Assuming that the critique of the monarchy in 1 Samuel 8:11-17, though written at a later time, applies at least in part to Saul's performance as king (cf. 1 Samuel 22:6-7), the apparatus must have been substantial. The cultivation of the royal lands, producing the staple goods needed to support the soldiery, required a significant labour force (*v.* 11); so did the weapon industry (*v.* 11), and the royal kitchens (*v.* 12). David seems to have entered Saul's service as a musician, which suggests that there had developed a certain court-life with the attendant elegance and style. Saul does not appear to have been averse to the paraphernalia of power. At royal banquets, the participants had to observe fixed seating arrangements so as to demonstrate their subservience to the king (1 Samuel 20:25). Saul's use of traditional Near Eastern royal insignia—a crown and an armlet (2 Samuel 1:10)[37]—shows that he intended indeed to be a king after the fashion of the kings of the nations (cf. 1 Samuel 8:5).

Religion in the Saulide State

Saul's influence on the religion of Israel has been tremendous. As the founding father of the Israelite state, he also laid the foundations of the state

---

36 For a description of the extent of the Saulide state see Edelman 1992:996-998.

37 See Krecher 1980a. The Hebrew *nēzer* (crown, diadem) may be compared with the Babylonian *kulūlū*, or the Egyptian royal crown (see Strauss, C. 1980), the *ʾeṣʿādâ* (armlet) resembles the Babylonian *kippatu* (see *CAD* s.v.).

religion. In a society where religious concepts determined the general outlook on life, any major transformation of society was bound to reflect on its religion. Under Saul, a largely acephalous segmentary society was changed into a monarchic state—a development quickly consolidated in the years to follow. The religion of that society followed the pace of the change. Though the traditional pluralism of family and clan religion was not abolished—any more than the families and clans themselves were abolished—it was subordinated to the religion of the state. It is this state religion that came to symbolize the unity of the nation, transcending the divisions of families and clans.

The religion of the Saulide state was born in the army. Loftier birth-places could be thought of, but the national religion was first the religion of the nation's military. It should be remembered that warfare was never a purely secular matter in the ancient world. Victory depended on the gods—more so than on the valour of men. Saul never went on a military campaign without a priest. During one of Saul's earliest expeditions Ahijah the son of Ahitub, a descendant of Eli 'the priest of Yahweh in Shiloh' (1 Samuel 14:3), carried the ark as the symbol of God's presence and as the means of divination (1 Samuel 14:18).[38] The divine presence made it incumbent upon the soldiers to be ritually clean and to abstain from women. Even the weapons of the warriors had to be consecrated (1 Samuel 21:5-6; 2 Samuel 11:11). On account of their status as soldiers in Saul's army these men were 'the people of Yahweh' (*ʿam YHWH*, 2 Samuel 1:12).[39] They waged 'the wars of Yahweh' (*milḥămôt YHWH*, 1 Samuel 18:17; 25:28). When victorious, they had to devote their opponents to God by killing them (1 Samuel 15:3, 8, 33). Under Saul, the practice and ideology of warfare were permeated by religion.

The religion of the army was the prototype of the religion of the state. Though the expression 'people of Yahweh' was first applied to the military, it came to be used eventually as a designation of those who enjoyed the protection of the state. The citizens of the state and its territory were referred to conjointly as 'the inheritance of Yahweh' (*naḥălat YHWH*, 1 Samuel 16:19; 2 Samuel 21:3). The king, on his part, was 'the anointed one of Yahweh' (1 Samuel 24:7, 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23); his adversaries were 'the enemies of Yahweh' (1 Samuel 30:26; cf. Judges 5:31). Such a national theology need not have reached its full-fledged form in the time of Saul, as the First Book of Samuel might lead one to believe. However, the strongly militant character of the Yahwistic ideology pervading the records of Saul's

---

[38] The reference to the ephod in *v.* 3 is due to a later editor. For the relationship between 'ark' and 'ephod' see van der Toorn & Houtman 1994.

[39] For a study of the expression *ʿam YHWH* see Lohfink 1971.

reign fits a time when Israel was in the process of asserting its identity. The formative period of the Israelite state was precisely such a time. In essence, therefore, the state religion adumbrated in the First Book of Samuel may well go back to the time of Saul.

It is remarkable how closely the religious ideology of the Saulide state religion corresponds with the notions of traditional family religion. Such terms as *ʿam* ('paternal uncle', 'clan', and by extension 'people') and *naḥălâ* ('inheritance') have their semantic background in the sociology of the family and the clan. It seems that the earliest theological validation of Israelite state religion consisted in the transfer of the terminology of family religion to the realities of the newly formed state. Whereas the expanded family or clan used to be referred to as the *ʿam* ('people') of a given deity, it was now the community of all the citizens that was defined as the *ʿam* of Yahweh. Likewise the notion of *naḥălâ*, originally used only in connection with the ancestral estate of the family, was now applied to the territory of the state. The convergence between the ideologies underlying family religion and early state religion betrays their common origin, and foreshadows their potential competition.

Religion cannot be reduced to a collection of concepts and values. It manifests itself also in institutions and practices—both easier to trace than spiritual realities and frames of mind. One of the institutions of the state religion was a national shrine. Under Saul, the central temple would seem to have been situated near the town of Nob. Nob, referred to as 'the town of the priests' in 1 Samuel 22:19, was inhabited by a community of over eighty-five priests (1 Samuel 22:18). Whether all of them were employed by the nearby temple is uncertain; some may have been itinerant priests who lived there. In either case, Nob must be considered the major religious centre of Saul's kingdom. The trophies of his wars, such as the weapons of Goliath, were kept in the temple of Nob (1 Samuel 21:9; cf. 31:10), as was the sacred shrine which Saul brought along on his military expeditions. It is called here the 'ephod', but the term refers to the same solid object that 1 Samuel 14:18 calls the ark.[40] Here, too, was the bread of display (*leḥem happānîm*) that was placed before the symbol or image of Yahweh (1 Samuel 21:7).[41] The chief priest of Saul, Ahimelech the son of Ahitub—identical with Ahijah the son of Ahitub mentioned in 1 Samuel 14:3[42]—, was in charge of the temple.

---

[40] Thus von Gall 1898:92-94.

[41] Blenkinsopp 1972:66 concludes from the reference to 'the bread of the Presence' that the ark must have been in the temple of Nob, too. Jewish tradition reflects a similar conclusion, see *bZeb* 118-119 (the ark and the tabernacle were at Nob for a brief period).

[42] See also Blenkinsopp 1972:66.

One of Saul's trusted officials, Doeg the Edomite 'the chief of Saul's herdsmen', may have acted as royal supervisor (1 Samuel 21:7; 22:9-10).

While the official status of the temple of Nob as Saul's national shrine can hardly be doubted, the fact that this temple is said to have been in Nob is problematic. The town of Nob was situated in the vicinity of Anathoth (Nehemiah 11:32), more precisely between Anathoth and Jerusalem (Isaiah 10:32). It is believed to have been located on Mount Scopus or at el-ᶜIsawiyeh, the hill north of Mount Scopus, which means that it lay at less than three kilometres from Jerusalem (ancient Jebus). Since Nob near Jerusalem was one of the satellite villages of the independent city-state of Jebus,[43] it is inconceivable that Saul had his official sanctuary here. Various scholars have therefore suggested that 'Nob' stands in fact for Gibeon, or more precisely, the temple of Gibeon at Nebi Samwil.[44] This would be in keeping with the role of Gibeon and its sanctuary in the early career of Saul. It would also explain why the massacre of the priests at Nob, during which the entire population of the city died (1 Samuel 22:19), could be referred to as Saul's killing of the Gibeonites in 2 Samuel 21:1-14—if the two events are indeed connected.[45] Solomon's visit of 'the great Bamah' of Gibeon would also make better sense if Gibeon had been the national sanctuary of the Saulide state; it was an act of diplomacy. Since Nob (written נב or נבה) means 'hill' or 'mountain', it is quite an appropriate name for the extramural sanctuary of Gibeon (also known as 'the Hill of God' or 'the Mountain of Yahweh').[46]

Though the Deuteronomist has tried to camouflage the role of the Gibeonite temple, its place as the central sanctuary of the Saulide state is hardly in doubt. It would be natural for Saul to make the sanctuary that his family used to visit the religious centre of his kingdom. Gibeon was both the political and the religious capital.[47] For a temple that could be described as 'the great high place' eighty-five priests were perhaps not too many. A central shrine is bound to draw pilgrims who would need the assistance of professional priests. Solomon, too, came as a pilgrim (1 Kings 3:4-15). The priests at Gibeon may also have had a role in the administration, e.g. in collecting the

---

43 Hertzberg 1929:177-179; Edelman 1986:224.

44 So, amongst others, Cheyne 1902; Bruno 1923:69-71; Hylander 1932:286 n. 1, 291-292; Hertzberg 1929:177-179; 1956:140-141; Blenkinsopp 1972:67-68; Edelman 1986:224-225.

45 On the identity of the priests of Nob with the massacred Gibeonites see Cook 1907:28; Bruno 1923:75-87; Hertzberg 1956:310. Cf. Cornfeld 1961:264-265, who closely associates the priests of Nob and the priests of Gibeon.

46 So, tentatively, Blenkinsopp 1972:67-68.

47 Cf. Blenkinsopp 1974.

annual taxes (the 'tithes', 1 Samuel 8:15) of the populace. Absolute loyalty was demanded of these civil servants. As soon as the king suspected them of supporting the cause of a rival, he was bound to take severe punitive measures, as the massacre of Ahimelech and his family shows. Its very fierceness supports the conclusion that the temple of Gibeon ('Nob') was indeed 'a temple of the kingdom', to use the expression of Amos 7:13.

The National God of the Saulide State

Which god was worshipped in Saul's national shrine? The Bible says it was Yahweh, and the presumably ancient name 'Mountain of Yahweh' for the cult site near Gibeon seems to confirm the point. Yet the theological bias of the biblical records forbids us to accept their witness without further questioning. Whether or not Saul honoured Yahweh as the national deity of the Israelite state must be established on the basis of less controversial data, preferably from outside the Bible.

The oldest extra-biblical evidence for the worship of Yahweh as Israel's national god comes from the Moabite inscription of King Mesha. The Moabite ruler recalls his military successes against Israel in the time of Ahab:

> And Chemosh said to me, 'Go, take Nebo from Israel!' So I went by night and I engaged in fight against her from the break of dawn until noon. And I took her and I killed her entire population: seven thousand men, boys, women, girls, and maid servants, for I devoted her to destruction for Ashtar-Chemosh. And I took from there the *ʾ[rʾ]ly* of Yahweh and I dragged them before Chemosh.[48]

Nebo (נבה in the Mesha Stela, נבו in the Bible), situated in North-Western Moab,[49] was a border town and as such an object of frequent litigation. To mark its appurtenance to the Kingdom of Israel, Omri or one of his predecessors had placed here **ʾarʾallîm* of Yahweh (lines 17-18, cf. 12). The nature of these items must be guessed at. Both the etymology of the term (*ʾărî-ʾēl*, 'X of god', cf. *bêt-ʾēl*, 'baethyl') and its connection with Yahweh suggest that they were religious objects,[50] whose presence in a border town

---

[48] *KAI* 181: [14] *wyʾmr . ly . kmš . lk . ʾḥz . ʾt . nbh . ʿl . yšrʾl . wʾ* [15] *hlk . bllh . wʾlṯḥm . bh . mbqʿ . hšḥrt . ʿd . ḥṣhrm . wʾḥ* [16] *zh . wʾhrg . kl[h] . šbʿt . ʾlpn . g[b]rn . wgrn . wgbrt . w[gr]* [17] *t . wrḥmt . ky . lʿštr . kmš . hḥrmth . wʾqḥ . mšm . ʾ[rʾ]* [18] *ly . yhwh . wʾsḥb . hm . lpny . kmš*. For the interpretation of the text see Blau 1980; Lemaire 1987. An extensive bibliography can be found in Lemaire 1992:564-565. The principal title to be added is Dearman 1989:167-170.

[49] The site is to be identified with modern Khirbet el-Mekhayyat, see Saller & Bagatti 1949:207-209.

[50] Ahlström 1982:14 has suggested that the word referred to a symbol of a deity or a holy vessel, perhaps a lion base for an idol (see also Ahlström 1984:132). The word is more

was a signal to the visitor that he was now entering the territory of Yahweh.

Since Mesha took Nebo during the reign of Ahab (ca. 874-853), Yahweh must have been considered the national god of the Israelite state since at least the early ninth century BC. His position as the god of state is confirmed by other extra-biblical evidence. One of the inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud, about fifty kilometres south of Kadesh-barnea, refers to 'Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah' (*brkt . ʾtkm . lyhwh . šmrn . wlʾšrth*, 'I have blessed you by Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah').[51] On the evidence of the strong Israelite influence in the remains of Kuntillet ʿAjrud, the site was an outpost of the Northern Kingdom.[52] People greeted each other in the name of the official god of Israel, 'Yahweh of Samaria'. In this context, 'Samaria' is best taken as a designation of the Northern Kingdom as a whole—not just the city or the region of Samaria.[53] Yahweh was referred to as 'Yahweh of Samaria' to distinguish him from Yahweh of Judah; his consort in Israel was 'Asherah of Samaria', according to the slightly emended text of Amos 8:14 (read אשרת שמרון for אשמת שמרון). Around 800 BC, then, the tentative date of the inscription, there was a widespread sense that Yahweh was the national god of Israel.

The extra-biblical evidence shows that, by the early ninth century BC, Yahweh was firmly established as the national god of the State of Israel. It is hardly likely that the patronage of his cult was an innovation by the Omrides. There is, on the contrary, every reason to believe that the worship of Yahweh as the national god was already practised at the beginning of Israel as a separate state. According to 1 Kings 12:26-32, Jeroboam feared that his subjects might be tempted to visit Jerusalem 'to offer sacrifices in the temple

---

or less conventionally interpreted as a sacrificial fireplace (Ges[18] 98). See also Petzold 1970.

51 The text was first mentioned by Meshel 1978. From the wealth of literature on the inscription the following studies may be mentioned: Emerton 1982; Lemaire 1984; Weinfeld 1984; McCarter 1987; Müller 1992. The first to have suggested in print that *yhwh šmrn* should be interpreted as 'Yahweh of Samaria', rather than as 'Yahweh our guardian' (so, e.g., Fritz 1979:49; Stolz 1980:170) was Gilula 1978.

52 Cf. Meshel 1992:108.

53 The name 'Samaria' can refer to the city (and the mountain) of Samaria (so in most biblical references), to the Northern Kingdom (1 Kings 21:1; 2 Kings 1:3, *melek Šōmrôn*; 1 Kings 13:32; 2 Kings 17:24; 23:19, *ʿārê Šōmrôn*), or to the Persian province of Samaria. The comparison of the expression 'Yahweh of Samaria' with the 'Calf of Samaria' (Hosea 8:6) suggests that here 'Samaria' is to be taken as a reference to the kingdom as a whole, since the 'Calf of Samaria' is the statue which tradition says to have been set up by Jeroboam I in Bethel (1 Kings 12:29). According to Hosea 10:5 the 'inhabitants of Samaria tremble for the Calf of Beth-aven (i.e., Bethel)'. For a discussion and references to further literature see *HAL*[3] 1466-1467. In the discussion of the Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscriptions, 'Yahweh of Samaria' is usually interpreted as the Yahweh who was worshipped in the city of Samaria, see, e.g., Emerton 1982:19; McCarter 1987:139; contrast Müller 1992:26-27 who correctly interprets Samaria here as a *nomen terrae*, not as a city name.

of Yahweh' (12:27). To persuade them against doing so, he created two national temples, one in Dan and one in Bethel. For each one a 'golden calf' was fashioned, a divine image in the shape of a young bull.[54] This tauromorph deity was hailed as

> your god, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt[55]

The phrase, to all appearances a long-established liturgical formula, implies the identification of the 'calf' with Yahweh, and says that this Yahweh is 'the god of Israel', i.e., the god of the Northern Kingdom. The 'Calf of Samaria', as the image of Bethel is called in the Book of Hosea (*ʿēgel Šōmrôn*, Hosea 8:5, 6; 10:5), represents 'Yahweh of Samaria', as the god is called in the Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscription.[56]

The account of Jeroboam's religious politics throws an interesting light on the motives of the king. He did not inaugurate a state cult of Yahweh because he himself was a devoted worshipper of the god, but for reasons of state—though the two need not be in contradiction. In the long run, the popular pilgrimages to Jerusalem would, he feared, erode the loyalty of his subjects (1 Kings 12:27). He did not offer them a new god to reinforce their allegiance to himself. The images he set up were images of Yahweh: Northern statues of the god the people used to worship in Jerusalem. The reconstruction of Jeroboam's motives by the author of 1 Kings 12 reflects the point of view of the Jerusalem clergy. Yet it is unlikely that Yahweh was new to the Israelites. It would have been unwise to introduce the cult of a new god with a population accustomed to the worship of Yahweh; the risk of alienating them would be too great. Jeroboam created a Northern variant of Yahwism.

If Jeroboam's state cult was an adapted form of the state cult of the United Monarchy, the date at which Yahweh was recognized as the national god can be pushed back to the time of David and Solomon. There is a strong line of biblical evidence to show that there had been an intimate link between

---

[54] For a more detailed analysis see the section on 'The Religious Politics of Jeroboam I' in Chapter Twelve.

[55] 1 Kings 12:28. The phrase is usually translated as a plural on account of the verbal form *heʿĕlûkā*. The grammar does not require this translation, as the *pluralis majestatis* or *pluralis divinitatis* of *ʾelōhîm* may well take a verb in the plural, even when there can be no doubt that a single deity is being referred to (Joüon/Muraoka §150f). For a careful discussion of the alternative translation see Donner 1973. Donner argues that grammatically both translations can be defended, but thinks a plural is preferable on the basis of a comparison with Nehemiah 9:18. For a defence of a translation in the singular see Soggin 1966:199-200 n. 49.

[56] The association between Yahweh and the Calf is reflected in the personal name *ʿglyh*, 'Yahweh-is-the-Calf' on the Samaria ostracon no. 41 (for a description of, and a bibliography on, the Samaria ostraca see Kaufman, I. T. 1992).

Yahweh and the Davidic dynasty. It is Yahweh who 'took' David 'from the pasture, from following the sheep', to use the words of Nathan's oracle (2 Samuel 7:8). The Davidic dynasty ruled by the promise of Yahweh; its members therefore honoured Yahweh as 'the god of [their] father David' (2 Kings 20:5; cf. 1 Chronicles 28:9; 2 Chronicles 17:4; 34:3). The religious centre which David established in Jerusalem, and which was to serve as a national shrine, gave pride of place to Yahweh. Yahweh was both the family god of the Davidic dynasty,[57] and the national god of the Israelite state under David and Solomon.

The reign of David brings us very close to the time of Saul. If Yahweh was 'the god of Israel' in the days of David, was he so, too, in the Saulide state? Several indications suggest that he was, indeed. The principal link between the state religion under David and the religion which Saul promoted in his kingdom is the ark. Kiriath-jearim, whence the ark was brought to Jerusalem, is part of the Gibeonite enclave (Joshua 9:17). The major religious symbol of the Davidic state, then, came from the heartland of the Saulide state—even more so if Kiriath-jearim should be a code-name for Gibeon.[58] Since the interpretation of the ark as a premonarchic symbol of religious unity reflects an idea of later times, David's transfer of it must be understood as a claim to the religious heritage of the Saulide state.[59] The complicity between Saul's clergy and David (1 Samuel 21:1-9; 22:6-19), as well as Abiathar's entering into his service (1 Samuel 22:20-23), also suggests that there was religious continuity between the Saulide and the Davidic states. Another expression of that continuity is Solomon's visit to 'the great Bamah at Gibeon' (1 Kings 3:4). Falling at the beginning of his reign, this visit marks Solomon's desire to legitimize his rule by having it recognized and endorsed by the priesthood of what was once the central sanctuary of the Saulide state.

The obvious connections between the state religion under Saul and the state religion under David and Solomon make good sense if Yahweh had already been the national god of the Saulide state. It is the most likely assumption; other identifications raise more questions than they answer. It could furthermore be argued that Saul's 'choice of national god would almost certainly have been his own deity, who would have been perceived to have been instrumental in the victories and negotiations that had led to his rise to kingship.'[60] To judge by the name Jonathan ('Yahweh-has-given'),

---

57 For a fuller demonstration of this point see Vorländer 1975:231-244.
58 So Blenkinsopp 1972:65-83.
59 See van der Toorn & Houtman 1994:227-231.
60 Edelman 1986:226-227.

borne by his first-born son, Saul worshipped Yahweh as his family god.[61] It would follow that Yahweh was Saul's national god as well.

The Origins of Yahweh

Saul's choice of Yahweh as his national god is intriguing. Why Yahweh and not one of the traditional deities of the West Semitic pantheon, such as Baal? The question is all the more pressing given Saul's links to the Gibeonites—a foreign element in the Israelite population. There has been a suggestion that Saul was a 'recent convert to Yahwism', coming from a people that served other gods.[62] The hypothesis is not very solid. It is based on the tacit assumption that the Israelites as an ethnic group honoured Yahweh as their common god well before the Monarchic Era. This assumption errs on two counts: there is no proof of the ethnic unity of the inhabitants of the hill country in the Early Iron Age, nor is there evidence of religious unity among them. On the contrary, they were mixed in ethnicity and diverse in religion. The archaeological research of the last years suggests that the greater part of the population had come from a Canaanite background.[63] If this was so, one would expect them to bring their sacrifices to such gods as Baal and El, rather than to a—in terms of Canaanite concepts—obscure deity from the desert.

We must pause for a moment to reflect on the origins of Yahweh in order to fully grasp the issue at stake here. The first thing that needs to be stressed is that outside Israel Yahweh was not worshipped in the West Semitic world.[64] The stir caused by claims to the effect that a shortened form of the name Yahweh ('Ya') had been discovered as a theophoric element in names from Ebla (ca. 2400-2250 BC) has proved to be unfounded.[65] As the final element of personal names, *-ya* is often a hypocoristic ending, not a theonym.[66] In several cases the sign NI, read *yà* by the first epigraphers, is conventionally short for NI-NI = *ì-lí*, 'my (personal) god', or for *ì-lum/lu*, 'god'.[67] This solution also explains the occurrence of the speculated element **ya* at the beginning of personal names; thus ^{d}*yà-ra-mu* should be read either

---

61 So Edelman 1986:227. She adduces furthermore the LXX reading of the name Ishvi (ישׁוי, 1 Samuel 14:49) as Ιεσσιου = *יִשְׁיָ, 'Yahweh is present'.

62 Blenkinsopp 1972:62.

63 See Chapter Eight, 'Who Were the Israelites?'.

64 Contra, e.g., Murtonen 1951; Garbini 1988:52-65. For a critical survey of the evidence adduced see de Vaux 1970:52-56.

65 See Pettinato 1980a; 1980b. Pettinato's proposals have been adopted by Dahood 1981.

66 Archi 1979:556-560.

67 Müller 1980a:83; 1981:306-307

as DINGIR-*lí-ra-mu* or as ^{d}*ili$_{x}$-ra-mu*, both readings yielding the name Ilī-ramu, 'My god is exalted'. In no list of gods or offerings is the mysterious god *Ya ever mentioned; his cult at Ebla is a chimera.

Yahweh was not known at Ugarit either; the singular name *Yw* (vocalisation unknown) in a damaged passage of the Baal Cycle (*KTU* 1.1 iv 14) cannot convincingly be interpreted as an abbreviation for 'Yahweh'.[68] There is no more truth either in the proposition that 'Yahweh was worshipped as a major god' in North Syria in the eighth century BC.[69] The only North-West Semitic evidence that can plausibly be linked to the name 'Yahweh' are the Amorite theophoric anthroponyms containing the element *Yaḫwi-* or *Yawi-*. In view of their semantic equivalent in Akkadian *Ibašši-*, we are dealing with a finite form of the verb 'to be'. Ya(ḫ)wi-ila thus means 'God (or 'My god') is present'.[70] Such names do not, of course, attest to a cult of Yahweh among certain Amorites; they merely elucidate the etymology of his name.[71]

The absence of the name 'Yahweh' in West Semitic epigraphy (except for the Mesha Stela) agrees well with the biblical evidence on Yahweh's origins. A number of poetic—and presumably archaic—texts have preserved the memory of a topographical link between Yahweh and the mountain area south of Edom. In these theophany texts Yahweh is said to come from Seir, from 'the field(s) of Edom' (Judges 5:4; note the correction in Psalm 68:8[7]). According to the Blessing of Moses Yahweh comes from Sinai, 'dawns from' Seir, and 'shines forth' from Mount Paran (Deuteronomy 33:2).[72] Elsewhere he is said to come from Teman and Mount Paran (Habakkuk 3:3). The reference to 'Yahweh of Teman' in one of the Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscriptions is an extra-biblical confirmation of the topographical connection.[73] All of these places—Seir, Mt Paran, Teman, and Sinai—are in or near Edom. 'Seir' is the biblical name for part of the country of Edom, and developed into a synonym for Edom.[74] Mount Sinai, often located in the Sinai peninsula, was actually in southern Edom or northern Midian.[75]

---

[68] *Pace* Cazelles 1967:84; Garbini 1988:56-57; de Moor 1990:113-118 ('Ugaritic *Yw* as a deliberate caricature of YHWH'). For a critical discussion see Hess 1991; Smith, M. S. 1994:151-152.

[69] Contra Dalley 1990:29. For a refutation see van der Toorn 1992:88-90.

[70] See von Soden 1966; Weippert, M. 1980:251-252.

[71] The point needs to be made as André Finet has argued, in two publications (Finet 1964; 1978), that such names as Yahwi-ilum are to be translated as 'Ilum is Yahwi', thus obtaining Yahwi as a proper name. For a critique see von Soden 1966:178-179.

[72] For a more detailed discussion of the Blessing of Moses and other ancient theophany hymns see the section on 'Yahweh and El' in Chapter Thirteen.

[73] The text speaks of *[y]hwh[.]tmn.wl^{3}šrt[h]*, 'Yahweh of Teman and (to) his Asherah'. For the interpretation see Emerton 1982:13.

[74] See Knauf 1992a.

[75] Cross 1988:59. For Paran see *HAL*^{3}:860; Hamilton 1992; for Teman see Knauf

The biblical evidence on the topographical background of Yahweh is supported by two references to Yahweh in Egyptian texts. In these texts from the 14th and 13th centuries BC, Yahweh is neither connected with the Israelites, nor is his cult located in Palestine. The texts speak about 'Yahu in the land of the Šosū-Bedouins' (*t3 š3św jhw3*).[76] The one text is from the reign of Amenophis III (first part of the 14th century)[77] and the other from the reign of Ramses II (13th century).[78] In the Ramses II list, the name occurs in a context which also mentions Seir (*s^{c}rr*). It may tentatively be concluded that this 'Yahu in the land of the Shosu-beduins' is to be situated in the area of Edom and Midian.[79] Though in the Egyptian texts *Yhw* is used as a toponym,[80] a relationship with the deity by the same name is a reasonable assumption.[81] Whether the god took his name from the region or vice versa remains uncertain.[82] By the 14th century BC, before the cult of Yahweh had reached Israel, groups of Edomite and Midianites worshipped Yahweh as their god.

If the cult of Yahweh had its roots in the south, then, why and how did it make its way to the north? According to a widely accepted theory, the Kenites were the mediators of the Yahwistic cult. One of the first to advance the Kenite hypothesis was the Dutch historian of religion C. P. Tiele. In 1872 Tiele characterized Yahweh historically as 'the god of the desert, worshipped by the Kenites and their close relatives before the Israelites.'[83] The idea was adopted and elaborated by B. Stade,[84] and it has gained considerable support ever since, also among modern scholars.[85] In its classical

---

1988:52 n. 260; 1992b.

[76] Giveon 1971:26-28 no. 6a; 74-77 no. 16a; note Weippert, M. 1974:427.430 for the correct reading.

[77] Cf. Hermann, S. 1967.

[78] Cf. Fairman 1939:141.

[79] Weippert, M. 1974:271; Axelsson 1987:60; *pace* Weinfeld 1987:304.

[80] Knauf 1988:46-47.

[81] *Pace* Weippert, M. 1972:491 n. 144.

[82] Note that Giveon 1964 suggests that the name is short for *Beth-Yahweh, which would compare with the variance between Baal-meon and Beth-Baal-meon.

[83] Tiele 1872:559. Tiele's idea found its way to other scholars through the French translation of his work, *Histoire comparée des anciennes religions de l'Egypte et des peuples sémitiques* (Paris: G. Fischbacher, 1882; tr. G. Collins):350-351. Tiele does not refer to F. W. Ghillany who in 1862, writing under the pseudonym 'Richard von der Alm', published his *Theologische Briefe an die Gebildeten der Deutschen Nation*, in which he defended the view that Yahweh was a Kenite sun-god, worshipped under the form of a metal image (1:216.480). Cheyne 1901 observes that Ghillany may have been the author of the Kenite hypothesis, but that Tiele has at least earned the honour of being the first to present the hypothesis (which he developed independently from Ghillany, apparently) in an acceptable form.

[84] Stade 1887:130-131.

[85] See, e.g., Wensinck 1941; Eerdmans 1947:15-19; Rowley 1950:149-160; Gunneweg

form the hypothesis assumes that the Israelites became acquainted with the cult of Yahweh through Moses. Moses' father-in-law—whose name was Hobab, according to an old tradition (Judges 1:16; 4:11; cf. Numbers 10:29)—was a Midianite priest (Exodus 2:16; 3:1; 18:1) of Yahweh (see e.g. Exodus 18:10-12). He belonged to the Kenites (Judges 1:16; 4:11), a branch of the Midianites.[86] By way of Hobab and Moses, then, the Kenites were the mediators of the cult of Yahweh.

The strength of the Kenite hypothesis lies in the link it establishes between different but converging sets of data, viz. the absence of Yahweh from West Semitic epigraphy, Yahweh's topographical link with the area of Edom (which may be taken to include the territory of the Midianites), the 'Kenite' affiliation of Moses, and the positive evaluation of the Kenites in the Bible. A major flaw in the classical Kenite hypothesis, however, is its disregard for the 'Canaanite' origins of Israel. The view that the Israelites became Yahwists during their journey through the desert, and then brought their newly acquired religion to Palestine, neglects the fact that the majority of the Israelites were firmly rooted in Palestine. The historical role of Moses, moreover, is highly problematic. It is only in later tradition that he came to be regarded as the legendary ancestor of the Levitical priests and as a symbol of the 'Yahweh alone' movement; his real importance remains uncertain.

If the Kenite hypothesis is to be maintained, then, it can only be in a modified form. Though it is highly plausible that the Kenites (and the Midianites may be mentioned in the same breath) introduced Israel to the worship of Yahweh, it is unlikely that they did so outside the borders of Palestine. Kenites are mentioned as dwelling in the Northern Kingdom at an early stage; so are the Gibeonites, who were ethnically related to the Edomites.[87] Some of these groups were not permanent residents of Israel; they came there as traders. Already in Genesis 37:28 Midianite traders are mentioned as being active between Palestine and Egypt.[88] If Yahwism did indeed originate with the Midianites or the Kenites—and the evidence points in that direction—it may have been brought to Transjordan and Central Palestine by traders along the caravan routes from the south to the east.[89]

There is reason to believe that the 'Edomite connection' was established in North Israel. It is not mere coincidence that the references to Yahweh's origins from the South occur predominantly in texts from the Northern

---

1964; Schmidt, W. H. 1983:110-118; Weinfeld 1987; Mettinger 1990:408-409.

86 Rowley 1950:152-153.

87 Blenkinsopp 1972:14-27.

88 Knauf 1988:27.

89 Schloen 1993:36.

Kingdom. Instructive in this respect is the comparison between the Song of Deborah and Psalm 68. The Psalm is a partial rewriting of the Song (or pieces of the Song) from a Judahite perspective, as the reference to the temple in Jerusalem shows (Psalm 68:30[29]). In *v.* 8[7] of the Psalm, the mention of Seir and Edom (so in Judges 5:4) has been suppressed and replaced by inoffensive phrases. 'When thou didst go forth from Seir' was altered to read 'When thou didst go forth before thy people', and 'When thou didst march from the Field of Edom' was changed into 'When thou didst march through the wilderness'.[90] The 'tribe' of Judah is conspicuously missing in the Song of Deborah—which gives fuel to the assumption that the text has an Ephraimite origin. Similar observations might be made about Deuteronomy 33:2-5[91] and Habakuk 3:2-15. Kuntillet ʿAjrud, where an inscription mentioning 'Yahweh of Teman' has turned up, was an outpost of the Northern Kingdom, too. Paradoxically, the belief that Yahweh came from the South was at home in the North.[92]

If Yahweh was an Edomite-Midianite deity whose cult was established in Israel by Edomite elements, and if Saul promoted the cult of Yahweh as his state religion, it is reasonable to ask whether Israel's first king had any links with these Edomites. On the basis of an analysis of the origins of Saul, the answer must be affirmative. Saul is related to the Gibeonites; the Gibeonites, for their part, belonged to an ethnic strain represented also among the early Edomites. Key evidence, in this respect, is the correspondence between the personal names given in the Gibeonite and the Edomite genealogies (1 Chronicles 2:50-55 and Genesis 36, respectively). The Edomite background of the Gibeonite enclave is indirectly confirmed by the presence of a Mount Seir just west of Kiriath-jearim, at the border of the enclave (Joshua 15:9-10). Also in antiquity, immigrants frequently named their new surroundings after places and features of their homeland.[93] It is quite possible, therefore, that Mount Seir in Central Palestine took its name from Mount Seir in Edom.[94] Perhaps Baalah (i.e., Kiriath-jearim, Joshua 15:9) is another Edomite namesake, since there was also a place called Baalah 'toward the boundary of Edom' (Joshua 15:21, 29).

The hypothesis concerning the Edomite origins of the Gibeonites assumes that groups of Edomites—Bedouins *avant la lettre* perhaps, if they are to be

---

90 For a comparison of Judges 5:4-5 with Psalm 68:8-11 see also Lipinski 1967.

91 See, e.g., Nielsen 1978:81-82.

92 See on this issue Axelsson 1988.

93 See Ephʿal 1978:80-81; Joannès 1982a; 1987; Stol 1988.

94 Edelman 1986:229 adduces the homonymy of the two mountains in order to demonstrate the Edomite connection of the Gibeonites. A similar suggestion was made by Blenkinsopp 1972:27.

related to the Šosū mentioned in the Egyptian toponymic lists—had left their home country and had moved to the north. Around 1200 BC, some of them entered Palestine and constituted there what came to be known as the Gibeonite enclave. Other groups may have pushed further northward and have settled in Gilead. The Gibeonites remained conscious of their ethnic identity. The position of Doeg the Edomite at the court of Saul can be taken as an illustration of the enduring relations with the homeland. Some of Saul's acts can only be understood properly when his ethnic affiliations are taken into account. In the campaign against Amalek, Saul spared the Kenites (1 Samuel 15:6) because of their links with the Edomites.[95] The liberation of Jabesh-gilead had a similar backgound: there were connubial ties between the Gibeonites (referred to as 'Benjaminites' from Gibeah in Judges 19-21) and the population of Jabesh-gilead (Judges 21:8-14); the connubium might well have been based on ethnic affinity.

Though circumstantial, the converging pieces of evidence suggest that Saul's choice of Yahweh as the patron god of his state was based on his Edomite background. Once Yahweh was the national god, his worship was spread over the territory of the Saulide state. The reign of Saul, then, must be regarded as a turning-point in both the political and the religious history of Israel. The Israelite worship of Yahweh—a 'foreign' deity, after all—was a concomitant effect of the formation of the Israelite state; because Israel's first king was a devotee of Yahweh—and not unnaturally so, in view of his Edomite background—Yahweh became the official god of Israel. Henceforth, the Israelites would be the 'people of Yahweh'—even if many of them remained long attached to gods other than Yahweh.

---

95 Cf. Blenkinsopp 1972:61.

CHAPTER TWELVE

INVENTING A NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE EXODUS AS CHARTER MYTH

The emergence of a state religion under King Saul inaugurated a new phase in the cultural history of early Israel. Until then, religion had been diverse: each family or clan had its own religion, honoured its own god, and celebrated its own rites. Kin and inheritance, epitomized in the cult of the ancestors and the worship of a local god, were the primary foci of identity. The promotion of Yahweh as national god offered the Israelites a new possibility of identification. Grown out of the family religion of King Saul, the Israelite state religion was designed to become the religion of the entire nation. It was to serve as a force of national cohesion fostering a spirit of community and loyalty to the house of the king.

The transformation of the time-honoured forms of religious life did not happen overnight. For a long time, state religion and local forms of family religion competed for the favour of the population. In their efforts to redirect the devotion of their subjects, the authorities were active on two fronts. While they endowed the state religion with temples, a clergy, and a national charter myth, they endeavoured to curb the spirit of local independence by the integration of some and the repression of other aspects of family religion. Their involvement in the state religion was aimed to turn it into a truly national religion; the interference in the domain of family religion was aimed to divest the latter of its independent status.

The integration and repression of family religion will be dealt with in the next chapter. This chapter is devoted to an assessment of the organization and ideological development of the Ephraimite state religion during the time of the divided monarchy (*ca.* 920-720). Based on the description of the religious politics of Jeroboam in 1 Kings 12, we will pay special attention to the use of the exodus narrative as national charter myth, and to the religious personnel responsible for its dissemination.

The Religious Politics of Jeroboam I

Nearly all our data on the organization of the state religion in the Northern Kingdom come from the comparatively late and definitely biased Books of the Kings. The First and Second Book of the Kings are part of the

Deuteronomistic History, a national history written in the spirit of the Deuteronomic movement.[1] The Deuteronomistic writers have incorporated older materials and traditions in their work, but major sections were authored directly by themselves. The historical reliability of these passages is questionable.

The description of Jeroboam's interventions in the state religion (1 Kings 12:26-32) may be based on older documents from the Northern Kingdom,[2] but in its present form it reflects the point of view of the clergy at Jerusalem.[3] In the vision of the Deuteronomists, Jeroboam was motivated by political self-interest when he took measures to reinforce the position of the state religion. Seeing an intimate link between religious devotion and political loyalty, he feared the disaffection of his subjects should they continue to go up to offer sacrifices in the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem:

> And Jeroboam said to himself: Now the kingdom will return to the House of David. If this people go up to offer sacrifices in the temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem, then the heart of this people will turn back to their lord, to Rehoboam king of Judah, and they will kill me and return to Rehoboam king of Judah.
>
> 1 Kings 12:26-27

While political motives will certainly have contributed to Jeroboam's decision to have his own national temples and his own national festival, his concern about his subjects' visiting the temple in Jerusalem is at odds with the historical situation. The people had just claimed that they had neither portion nor share with the House of David (1 Kings 12:16). They were hardly tempted to call Rehoboam their 'lord'.

In establishing a full-fledged state cult in his own kingdom, Jeroboam was fulfilling his religious duties as a monarch. He did what his people expected from their ruler.

> And the king took counsel and made two golden calves and he said to the people:[4] 'You have been going up to Jerusalem long enough. This is your god, o Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.' And he set up one in Bethel, and the other he placed in Dan. And this act proved to be a source of guilt, for the people went to worship the one [in Bethel and the other] as far as Dan. He also made cult places (*ʾet-bêt bāmôt*) and appointed priests from the ranks of the people who were not of Levite descent. Jeroboam also established a festival on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, in

---

[1] On the Deuteronomistic History see the various introductions to the Old Testament, such as Kaiser 1984[5]:172-178; Schmidt, W. H. 1989[4]:136-160. On the Deuteronomic movement see Chapter Fourteen.

[2] Cf. Debus 1967:39-40.

[3] Noth 1968:271; Würthwein 1977:162.

[4] Correct אולהם into אל־העם, cf. LXX πρὸς τὸν λάον.

> analogy with the festival in Judah. And he ascended the altar (this he did in Bethel) to sacrifice to the calves he had made. And he stationed at Bethel the priests of the shrines that he had made.
>
> 1 Kings 12:28-32

In spite of the critical tone of the passage, it gives a fairly accurate description of the main ingredients of the state religion as promoted by the Israelite kings. Though not all elements need go back to the time of Jeroboam, they do constitute what seems to be the natural core of the Israelite state religion.[5]

The Israelite state cult as presented in 1 Kings 12 is devoted to Yahweh in his capacity as 'the god who brought you up from the land of Egypt.' The formula with which Jeroboam is said to have introduced the calf images to the people can hardly be the invention of the Deuteronomists. It is presumably a citation of a traditional doxology spoken at the annual festival in Bethel when the image of Yahweh left the temple to be carried around in procession. Two conclusions follow: first, that the state religion of the Northern Kingdom was not polytheistic in the sense that it put Yahweh on a par with Baal and other Canaanite deities, since only Yahweh was proclaimed to be the national god of Israel; and second, that it used the exodus motif as its central doctrine. The latter element represents an innovation by comparison with the earliest phase of Israelite state religion. Under Saul, the theology of the state religion consisted of little else than the application of the traditional notions of family religion (such as the 'people of Yahweh' and his 'inheritance') to the nation as a whole. Under the divided monarchy, however, the exodus was used as national charter myth designed to give the Israelites the sense of a common past.

The authorities in charge of the state cult combined this theological innovation with the creation of official temples, the appointment of religious executives, and the introduction of a cultic calendar. According to the Deuteronomists, Jeroboam turned the existing temples of Bethel and Dan into state temples by the consecration of the golden calves.[6] Since the bull imagery belongs to the traditional iconography of Canaanite temples, it is doubtful whether Jeroboam made two new images. Though the possibility cannot be excluded, it is more likely that the monarch reinterpreted existing images in accordance with the new religious doctrine. The king is said to have established an unspecified number of cult places throughout the country in addition to Bethel and Dan. The text gives no clue about the location of these sanctuaries, nor does it reveal whether they were new establishments or older places of worship that were placed under the control of state officials.

---

5 Debus 1967:39; Noth 1968:270.281.
6 Cf. Würthwein 1977:163.

The nationalization of the temples at Bethel and Dan could not have been realized if it had not been accompanied by the consecration of a body of priests in the service of the state. Indeed, King Jeroboam is reported to have appointed priests from among all the people, whether they be Levite or not. In the eyes of the Deuteronomists, the appointment of non-Levite temple personnel amounted to a sin because the Levites were the only ones whom Yahweh had chosen to do service in his temple. Since the notion of the priesthood as a Levite prerogative is a construct of a later period, however, the condemnation of Jeroboam's choice of priests is an anachronism at best.

The description in 1 Kings 13:33 suggests that there was such a shortage of personnel at the state sanctuaries, that the authorities appointed as priest any one who aspired to that position.

> Jeroboam ... kept on appointing priests for the shrines (*bāmôt*) from the ranks of the people; any who so desired, he consecrated as priests of the shrines.

The verse indicates that the authorities sought to seize and maintain control of the religion of their subjects by the installation of a large body of state priests. Loyalty to the king was a more important criterion of their selection than training, expertise, or descent.

In addition to the promotion of the exodus as charter myth, the nationalization of temples and shrines, and the creation of a body of state priests, the narrative of 1 Kings 12 credits Jeroboam with the introduction of a cultic calendar. In analogy with the new year festival in Jerusalem (which was celebrated in the seventh month), Jeroboam would have instituted a festival in Israel in the middle of the eight month. Apart from this new year festival, no other dates of the cultic calendar are given. One reason to mention only the new year festival concerns the role of the king on that occasion. According to our text it was one of the times at which the monarch ascended the altar in person. The prominence of the king during the festivities was not simply a sign of royal devotion. The festival celebrated the kingship of Yahweh as the god in whose name the human king exercised his power. The annual rite of renewal amounted to a public endorsement of the monarch by the national god in the presence of the gathered population.[7]

The organization and development of the Ephraimite state cult under the divided monarchy is presented by the Deuteronomists as a conscious attempt on behalf of the palace to gain control over the religious life of the population. The measures described were meant to legitimize and reinforce the position of the king. The monarch was the final author and authority in matters of

---

[7] See van der Toorn 1991b:341-342.

the state religion; as the head of state he was also head of the state cult and its priests. On such occasions as the new year festival, the king demonstrated his authority over the cult personnel by his leading role in the ceremonies. Under ordinary circumstances, he delegated his responsibilities to the priests. Unlike the cultic servants at the local family chapels, these priests were civil servants. They had been appointed by the crown, and it was to the crown that they were ultimately responsible.

The Exodus as National Charter Myth

The description of Jeroboam's religious politics implies that the exodus was used as a national charter myth in the state religion. This much can be deduced from the liturgical formula hailing the golden calf:

> This is your god, o Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt!

Since the source of our information is not above suspicion of historical falsification, however, we have to verify the place of the exodus motif in the Northern Kingdom on the basis of data free from a Deuteronomistic prejudice. The two books that may be used for such a verification are those of Amos and Hosea.

We shall first look at the Book of Amos.[8] Amos was a farmer from Judah[9] most of whose activities as a prophet took place in the Northern Kingdom around 750 BC.[10] His presence in Israel is proved by the narrative of his dismissal from the royal temple at Bethel (Amos 7:10-17).[11] Both the structure and the content of his prophecies show that Amos was addressing a primarily Israelite audience.[12] It may therefore be assumed that many of the practices and ideas he refers to were characteristic of the Northern King-

---

[8] Literature on Amos includes Mays 1969b; Hammershaimb 1970; Wolff 1975[2]:105-410; Coote 1980; Barstad 1984; Zobel 1985; Auld 1986; Soggin 1987; Andersen & Freedman 1989; Paul, S. M. 1991. For an extensive bibliography see van der Wal 1986[3].

[9] The prophet is described as a 'shepherd' (*nōqēd*, Amos 1:1), a 'cattleman' (*bôqēr*) and 'tender (of figs)' (*bôlēs*, Amos 7:14) from Tekoa (Amos 1:1), a small fortress about 15 kilometres south of Jerusalem. The prophet was reasonably well-to-do, since he did not depend on his activities as a prophet for his living (cf. Amos 7:12-14).

[10] Amos' activity as a prophet is dated to the reigns of Jeroboam II (787-747) and Uzziah of Judah (783-742), 'two years before the earthquake' (Amos 1:1), which event can be dated, with the help of archaeology, to the mid-8th century BC.

[11] For a discussion of the passage and references to relevant literature see Wolff 1975[2]:352-365.

[12] Note for instance the structure of Amos 1-2, which goes form topographical periphery (Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab) to centre (Judah, Israel): the prophecy against Israel closes the section. At various places the Israelites are explicitly addressed (3:1; 4:1; 5:1, 4, 25; 9:7).

dom.[13] The Book of Amos bears out the popularity of the national festivals. On religious feast days people made the pilgrimage to renowned sanctuaries such as Bethel, Gilgal, Dan or Beersheba (Amos 4:4; 5:5-6; 8:14), where they stayed for a number of days (Amos 4:4). The festivities included a religious procession in which an image of the deity was carried through town (Amos 5:26), sacrificial banquets on the occasion of the payment of tithes and vows (Amos 4:4-5), bouts of drinking (2:8, 12), and sexual licence (2:7).

The religious criticism of Amos is directed in the first place against the state religion. Not only are the temples which he mentions (such as Bethel and Dan) national shrines, but his activities as a prophet also bring him into conflict with the state clergy. His dispute with Amaziah, the chief priest of Bethel, shows that the prophet was regarded as someone who attacked the state cult and undermined the political stability in Ephraim. That is why Amaziah reports Amos' activities to the king, and orders the prophet to leave the temple of Bethel.

> And Amaziah said to Amos: 'Seer, take yourself off to the land of Judah! Earn your living there and do your prophesying there. But don't ever prophesy again at Bethel, for it is a royal shrine and a temple of the state!'
>
> Amos 7:12-13

In his reaction Amos dissociates himself from the prophets working under the auspices of the state cult, to whom he refers as 'sons of the prophets' (Amos 7:14).

> Amos answered Amaziah: 'I am not a prophet nor a prophet's son. I am a cattle man and a tender of figs. But Yahweh took me away from following the flock and Yahweh said to me: Go, prophesy to my people Israel.'
>
> Amos 7:14-15

Amos intimates that, as a layman, he is not accountable to the authorities in the same way as professional prophets. Having his own source of income, he is independent and can speak the word of Yahweh with complete candour. His sneer at the Ephraimite cult prophets whom he implicitly accuses of piping the tune of the king who pays them will not have gone unnoticed.

Amos' familiarity with the religious traditions of the Northern Kingdom is clear from his scattered references to the exodus from Egypt (Amos 2:10-11; 3:1; 9:7; cf. also 5:25-26). The authenticity of the relevant texts has been contested on the hypothesis that they should be ascribed to the hand of a Deuteronomistic editor.[14] The tacit assumption underlying this judgment is

---

[13] Note Amos' repeated references to the exodus tradition (Amos 2:10; 3:1, 2; 9:7).

[14] So Wolff 1975[2] at the relevant passages; see also Lemche 1985:309-312.

that Amos could not have known the exodus motif or, if he did, did not attach any particular significance to it. This prejudice is not justified by the facts. The exodus terminology in Amos (עלה hip^{c}il) differs from the one used by Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomists (יצא, hip^{c}il).[15] It is characteristic of the Ephraimite tradition transmitted in the sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom.[16] The fact that Amos uses precisely this idiom bears out his intimate knowledge of the cult in Israel.[17]

It is instructive to study the way in which Amos refers to the exodus tradition. A characteristic passage is found at Amos 9:7

> To Me, O Israelites, you are just like the Ethiopians—oracle of Yahweh,
> True, I brought Israel up from the land of Egypt,
> But also the Philistines from Caphtor
> and the Aramaeans from Kir.

Amos does not deny the reality of the exodus, but insists that it does not entail a licence for moral or cultic misconduct. On the contrary, the experience of the exodus should be a motivation to steer clear from all iniquity. In the one case where Amos refers to the exodus as proof of Israel's election ('You alone I have singled out of all the families of the earth,' Amos 3:2 NJPS) it is to remind the people of their accountability to Yahweh. Amos uses the exodus motif to disturb and criticize his audience. In his opinion, the Israelites abused the exodus tradition by interpreting it as an unconditional promise of God's special protection.[18] Amos calls upon a central tenet of the state religion, then, precisely in critique of certain practices and attitudes of the followers of that religion.

The place of the exodus motif in the Book of Hosea must be studied in connection with the target of his criticism, which is not the state cult but the local forms of family religion.[19] Hosea spoke his prophecies 'in the days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel' (Hosea 1:1)[20] who reigned from 787-747 BC. Since the prophecies of Hosea also allude to the disarray that

---

15 Wolff 1975^{2}:206.

16 Wijngaards 1965.

17 On the authenticity of the relevant verses see Mays 1969b:51; Hoffman 1989:178; Paul, S. M. 1991:90.100.282.

18 Hoffman 1989:181.

19 For literature on the Book of Hosea see Wolff 1965 ^{2} (1976^{3}); Rudolph 1966; Mays 1969a; Kinet 1977; Andersen & Freedman 1980; Utzschneider 1980; Jeremias, Jörg 1983; Emerson 1984; Neef 1987; Yee 1987; Naumann 1991; Nissinen 1991.

20 Since most of the Judahite kings mentioned in the first verse of the book did not reign synchronously with Jeroboam II, it is generally assumed that they have been added in imitation of Isaiah 1:1, see Eissfeldt 1976^{4}:518-519. The precedence of the Judahite kings indicates that the superscription of the book was composed in Judahite circles (Wolff 1965^{2}:1; Jeremias, Jörg 1983:23).

ensued upon the death of Jeroboam, as well as to the Israelite-Aramaean coalition against Judah (Hosea 5:8-6:6), the prophet must have been active until about 730 BC. Unlike Amos, whose prophecies were spoken in Israel but who came from Judah, Hosea was a native Ephraimite.[21] His prophecies offer a view of the religious situation in Israel from within, some 250 years after the introduction of Yahweh as national god. How did Hosea perceive the religious culture of his day?

If the book that bears his name is representative of his views,[22] Hosea regarded the religion of his contemporaries as a collective form of apostasy. He likened Israel to a frivolous wife, fickle and unreliable, going after other gods as a prostitute would follow other men. Though her loyalty should be to Yahweh alone, Israel engaged in the cult of the Baals. This central message of the book is dramatically expounded in its first section by the description of Hosea's marriage with Gomer (chapters 1-3).[23] The woman is characterized as an *ʾēšet zĕnûnîm*, a woman of adulterous behaviour,[24] and the children she bears are *yaldê zĕnûnîm*, children of adultery. Gomer's conduct toward Hosea is compared to Israel's conduct toward Yahweh. Likewise, the divorce procedure which Hosea may have contemplated or actually initiated serves as a symbol of the imminent dissolution of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel—though the prophet does not exclude the possibility of a sudden conversion of his people, expressed in terms of the metaphor as a rejuvenation of love.

Once the message is divested of its metaphorical flourish, the religious situation depicted by Hosea is one in which the worship of Yahweh is practised alongside the cult of the Baals. It should be noted that the

---

21 The Book of Hosea does not mention the town where the prophet was born. It is generally assumed, however, that it was in Israel, since Hosea worked in Israel only, and is distinctly Ephraimite in his outlook.

22 For a survey of the various views on the genesis of the Book of Hosea see Yee 1987:1-25; Nissinen 1991:17-43. The history of interpretation has witnessed a shift from a focus on the truly Hoseanic and 'authentic' parts of the book to an emphasis of the role of the final redactor(s). Since the identification of the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet will always be tentative and uncertain, the principal question to be asked by those using the book as a source of information about the time of Hosea concerns the measure in which the book reflects the message of the prophet and the issues which mattered in his days. Nearly all modern commentators observe correctly that the Judahite prophecies reflect concerns of a non-Hoseanic milieu and a later date. Specifically Ephraimite polemics, on the other hand, must be assumed to reflect the concerns of Hosea and his circle of disciples.

23 The three chapters were not originally conceived as a unity, witness the separate promises for Judah at the end of each (Jeremias, Jörg 1983:19). In view of the identification of the wife and her father, there is no reason to put the historicity of the marriage with Gomer into question. On the marriage of Hosea see Rowley 1963a:66-97; Schreiner 1977.

24 The expression cannot be taken as evidence of a sexual rite of initiation to which each Israelite woman was submitted once in her life, *pace* Wolff 1965^2:14-15. See Rudolph 1963.

combination—which the prophet construes as an opposition—concerns one Yahweh and many Baals. The frequent use of the plural in connection with the cult of gods other than Yahweh is striking: the Israelites worship 'the Baals' (2:15[13], 19[17]; 11:2) and turn to 'other gods' (3:1). Ephraim is devoted to a multitude of 'idols' (*ʿăṣabbîm*, 4:17; 8:4; 13:2), i.e., wooden statues of gods (*pĕsîlîm*, 11:2) coated with precious metal (8:4; 13:2). Corresponding to this plurality of gods is a plurality of cult places. The Israelites are accused of performing a sacrificial cult in 'sanctuaries' (*bāmôt*, 10:8) located 'on the tops of the mountains' and 'upon the hills' (4:13) where they have placed their 'altars' (*mizbĕḥôt*, 4:19; 8:11; 10:1, 2, 8) and stone stelae (*maṣṣēbôt*, 10:1, 2).

The cult which the Baals received consisted of invocation (2:19[17]), the burning of incense (2:15[13]; 11:2), and the offering of sacrifice (13:2). On occasion, the rites involved the consumption of food by the human worshippers. The fact that the Israelites are accused of being partial to cakes of raisins (*ʾăšîšê ʿănābîm*, 3:1) and to meat (*bāśār*, 8:13) is linked to the sacrificial context in which these delicacies were enjoyed. Religious activity was at a pitch on seasonal fête-days; some of those are connected with the lunar cycle (such as the *ḥodeš*, the new moon or the interlunium, and *šabbāt*, either the seventh day or the plenilunium, 2:13[11]; 5:7),[25] and some with the agricultural cycle (harvest festivals performed on the threshing floors, 9:1). Considering the ebullient mood in which 'the days of the Baals' (2:15[13]) were passed, the frequent occurrence of licentious behaviour is hardly surprising (4:13-14). Also elsewhere in the Near East, local festivals were known to be occasions for flirting and courting.[26] In many civilizations, the distinction between religion and entertainment becomes blurred on feast days.[27]

Since the cult of the Baals was locally diversified, many of the rites that have just been listed did not take place in the context of national celebrations. The cult of the Baals was a predominantly local religion with participants who often belonged to the same family or clan (cf. 4:13-14). Concomitant with its local character, the cult was concerned primarily, it seems, with the yield of the crops and the multiplication of the flocks. The Baals were assumed to give 'bread and water, flax and wool, oil and drink' (2:7[5]). The list may have been inspired by the matrimonial metaphor, since it was a

---

25 On the *šabbāt* see Tsukimoto 1985:63-65. For an extensive bibliography see Hasel 1992:856.

26 See van der Toorn 1994a:55-58. The romance between Boaz and Ruth toward the end of the barley and wheat harvests (Ruth 2:23) may be regarded a biblical illustration of the social side of harvests festivities.

27 See, e.g., Benedict 1954:89-90; Brettell 1990:60-64.

husband's responsibility to provide his wife with food, clothing and oil.[28] Yet the fact that the prophet insists that 'the grain, the wine, and the oil' were in reality gifts of Yahweh (2:10[8]) suggests that the Baals were literally credited with the power to bestow these benefits. Such modest material blessings are consonant with the localist orientation of the cult of the Baals; it was not concerned with politics or weighty matters of national importance, but with the daily needs of ordinary people.

Though Hosea condemns the worship of the Baals as a reprehensible innovation, referring to Yahweh as the first love of the Israelites, the picture he gives of the local cults is essentially a picture of traditional family religion. Since the prophet polemizes by allusions rather than descriptions, the contours of the local cults remain diffuse. For all we can see there has been little change over three centuries (though very little is said about the cult of the ancestors).[29] At a local level, many communities seem to have continued to worship their own Baals. Meat consumption was still linked with sacrifice, and hence limited to occasions of religious significance. Celebrations continued to take place in local *bāmôt*, which were open-air sanctuaries located on mountains and hilltops, presumably just outside the confines of the towns. All these elements are well-known from the descriptions in Judges, Samuel, and the Elohistic parts of Genesis—with this difference, however, that Hosea presents them as the aberrations of a degenerate people.

The ideological basis of Hosea's rejection of family religion in its various local manifestations is found in his references to the time of Israel's liberation from Egypt.[30] A prime witness to Hosea's view of Israel's religious history is found toward the end of his book:

> I am Yahweh your God since the land of Egypt: you know no God but me, and besides me there is no saviour.
>
> Hosea 13:4

According to this verse, whose formulation announces the opening lines of the Decalogue ('I am Yahweh your god, who brought you up from the land of Egypt: you shall have no other gods beside me'), the religion of Israel

---

[28] An Old Babylonian report on a court case against one Ennam-Sîn contains the accusation that the man had not provided his wife Tabni-Ištar with 'rations of grain, wool, and oil' (VAS 8, 9:12-14), cf. the translation in Westbrook 1988:134. Note also CT 48, 51 and 61:12'-13' with references to the husband's duty to clothe and feed his wife, and to provide her with jugs of oil. Exodus 21:10 mentions 'food, clothing, and sexual intercourse' (*šĕʾēr, kĕsût, ʿōnâ*) as the essential commodities to which a wife is entitled.

[29] But note the reference to the teraphim in Hosea 3:4 and the condemnation of the new moon festivities (Hosea 2:13[11]; 5:7).

[30] On the presence of the exodus motif in the Book of Hosea see Utzschneider 1980:172-177.

was born at the time of the exodus from Egypt.[31] It was then that Yahweh first made himself known to the Israelites. Since he was then the only one, he had to be the only one now as well.

Like many religious reformers, Hosea presented his programme as a return to origins. According to the message of the prophet, the various local cults were adulterations of a religion which initially had been one of pure devotion to Yahweh. Hosea presented the time of the exodus as the time of the beginning of this religion. During the wanderings in the wilderness, when the people had come out of Egypt, Israel had still been young and innocent (Hosea 2:17[15]). To Hosea, the liberation from Egypt and the journey through the desert were like articles of faith which had to be impressed upon his audience to make them mend their ways. Symbols of God's election and Israel's youthful devotion, they stood in sharp contrast with a present that Hosea regarded as a condition of religious decadence. He wanted Israel to return to the undivided loyalty which it owed to Yahweh as the god of the exodus.

One reason why, in the vision of Hosea, the years of the exodus and of the wanderings were a particularly privileged time, is that they were the golden age of prophecy. God 'called' his son Israel out of Egypt (Hosea 11:1) through the prophets:

> I am Yahweh your God since the land of Egypt.
> I will again make you dwell in tents, as in the days of the meeting.
> Then I spoke to the prophets, and I multiplied visions;
> I will again speak in parables through the prophets.
>
> Hosea 12:10-11[9-10]

The emphasis on the role of the prophets in the formative years of Israel is slightly at odds with the account of the exodus as given in the Book of Exodus. Hosea gives a particular version of the exodus, highlighting aspects which later tradition may have deemed less important.[32] To Hosea the nearness of God in the days of the desert manifested itself in a florescence of prophecy; in that respect the period was to serve as a model for all time.[33] A similar association between the exodus and the phenomenon of prophecy is made by Amos (Amos 2:10-11), which suggests that it reflects a typically Ephraimite tradition.[34]

---

31 The Hoseanic connection between the exodus tradition and the demand for cultic exclusivism should not be explained as a late-exilic or post-exilic addition to the book based on Deuteronomy and Deutero-Isaiah, *pace* Nissinen 1991:157-166. Hosea's statement is not monotheistic; like the decalogue, it preaches monolatry of Yahweh.

32 So for instance the notion of God having 'found' Israel, cf. Bach 1952.

33 Rendtorff 1962:149.

34 The ascription of Amos 2:10-11 to a Deuteronomistic interpolator (so Wolff

The prophet most intimately connected with the exodus is, of course, Moses. His figure looms large in Hosea 12:14[13],[35] a verse that may be considered one of the earliest biblical allusions to Moses.[36]

> By a prophet Yahweh brought Israel up from Egypt,
> and by a prophet he was preserved (*nišmar*).

There is no room for doubt: for Hosea Moses is a prophet, and one of such stature that his name need not even be mentioned; he is the prophet *tout court*.[37] By omitting Moses' name, Hosea also emphasized the role of prophetic office over the person of Moses; which is consonant with the use of the plural in Hosea 12:11[10].[38] The prophet's statement indicates that he saw himself as rooted in the Mosaic tradition; he was a prophet in the line of Moses (cf. Deuteronomy 18:9-22). The legitimacy of his prophethood lay in the prophethood of Israel's national hero whose name was firmly associated with the exodus as the founding event of the nation.

To fully grasp the ideological implications of the exodus tradition it is necessary to register the polemical context in which Hosea uses it. The ideological complex with which Hosea contrasts the exodus motif (with Moses as its principal human protagonist) is the Jacob tradition.[39] Themes of this tradition are reflected in Hosea 12:4-5[3-4]:

> In the womb he took his brother by the heel (עקב),
> and in his manhood he strove (שׂרה) with God;
> El strove (וישׂר־אל) and prevailed.[40]
> He wept and sought his favour.
> He found him at Bethel,
> and there he spoke to him.

The first verse (*v.* 4[3]) contains a word-play on the names Jacob (יעקב) and

---

1975^2:205-207) is based on the premise that Amos does not mention the exodus and the wilderness tradition at all. On the authenticity of the verse see n. 17.

35 On the identification of the anonymous prophet with Moses see Wolff 1965^2:281.

36 So, e.g., Widengren 1970:23; *pace*, e.g., Lemche 1985:314, who regards the verse as a later gloss. Nissinen 1991:341 regards the entire passage (Hosea 12:4-13:2) as secondary, without further discussion. The Hoseanic paternity of the verse is accepted by Wilson 1980:228. Wolff concludes that 'Hosea und die ihn tragende Gemeinschaft haben offenbar zuerst Mose, als das geistliche Haupt der prophetisch-levitischen Oppositionsgemeinschaft, einen "Propheten" genannt' (1965^2:281).

37 See on Hosea's reference to Moses as 'the' prophet also Rudolph 1966:231; Perlitt 1971:603-605; Utzschneider 1980:208.

38 See Utzschneider 1980:208.

39 See, in addition to the commentaries *ad loco*, Sellin 1928; Vriezen 1942; Gertner 1960; Jacob 1960; Ackroyd 1963; Good 1966; Coote 1971; Diedrich 1977; Utzschneider 1980:186-202; Gese 1986; McKenzie, S. L. 1986; de Pury 1991; Whitt 1991 (with extensive references to further literature).

40 For the deletion of מלאך see Wolff 1965^2:275; Utzschneider 1980:189.

Israel (ישראל), the latter one being repeated in *v.* 5[4] (וישראל). For Hosea, 'Jacob' and 'Israel' refer to the same person, viz. the patriarch Jacob whom tradition connected with Bethel. Hosea's appreciation of Jacob is entirely negative, it seems; a critical tone is present throughout the passage: Jacob deceived his brother, and fought against God.

Hosea 12:13[12] is the second reference to Jacob. Here too there is no trace of veneration for a man whom the audience of Hosea must have regarded as a hero.

> Jacob fled to the land of Aram,
> there Israel did service for a wife,
> and for a wife he guarded sheep.

Jacob-Israel is here presented as someone who ignominiously fled from God and his commands.[41] The patriarch preferred the land of Aram to the soil of Palestine; his appetite for a woman degraded him into shepherding.

The critical tone of the summary biography of Jacob contrasts with the positive note Hosea strikes when referring to the exodus tradition.[42] In one or two places, the traditions are deliberately brought into opposition. It is not sure whether the rather enigmatic saying in 12:5[4] ('He found [מצא] him at Bethel') was meant to contrast with 9:10 ('Like grapes in the desert I found [מצא] Israel'). In 12:13-14[12-13], at any rate, the contrast between Jacob and Moses is definitely intentional: Whereas Jacob fled abroad, it was through Moses that God brought up Israel from Egypt. The exodus out of Egypt was a liberation from the house of servitude (*bêt ʿăbādîm*), according to the Decalogue (Deuteronomy 5:6). Jacob/Israel, however, willingly submitted to servitude in Aram (*wayyaʿăbōd-Yiśrāʾēl*, Hosea 12:13).[43] Whereas Jacob guarded (שמר) sheep for the sake of a woman (*bĕʾiššâ*), the Israelites were preserved (שמר, nipʿal) by the offices of a prophet (*bĕnābîʾ*).[44]

Hosea's negative appraisal of Jacob has received different interpretations. Some authors suggest Hosea's criticism is less harsh than it appears to be or, if criticism there is, not levelled at Jacob;[45] some duly register it and confess they find it 'hard to explain';[46] others take it as a veiled condemnation of sacred prostitution which they suspect was a current practice in the Northern Kingdom;[47] others yet interpret it as a rejection of a non-Yahwistic Bethel

---

41 Cf. Jeremias, Jörg 1983:157.
42 Cf. Jacob 1964.
43 Cf. Jeremias, Jörg 1983:157.
44 The intentional contrast has been noted by numerous commentators. See e.g. Utzschneider 1980:201-202 and the literature he mentions (p. 202 n. 1).
45 Ackroyd 1963; Gese 1968; Neef 1987:15-49.
46 Perlitt 1971:605.
47 Wolff 1956:88; 1965[2]:280; Jeremias, Jörg 1983:157.

cult[48] devoted to guardian angels.[49] The diversity of scholarly opinion underscores the difficulty of interpreting biblical texts divorced from their historical context. The opposition which Hosea posits between the Jacob tradition and the exodus tradition makes it clear, at any rate, that the Deuteronomistic marriage of the two in terms of a chronological sequence, the patriarchal history serving as a prologue to the exodus, is secondary. The two traditions have from their beginnings been independent and competing ideologies.[50] In the days of Hosea, apparently, the Jacob tradition had not yet reached its canonical form.[51] The formulation in 1 Samuel 12:8 ('When Jacob came to Egypt, your fathers cried out to Yahweh and Yahweh sent Moses and Aaron and they delivered your fathers from Egypt') may be regarded as an early—Ephraimite and proto-Deuteronomic—attempt to combine the traditions of Jacob, Moses and Aaron.

A comparative study of the Jacob tradition, on the one hand, and the exodus tradition, on the other, evinces a series of oppositions. Jacob is an ancestor, whereas Moses is a prophet and a military leader; the identity which the Jacob tradition reinforces is genealogical, whereas the identity which the exodus tradition bolsters up is national; land possession is by inheritance in the Jacob tradition, and by conquest in the exodus tradition; Jacob is associated with Elohim or El, the exodus with Yahweh. These oppositions betray contrasting affinities. The Jacob tradition suits the concerns and interests of family religion; the exodus tradition is consonant with the concerns and interests of the state religion. It may therefore be suggested that, whereas the Jacob tradition was a paradigm of local religion, the exodus tradition served as national charter myth.

The hypothesis which regards the exodus narrative as an initially Ephraimite charter myth meant to provide the young nation with a national identity, formulated on the basis of the Deuteronomistic account of Jeroboam's religious politics, is supported by the references to the exodus in the Books of Amos and Hosea. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that by the end of the ninth century at the latest the exodus tradition was an official doctrine of the Israelite state cult.[52] The story of the deliverance from Egypt had

---

48 Good 1966:151. It should indeed be noted that any association of Jacob and Yahweh is lacking; the god of the Jacob tradition is referred to as Elohim or El.

49 Ginsberg 1961:343-344.

50 See de Pury 1991:88-93.

51 Cf. Utzschneider 1980:207.

52 The specifics of the early version of the exodus narrative are unknown to us. To judge by Hosea's references to the exodus, they may have departed from the canonical versions of the exodus as we now know them.

indeed all the potential of a national charter myth; it takes little imagination to see why it came to be used as such.

We must be careful to distinguish, however, between use and origin. It is one thing to say that the exodus tradition was promoted, along with Yahweh as the national god, as a national charter myth; is something else to imply that the tradition grew out of the political need for it. The available evidence warrants the conclusion that the exodus motif was appropriated by the state religion as the national myth; there is also sufficient evidence to say that the motif was originally Ephraimite. It is harder to determine, however, in which particular segment of the early Israelite society the tradition originated and developed. Both the Egyptian background of the name of Moses,[53] and the data concerning the presence of Western Asiatic people in 13th century Egypt,[54] argue in favour of the historicity of an exodus of some kind. The most satisfactory solution is to assume that the sojourn in and the flight from Egypt were historical realities for a limited group of immigrants to Israel. Their particular history was gradually transformed into a national past of sheerly mythical proportions.

If the exodus tradition (with Moses as its main protagonist) had its *Sitz im Leben* in the state religion, the Jacob tradition must be located in the milieu of those Israelites who wished to perpetuate the religious traditions from before the monarchy. Until the emergence of the state, Israelite society had been segmentary, and Israelite religion had been locally diversified. Family religion protected and reinforced the identity of the lineages and their title to their inheritance. It was primarily in the interests of the landed gentry to maintain this tradition over the national religion which claimed all the land to be 'Yahweh's heritage' (cf. David's complaint about his being driven away from Yahweh's heritage, i.e., Israel, 1 Samuel 26:19), which amounted to saying that it was national property. The landed gentry consisted of the old Israelite families who owned much of the land and formed a kind of nobility.[55] Much of the opposition against the monarchy in Israel came from them. They referred to the Jacob tradition with its emphasis on descent and inheritance to legitimize their views.

---

[53] See Auerbach 1953:24-25; Griffiths 1953; Smend 1963:89-90; Schmid, H. 1968: 106-107. In fact, the Egyptian background of the name is used as a prime argument in favour of the historicity of Moses. 'The one point that seems to argue for regarding Moses as historical is his Egyptian name' (Van Seters 1987:115). Also Widengren 1970:28 speaks about 'the real Egyptian name of Moses'.

[54] See Knauf 1988:97-98; Kitchen 1992:704.

[55] I am inclined to assume that Ephraim's landed gentry was the Northern equivalent of the *ʿam hāʾāreṣ* in Judah. For a discussion of the latter notion see Gillischewski 1922; Würthwein 1936; Soggin 1963; de Vaux 1964; Nicholson 1965; Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1983:391-395.

Once the social and religious significance of the two bodies of tradition is established, they can be correlated to the two types of religion which Hosea addressed in his prophecies. Whereas the Jacob tradition has affinities with the local cult of the Baals (notwithstanding the fact that the Elohist identifies the god of the patriarch as El), the exodus tradition should be associated with the national religion. It might be objected that Hosea seems to have taken as dim a view of the national cult as he did of family religion. Hosea's criticism of the national religion, however, did not attack its right to exist. What the prophet combated is what he saw as a corrupted form of national religion. It is only due to this corruption that the exodus tradition had turned into an ideological critique rather than a support of the national religion.

The Levites

Propagated as a charter myth, the exodus tradition was a powerful instrument to weld the Israelite clans and families together into one nation, fostering allegiance to the head of state in the process. Without a body of cultic personnel, however, the ideology of the state religion would remain without effect. A study of the growing impact of the Israelite state religion must therefore also seek to identify those who may be called the bearers and partisans of the exodus tradition. Who were the priests and prophets of the new religion?

The Levites are the first group that should be mentioned in this connection.[56] In the religion of Israel, the Levites had a privileged position as servants of Yahweh. They had earned their privilege, according to Exodus 32:26-29, for their zeal for Yahweh and their battle against the worshippers of the golden calf.[57]

> Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, 'Who is on the side of Yahweh? Let him come to me!' And all the sons of Levi gathered around him. He said to them: 'Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel: Put your sword to your side, each of you! Go back and forth from gate to gate throughout the camp, and each of you kill your brother, your friend, and your neighbour.' The Levites did as Moses commanded, and about three thousand of the people fell on that day. Moses said, 'Today you have consecrated yourselves for the service of Yahweh, each one at the cost of a son or a brother, and so have brought a blessing on yourselves this day.'

This aetiology of the Levites seems interpolated in the chapter, as the punish-

---

[56] For extensive bibliographies on the Levites see Kellermann 1984:499-502; Rehm 1992:309-310.

[57] See for the significance of the passage Gunneweg 1965:29-37; Cross 1973:199-200; Schmitt, G. 1982:580-583.

ment of the people has already been described in the preceding verses; the original context may have been different.[58] The text is meant to explain, and thereby justify, the 'blessing' (*bĕrākâ*) of the Levites: owing to their uncompromising devotion to Yahweh, which surpassed their feelings of loyalty to family and friends, the Levites had become the consecrated clergy of Yahweh. They were on the side of Moses, whom later tradition presented as a Levite himself (Exodus 2:1-10).[59] Moses was, according to the Levite ideology, the founder and patron of the Levitical order.[60]

The verses in the Book of Exodus which serve to explain and legitimize the position of the Levites may be compared with the Rule of the Levites in Deuteronomy 33:8-10.[61] The rule is now part of the 'Blessing of Moses', which is essentially a collection of formerly independent sayings.[62] To fit the Levite rule into the scheme of the blessing, it is framed as a benediction of Levi, the fictive ancestor of the Levites. The Levites, here presented as if they were a tribe instead of a spiritual order, are the heirs to Moses' office.

> Your Thummim and your Ummim belong to the man of your loyal one,
> whom you tested at Massah, with whom you contended at the waters of Meribah;
> who said about his father 'I have not seen him,'
> and who ignored his brothers, and did not know his sons.
> For they observe your word, and keep your covenant.
> They teach Jacob your ordinances, and Israel your law;
> they place incense before you, and whole burnt offerings on your altar.[63]

The ancestor of the Levites is referred to in these verses as 'the man of your loyal one'. The 'loyal one' (*ḥāsîd*) in question is Moses,[64] as the reference to the historically obscure incident at Massah and Meribah shows.[65] Levi

---

[58] Noth 1948:160 n. 416; 219 n. 545; Schmitt, G. 1982:580.

[59] Similar to many other birth legends, the story of Moses' birth and infancy was designed to emphasize the extraordinary origins of a man whom tradition had already defined as extraordinary on account of his presumed historical role. For a catalogue of birth legends see Lewis, B. 1980:151-195. On the Moses birth legend see Gruffydd 1928; Redford 1967; Ackerman, J. S. 1974; Cohen, J. 1993; Kenk 1993.

[60] Schmitt, G. 1982:585.

[61] The characterization of these verses as a Rule of the Levites goes back to Wellhausen 1905[6]:128-130, who also argued that the passage had an Ephraimite origin. For a discussion of the passage see Budde 1922:20-27.

[62] Budde 1922:18-50; Gunneweg 1965:37.

[63] Deuteronomy 33 [8] *tummêkā wĕ'ûrêkā lĕ'îš ḥăsîdekā 'ăšer nissîtô bĕmassâ tĕrîbēhû 'al-mê mĕrîbâ* [9] *hā'ōmēr lĕ'ābîyw <<ûlĕ'immô>> lō' rĕ'îtîyw wĕ'et 'eḥāyw lō' hikkîr wĕ'et bānāw lō' yādā' kî šāmĕrû 'imrātekā ûbĕrîtkā yinṣōrû* [10] *yôrû mišpāṭêkā lĕya'ăqōb wĕtôrātkā lĕyiśrā'ēl yāśîmû qĕṭôrâ bĕ'appekā wĕkālîl 'al-mizbĕḥekā.*

[64] Cross 1973:197; Gunneweg 1965:38-39; Kellermann 1984:510; *pace* Noth 1948:175 n. 454.

[65] Gunneweg 1965:39.

stands for all the Levites.[66] His contempt of family ties ('who ignored his brothers, and did not know his sons') agrees with the description in Exodus 32, where the Levites are said to have earned a blessing 'each one at the cost of a son and of a brother' (*v.* 29). Such statements support the conclusion that the Levites were a corporate group not through common descent but by religious commitment.[67]

Attempts to define the historical role of the Levites are hampered by the fact that later biblical tradition sees the Levites as a tribe of professional priests. This *a posteriori* systematization does not do justice to the historical reality, however. Levi is not a personal name to begin with. A majority of scholars link the designation *lēwî* to the expressions *lwʾ* and *lwʾt* in Minaic inscriptions from Dedan. It can be shown that the persons designated as *lwʾ* and *lwʾt* in these texts are men and women that have dedicated themselves to the sanctuary out of poverty or debts.[68] They are consecrated persons. The meaning 'consecrated person' also fits the Israelite Levite. This does not mean, of course, that the biblical Levites are from South Arabia, nor that the institution originated there. There is merely an etymological connection, which leads to a translation of *lēwî* as 'adherent, client, devotee (of a god)'.[69] The fact that most Levites did not possess an inheritance ('for Yahweh is his inheritance', Deuteronomy 18:1) suggests that they were originally disinherited kin. The story about the Levite who wandered around looking for a place to live (Judges 17:7-8) is characteristic. Like the *ḫabirū*, the Levites were uprooted from their family; they were *gērîm* (cf. Judges 17:7; 19:1), i.e., resident aliens with neither portion nor inheritance.[70]

According to the biblical evidence, the Levites had more in common than their status of *gērîm* and their connection with local sanctuaries. They formed a kind of guild or movement that claimed Moses as its patron saint. The link with Moses is indeed one of the most ancient and firm elements in the tradition of the Levites. The invocation of Moses as their figure-head qualifies the Levites as an Israelite—as opposed to Judahite—movement, since 'the Moses tradition was at home primarily in the north, a competitor for the Davidic tradition in the south.'[71] According to their Rule in Deutero-

---

66 Cf. Budde 1922:24 'Levi ist eben *der* Mann, d. h. *die* Mannschaft, die Mose zu Gebote steht.'

67 Cf. Gunneweg 1965:33; Kellermann 1984:508-509; contrast Rowley 1939:116-117 n. 15.

68 Grimme 1924.

69 See Kellermann 1984:506.

70 Cf. Gunneweg 1965:22-23.

71 Coats 1988:174. See also Widengren 1970:45 'One fact would seem to remain sure: the traditions about Moses were preserved in Northern Israel.'

nomy 33:8-11, the Levites were dispensing their religious instruction to Jacob and Israel (*v.* 10). Though Levites were also found in Judah, the Levitical movement originated in the Northern Kingdom.

In view of their invocation of Moses as their founder, and considering their position as cult personnel, there is reason to suspect that the Levites were goverment officials employed at state sanctuaries.[72] The association of Moses and the exodus belongs to the earliest layers of the tradition;[73] since the exodus myth was the official creed of Israel's state religion, the Levites would seem to be the priests of this religion. Yet the Deuteronomistic account of Jeroboam's interventions in the state religion explicitly affirms that the king 'appointed priests from the ranks of the people who were not of Levite descent' (1 Kings 12:31). The role of the Levites in Moses' battle against the golden calf does not favour the assumption that the Levites were state priests, either. The passage from Exodus 32 is a veiled but unmistakable critique of the cult at Bethel, where Yahweh was worshipped under the form of a young bull.[74] The iconoclastic convictions of the Levites are reflected in Hosea's contempt for the cult of the *ʿēgel Šōmrôn*, the Calf of Samaria (Hosea 8:5-6). There would seem to be such antagonism between the Levites and the cult of Bethel, then, that it is hardly conceivable that they could ever have been state-supported priests.

A closer look at the biblical evidence, however, leads to a more balanced assessment of the position of the Levites. Their affinity with Moses and the exodus tradition is not the only reason to associate them with the state cult. The tale of the divine image of Micah (Judges 17-18) shows that the priesthood at Dan claimed Moses as its ancestor (Judges 18:30). The Levite priest who had served at Micah's chapel wound up at Dan, as did Micah's precious icon. The polemical narrative has its roots in the Northern Kingdom; its authors are most likely to be found among the priesthood of Bethel. Though both Bethel and Dan could boast the presence of a state temple, there was enmity and competition between the respective priesthoods. The priests at Bethel looked to Aaron as their patron and ancestor; those at Dan to Moses. The only conclusion that fits the seemingly contradictory evidence is that the Levites constituted a faction of the religious personnel of the Israelite state cult. Indeed, the Deuteronomistic criticism of Jeroboam's choice of priests does not imply that he appointed no Levites at all, but that he

---

72 As argued by Ahlström 1982:44-74.

73 Gunneweg 1964; Knauf 1988:125-141; pace Coats 1988:168. In Hosea 12:14[13] the connection between the exodus and Moses is already attested.

74 Noth 1948:200; Winnett 1949:49; Gunneweg 1965:157; Aberbach & Smolar 1967; Schmid, H. 1968:84.

appointed many who were not of Levite descent. In view of the inherent anachronism, the Deuteronomistic vision (which informs the accounts of both 1 Kings 12:31 and Exodus 32:26-29) can be regarded a projection of a later division in the Israelite priesthood back upon the time of the incipient state religion.

The Early Ephraimite Prophets

The second group with a possible connection to the Israelite state cult consists of those known as the 'prophets' or the 'sons of the prophets'. The members of this group bore a clear resemblance to the Levites, if only by the fact that both groups regarded Moses as their patron saint.

To grasp the similarities between the Levites and the prophets it is necessary to rid oneself of certain tenacious misconceptions about the Israelite prophets. The modern image of the biblical prophet presupposes a contrast between prophet and priest: whereas the latter stands for an institutionalized office, the former represents a charismatic office; the priest belongs to the temple, the prophet has no human boss; the priest defends the interests of the establishment, the prophet is the voice of the opposition. It need hardly be said that such clichés tend to obscure the historical reality of the Israelite prophets. We cannot be sure, moreover, that the biblical use of the term 'prophet' has invariably the same semantic value. Between the prophets of Israel and those of Judah, there may have been greater differences than usually suspected; shifts in meaning may also have occurred from one period to the other.

To obtain a sharper view of the relations between the Israelite prophets and the established religion, we must turn to the records about the Ephraimite prophets Elijah and Elisha.[75] The basic source of information on these men is the so-called Elijah Cycle, to be found in 1 Kings 17-19; 21 and 2 Kings 1. Single narrative units are at the basis of the whole. According to Hans Odil Steck, the collection and combination of the central stories such as those about the great drought and the contest at Mount Carmel took place under the Omrides (*ca.* 850 BC).[76] At the beginning of the reign of Jehu (*ca.* 840 BC) a new redaction was carried out, emphasizing the negative role of Jezebel.[77] The impetus to lay down the Elijah legends in writing, Steck argues, stems from the Aramaean wars, as may be deduced from the emphatically hostile

---

[75] On Elijah and Elisha see Rendtorff 1962; Steck 1968; Schmitt, H.-C. 1972; 1977; Wilson 1980:192-206; Würthwein 1984.

[76] Steck 1968:132, who argues that the anti-Baal tendency implies the presence of pro-Baal politics.

[77] Steck 1968:133.

traits in the portraiture of Aram. By the end of the ninth century BC the formation of the Elijah tradition had virtually come to a close.[78]

Though widely accepted, this relatively early dating of the Elijah legends has also been contested.[79] Basing his views on a comparison of the role of Jezebel in 1 Kings 21 and 1 Kings 17-19 respectively, Hans-Christoph Schmitt argues that the Elijah narratives are largely exilic or post-exilic. The designation of Ahab as 'king of Samaria' (1 Kings 21:1; 2 Kings 1:3) did not gain currency until after the fall of Samaria; the narratives in which it is used cannot have been written before that event.[80] Though Queen Jezebel is depicted as wicked in the story of Naboth's vineyard, she is not yet cast in the role of persecutor of the Yahweh prophets; which means that her portraiture in 1 Kings 17-19 represents a later elaboration. Other elements in these chapters (notably the opposition prophet versus king) suggest that the stories could not have been written before the end of the Davidic dynasty.[81]

The arguments advanced by Schmitt miss the force to compel a complete revision of the more conventional dating of the Elijah legends. Even if it be accepted that *melek Šōmrôn* is a seventh century expression (which is far from certain in view of the expression 'Yahweh of Samaria' and Hosea's designation of the Calf of Bethel as the *ʿēgel Šōmrôn*),[82] it must in all likelihood be considered a gloss in 1 Kings 21:1.[83] Nor can it be sustained that the image of Jezebel in the Naboth narrative precedes that of 1 Kings 17-19, since the reasoning is based on an argument from silence. The other reasons which lead Schmitt to a late dating of 1 Kings 17-19 are not decisive, either.[84] For instance, the presumed contradiction between magical rites belonging to a primitive stage of the tradition and 'a personal conception of the deity' (*personale Gottesvorstellung*) reflecting a later stage was probably not a contradiction from the perspective of the author of the story.[85] Also Elijah's critical stance toward the Omride religious politics is far more likely to go back to a historical reality than to a later editor. The hyper-critical reading of the Elijah Cycle fails to take into account the fact that Elijah was

---

78 'Die Ausbildung der Eliaüberlieferung dürfte am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts im wesentlichen zum Abschluss gekommen sein' (Steck 1968:134). Cf. Smend 1975:172 who qualifies the end of the ninth century as 'die früheste der Möglichkeiten'.

79 See especially Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:119-126. For a critical approach to Schmitt see Smend 1975:170-172.

80 Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:27-28 n. 56; 126.

81 Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:126.

82 Cf. the caution expressed by Smend 1975:171.

83 Würthwein 1984:245 n. 3.

84 See Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:126, 183-187. Cf. Smend 1975:171, who deliberately leaves open the possibility of the literary fixation of 1 Kings 17-19 before 722 BC.

85 Contra Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:185.

deemed important enough to make Elisha's disciples wish to establish a link between the two prophets.[86] Following the prevailing opinion, then, the Elijah legends will be studied here as documents illuminating a period that preceded the Book of Hosea by half a century.

The Elijah Cycle is quite sophisticated. Its high degree of theological reflection shows that it was not designed as popular entertainment.[87] The origins of the stories are to be sought in the prophetic circles in the Northern Kingdom which were active under the reigns of Ahab and Ahazia.[88] Indeed, 'the northern origin of the Elijah-Elisha traditions is seldom questioned, not only because of the northern setting of the stories themselves but also because of their distinctive vocabulary.'[89] It may be assumed that the formation and transmission of the material was primarily the doing of the disciples of Elisha, since they understood Elisha as the successor of Elijah.[90] The prophetic schools are a natural setting for these stories; the narratives are likely to have been composed by the spiritual leaders as source material for the instruction of the 'sons of the prophets' (*bĕnê hannĕbî'îm*).[91] By means of the Elijah narratives, then, we are given an insight into the organization and the ideology of the prophetic orders around 800 BC.

In some respects, the prophetic orders compare to monastic orders. Though membership of the order did not prevent the prophets from being married and following a profession,[92] the 'sons of the prophets' lived and ate communally (2 Kings 6:1; 4:38-41). Their leader, referred as their 'father' (*'āb*), could be regarded as the equivalent of the abbot (e.g., 2 Kings 2:12; 6:21; incidentally, the English term abbot derives from Aramaic *'abbā'*, 'father').[93] Samuel, too, is said to have stood at the head of such a prophetic community (1 Samuel 19:20). These prophets were recognizable by their tonsure (2 Kings 2:23-24; cf. 1 Kings 20:41) and their mantle (2 Kings 1:8; cf. 1 Samuel 28:14; Isaiah 20:2; Zechariah 13:4).[94] Since the hairy mantle is best interpreted as a symbol of soberness (note the contrast between John the Baptist who wore a garment of camel's hair, Matthew 3:4,

---

86 *Pace* Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:186-187.
87 Steck 1968:134-135, 144.
88 Steck 1968:140.
89 Wilson 1980:192 n. 90 with reference to Burney 1903:207-209.
90 Steck 1968:145, 146 and n. 1.
91 Cf. on the 'sons of the prophets' Rendtorff 1962:153-157; Steck 1968:146-147.
92 Cf. Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:162-172; 1977:269, who allows for the possibility of a part-time involvement as a *nābî'*.
93 Williams 1966.
94 The expression *ba'al śē'ār*, applied to Elijah in 2 Kings 1:8, does not imply that the prophet was characterized by his long hair (*pace* Jepsen 1934:168 n. 3; Smend 1975:178), but that he possessed a hairy mantle.

and those in kings' houses wearing soft raiment, Matthew 11:8), we may assume that prophets had taken a vow of poverty. It was not right for them 'to accept money and garments, olive orchards and vineyards, sheep and oxen, male and female slaves' (2 Kings 5:26). Such words are similar in spirit to Samuel's confession of innocence (1 Samuel 12:3 'Whose ox have I taken? Or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed? Or from whose hands have I taken a bribe to blind my eyes with it?') and to Moses' claim that he did not take one ass from his people (Numbers 16:15).

The prophetic orders fulfilled several functions traditionally associated with the kin group. The designation of their members as the 'sons of the prophets' and of the leader as their 'father', shows that the relationships within the order were modelled on family relations. By entering the prophetic order, disciples severed their family ties to find their social identity in a new community. Commitment to the religious order was to pass before the loyalty to one's own kin, as the calling of Elisha demonstrates.[95]

> So he (i.e., Elijah) went from there and found Elisha the son of Shaphat, who was plowing, with twelve yoke of oxen before him, and he was with the twelfth. And Elijah passed by him and cast his mantle upon him. And he left the oxen, and ran after Elijah, and said: I want to kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow you. And he said to him: Go back again, for what have I done to you? And he came back, and took the yoke of oxen, and killed them, and boiled their flesh with the yokes of the oxen, and gave it to the people, and they ate. Then he arose and went after Elijah, and served him.
>
> 1 Kings 19:19-21

The passage of Elisha from his family to the order of the prophets is presented as a radical break with the past. Elijah's gesture of casting his mantle is heavy with symbolism; it is patterned after the marriage gesture of the husband covering his wife with his garment, thereby signifying his willingness to welcome her as a member of his 'house'.[96] The act of Elijah

---

[95] The passage belongs to the Elisha tradition and is relatively late as such, see Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:109-110.

[96] According to the Hebrew Bible a man could manifest his intention to marry a woman by covering her with the hem of his garment. One of the few Hebrew texts informing us on Israelite wedding ceremonies is Ezekiel 16. It speaks of a young maiden having reached marriageable age: her breasts are formed and her (pubic) hair has grown (Ezekiel 16:7). At that stage in her life the male protagonist of the allegory passes by: 'And as I passed by you and looked at you, behold, you were at the age of courting. I spread my hem over you (*wā'eprōś kĕnāpî ʿālayk*) and covered your nakedness. I made a solemn promise to you and entered into a covenant with you—thus Yahweh Elohim—and you became mine' (Ezekiel 16:8). The verse uses the language and symbols of wedding: the 'solemn promise' (lit. 'I swore to you', *wā'eššāba*ʿ *lāk*) is the vow of fidelity which was part of the marriage agreement, here referred to as a 'covenant' (*bĕrît*, cf. Malachi 2:14; Proverbs 2:17). In view of the immediate context, the act of 'spreading the hem' was a symbolical gesture belonging to the wedding rites.

was a tacit invitation to Elisha to join the 'house of the prophets'. The order was to take the place of his family; Elisha had to kiss his father and mother good-bye. Who wished to join the house of the prophets had to become a Levite in the sense that any ties with his family and its inheritance had to be severed. The sacrifice of the twenty-four oxen underscores the implications of the rupture with the past. Elisha sacrificed his means of living and took leave of his inheritance in order to assume a new identity as a member of Elijah's prophetic group. The story is told for pedagogical purposes: the calling of Elisha was a paradigm of the prophetic calling for the prophets of the Elisha circle.[97]

Owing to their departure from the predominant patterns of social organization and identity construction, the prophetic orders were marginal. Such marginality was enhanced by the ecstatic behaviour within the orders; these have been compared with dervish associations[98] and peripheral possession cults.[99] The impression that the prophets were zealots at the fringes of society needs to be counterbalanced, however, by an appreciation of their social impact. The marginality of the prophets is the marginality of holy men. It is true that these men of God were at times the object of scorn and disparaging comments. Once, in the vicinity of Bethel, young boys threw pebbles at Elisha, and taunted him by calling him 'baldhead' (2 Kings 2:23). Military men referred to him as a 'madman' (*měšuggāᶜ*, 2 Kings 9:11; cf. Hosea 9:7 'the prophet is a fool, the man of the spirit a madman'). Yet the prophets inspired most of their contemporaries with fear. These men were not to be trifled with: the jeering boys from Bethel were torn to pieces by two she-bears (2 Kings 2:24), and in spite of their apparent contempt, soldiers took the word of a prophet quite seriously (2 Kings 9:12-13).

According to the Elijah Cycle, the ninth century prophets were not unattached saints. The opposition between the prophets of Yahweh and the prophets of Baal implies that the two groups had a similar place in society.

Comparison with another biblical passage shows that the act of spreading the hem had symbolical value indeed. In the idyll of Ruth and Boaz, the heroine invites her future husband to 'spread' his 'hem' over her, for he is *gōʾēl* (*ûpāraśtā kĕnāpekā ᶜal-ʾāmātkā kî gōʾēl ʾattā*, Ruth 3:9). By calling him a *gōʾēl*, Ruth suggests that Boaz, being next of kin, is to take her as his wife. As a matter of fact, the widow quite candidly asks him to do so, since by spreading his hem over her, Boaz would enter into a conjugal relationship. The sequence of the scene shows that Boaz has perfectly understood Ruth's meaning. Without further delay he settles the matter with a relative and, with the approbation of the elders in the gate, he takes Ruth as his wife.

97 Cf. Würthwein 1984:233.

98 So Lindblom 1962:10, 70; cited with approval by Schmitt, H.-C. 1977:261. See also Johnson, A. R. 1962²:16-24.

99 Wilson 1980:202.

Since the Baal prophets were supported by the state to serve as religious functionaries at Baal temples (1 Kings 18:19), the Yahweh prophets presumably served in a civil capacity as well. The 'prophets' and the 'sons of the prophets' were not only dispensing oracles and predictions: in the Northern Kingdom, they were the leading branch of the cultic personnel of the various sanctuaries.[100] Elijah was permanently attached to the sanctuary at Mount Carmel (1 Kings 18); Elisha, too, had connections with this sanctuary (2 Kings 4:25).[101] There were Yahweh prophets at (or near) Gilgal (2 Kings 4:38), Bethel (2 Kings 2:3; cf. 1 Kings 13:11), Jericho (2 Kings 2:5.15), and Shiloh (1 Kings 11:29)—all places that presumably had a temple. Among the tasks incumbent upon these prophets was the religious service on such holy days as New Moon and Sabbath (2 Kings 4:23), and the collecting of taxes (2 Kings 4:42).

The public role of the prophets is underscored by the close relations which someone like Elisha entertained with the court. Elisha was based in the capital, the city of Samaria, even though his ministry was largely itinerant (2 Kings 2:24; 5:3; 6:19). As an advisor to the king (2 Kings 6:9.31), he had privileged access to the highest political and military leadership (2 Kings 4:13; 8:4). In times of crisis, the local leadership, known as the 'elders', also consulted with Elisha (2 Kings 6:32). In his capacity as a royal supervisor, Elisha himself was not attached to any one sanctuary in particular. He made a regular circuit of the various sanctuaries; when visiting, he was asked for advice by the local prophets (2 Kings 2:21; 5:22). In this respect the description of Elisha resembles that of Samuel, who is reported to have made an annual circuit to Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (1 Samuel 7:16). Elijah and Elisha had considerable influence at the palace. Though prophet and palace might be in disagreement (cf. 2 Kings 6:13), Elijah and Elisha (or rather, the circles in which their narrative cycles took shape) accepted and respected the institution of kingship, just as the administration recognized the role of the prophets.

The impact of the prophets on the political life of Israel is illustrated by the visit which King Joash paid to the dying Elisha (2 Kings 13:14). On this occasion the king referred to the prophet as the 'chariotry of Israel and its swift horses' (*rekeb Yiśrāʾēl ûpārāšāyw*, 2 Kings 13:14), a title also used in connection with Elijah (2 Kings 2).[102] The expression has been connected with the legend about the heavenly army of horses and chariots which some believed had brought Israel victory over the Aramaeans (2 Kings 6:15-17).

---

100 Johnson, A. R. 1962²:25-29.
101 Cf. Johnson, A. R. 1962²:26.
102 For the translation of פרשׁיו as 'its swift horses', see Galling 1956:135.

The prophet would be the incarnation of this heavenly heir.[103] It is quite uncertain, however, whether the expression was fraught with these mythological associations.[104] Such prophets as Elijah and Elisha might be honorifically referred to as the military forces of Israel because many a victory was obtained thanks to their gift of second sight. They knew the plans of the opponent in advance (cf. 2 Kings 6:8-12). The king was well-advised to acknowledge such a gift and pay heed to the prophet.

The relationship between the prophetic associations and the royal administration was close. The prophets served as the religious personnel at major sanctuaries in the land, such as Bethel, and in that capacity they occupied a position of central importance to the authorities. Royal taxes (described as 'the tenth of grain and vineyards' in 1 Samuel 8:15) were collected through the channel of the local temples, where people brought their 'firstlings' to the prophet (cf. 2 Kings 4:42). The role of the prophets as tax-collectors, as well as their involvement in military campaigns, is illustrative of the ties between the prophets and the court. Organized in orders, the 'sons of the prophets' were an essential element in the Israelite state cult. On the basis of the parallel with the Baal prophets who 'ate at Jezebel's table' (1 Kings 18:19), it may be supposed that the Yahweh prophets, too, were supported from the royal treasury. Truly 'free' and independent prophets (such as Amos, who disclaimed any link with the prophetic orders, Amos 7:14) were probably rare.

The connection between the Ephraimite prophets and the state religion is supported by the affinity of these men with the exodus tradition. Many authors have noted the parallels between the life of Elijah and the life of Moses.[105] Elijah's visit of Mount Horeb (1 Kings 19:1-18) does indeed seem to be an allusion to the exodus tradition.[106] It has therefore been concluded that the prophetic writers sought 'to present Elijah as a Moses *redivivus*'.[107] Yet precisely the episode of Elijah at the Mountain of God[108] throws doubt on the alleged patterning of Elijah upon the figure of Moses. Can we be sure that the connection between Moses and the Mountain had already been established by 800 BC?[109] It seems unlikely, at any rate, that

---

[103] Galling 1956.

[104] Cf. Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:176.

[105] For a survey see Fohrer 1968:55-57.

[106] Fohrer 1968:67-68; Steck 1968:109-125; Carlson 1969:431-437; Seybold 1973:10; Wilson 1980:197.

[107] Walsh 1992:465. See also Fohrer 1968:57 ('[Elia] soll als ein zweiter und neuer Mose erscheinen')

[108] The name Horeb is Deuteronomistic and must be considered an addition (Würthwein 1984:227 n. 12 with references to further literature; see also Thiel 1991:165-166).

[109] Cf. Noth 1948:178; Nicholson 1973:82. In the canonical version, the exodus motif

the narrators of 1 Kings 19 depended on one of the Pentateuchal sources or documents.[110] The undeniable relationship between Exodus 32-34 (especially 33:18-23), on the one hand, and 1 Kings 19,[111] on the other, should not be explained as a case of literary dependence.[112] The two narratives reflect a common prophetic tradition; it is this tradition which generated both accounts and incorporated them into the Moses and Elijah narratives.[113]

The analogy with Moses is not confined to the description of Elijah. The ministry of Elisha, too, exhibits traits that are reminiscent of Hosea. According to 2 Kings 2:13-15 Elisha split the waters of the Jordan by striking it with Elijah's mantle; the waters were split in like manner by Moses as he lifted his rod and held out his arm over the sea (Exodus 14:15-29). Elisha healed the water of Jericho (2 Kings 2:19-22), which parallels Moses' healing of the water of Marah (Exodus 15:22-25).[114] Naaman was healed from leprosy on the word of Elisha (2 Kings 5); Miriam recovered from the same disease at the intercession of Moses (Numbers 12:10-16). Such correspondences are hardly fortuitous. They suggest that the prophetic circles in which the Elijah and Elisha narratives originated and were transmitted sought to present their leaders after the model of Moses, because they claimed him as their inspiration and mainstay.[115]

The fact that the Ephraimite prophets belonged to the partisans of the Mosaic exodus tradition is demonstrated with great clarity by the Book of Hosea. Its use of the motif of the exodus need not be described anew, as it has been dealt with earlier in this chapter. Here it is important to note that Hosea is truly a heir to the prophetic movement from the days of Elijah and Elisha. Hosea's concern for a proper cult, his insistence on the need of instruction (*daᶜat* and *tôrâ*, Hosea 4:6), and his knowledge of Israel's narrative traditions suggests that he was at home in prophetic circles affiliated with the temples; their members were prophets by profession.[116] Hosea's

---

has been linked with the Sinai by means of the Midian tradition (Gunneweg 1964:3). Since the connection between Moses and the exodus is early, the connection of Moses with the Sinai (or the Mount of God) seems secondary.

110 Steck 1968:113, *pace* Jeremias, Jörg 1965:107.109.112.162.

111 See Würthwein 1984:226-232 for a penetrating analysis of *vv*. 1-18.

112 Steck 1968:113-117; Seidl, T. 1993.

113 Seidl, T. 1993.

114 Cf. Carlson 1970:403-404; Propp 1987:71-72 n. 11.

115 Cf. Carroll 1969:413 'The legends arose in the northern kingdom already shaped by a myth of prophetic succession of a Mosaic order.'

116 Note the reference to the experience of opposition to the prophet in the temple where he served, Hosea 9:8. On the so-called cultic prophets see Johnson, A. R. 1962[2]. For Hosea as a temple prophet see Gunneweg 1959:101-102. The view according to which temple prophets were a Judahite phenomenon unknown in Israel is not supported by the texts, *pace* Wolff 1965[2]:95.

criticism of the priests (Hosea 4:4-10) contrasts with his mildness toward the prophets (Hosea 6:5).[117] In what may be a reflection upon his personal experience, Hosea observes that the prophet is faced with hatred in the temple where he serves (Hosea 9:8).[118] Being a prophet himself, Hosea was as much part of the religious establishment as Elijah and Elisha had been.

The prophetic orders in the days of Elijah and Elisha evince similarities with the guilds of the Levites. Like the Levites, these prophets had to sever their ties with their family, as the narrative of Elisha's calling illustrates. Though modelled on the usual family structures, the prophetic orders departed from the family model in the sense that the basis of their corporate identity was not descent and inheritance, but commitment to a way and view of life. Unlike families, the orders were voluntary associations. Members entered as they felt prompted to do so, like Elisha, or as oblates, like Samuel. They were, in the etymological sense of the term, 'Levites' and 'Nazirites', i.e., devotees to Yahweh, set apart from their fellow-men because of their commitment to a religious cause.

The veneration of Moses and the allegiance to the exodus tradition is common to the Levites and the Ephraimite prophets. The affinity between the two groups is evident, too, from the Book of Hosea, which has been described as the product of a coalition of Levites and prophets.[119] Hosea's sympathy with the Levites shines through in his allusion to the crime committed 'in the days of Gibeah' (Hosea 9:9; cf. 10:9). The reference is to the story of the Levite whose wife was raped and brutally killed by the Benjaminites of Gibeah (Judges 19).[120] Characteristically Levite, too, is Hosea's criticism of Bethel with its cult of the golden calf (Hosea 8:5; 10:5; 13:2), since the story of the golden calf which Aaron made for the Israelites is a disguised disqualification of the Bethel cult.[121]

Caution forbids us to draw the conclusion that the affinity between the Levites and the Ephraimite prophets is such that two groups cannot be distinguished. The preceding survey of the evidence shows that the biblical tradition does make a distinction. Yet we must beware not to turn the distinction into an opposition. The later biblical use of the term Levite as a synonym

---

117 Wolff 1956:83-84. The negative appraisal of the prophet in Hosea 4:5 is a Judahite gloss, see Wolff 1956:89; 1965[2]:88.

118 Since *bêt ʾelōhîm* is the fixed expression for temple, the personal suffix concerns the expression as a whole, not just the second term. In consequence, *bêt ʾelōhāyw* must be rendered 'his temple' (i.e., the temple with which he is affiliated), rather than 'the house of his god'.

119 Wolff 1956.

120 Cf. Wolff 1956:92; 1965[2]:204.238-239; Jeremias, Jörg 1983:133-134.

121 Noth 1948:200; Winnett 1949:49; Gunneweg 1965:157; Aberbach & Smolar 1967; Schmid, H. 1968:84.

for priest should not lead us to believe that the functions of the Levites were strictly sacerdotal. The Levites combined cultic expertise with religious instruction ('They teach Jacob your ordinances, and Israel your law'). On occasion, their instruction assumed prophetic traits. Such men as Samuel, Ahijah from Shiloh (1 Kings 11:29), and Jeremiah are examples of prophets from a Levite milieu. All three are either associated with or issued from the house of Eli, which is known to be Levite in origin.[122] Such men illustrate the difficulty inherent in any sharp distinction between priest and prophet in early Israelite religion. Both the Levites and the Ephraimite prophets were 'men of God', rather than priests or prophets in the narrow sense these terms gradually acquired.

Conclusion

The principal instrument by which the state religion became a truly national religion was the exodus in its capacity as a charter myth. A study of the traditions concerning the Levites and the early prophetic movement points to their crucial role in the propagation of that myth. The origins of the exodus motif are still an unsolved riddle. Considering the role of the Levites there is room to speculate that the earliest bearers of the tradition were to be found in their midst.[123] Whatever their historical connections with the exodus, at any rate, the Levites developed a deep attachment to the tradition as a focus of their identity. To them, as to the prophets, the exodus myth stood for more than a politically useful means of manipulation; had it been mere manipulation, their propaganda would probably have failed. They wholeheartedly endorsed and defended the exodus tradition, and may even have done so before it became a doctrine of the state cult. Their commitment (or the commitment of some of them) was primarily religious. Its disruptive potential would become manifest in the prophetic response to the Omride politics.

---

122 On the Shilonite background of Samuel see Cohen, M. A. 1965:66. The prophet Ahijah from Shiloh was supported by descendants of the house of Eli (Wilson 1980:184-187) and may have been an Elid himself (Caquot 1961; Cohen, M. A. 1965:93; 1971). Jeremiah is from the priests of Anathoth, who may be traced back to the Elides. The Levitic background of the Elides can be inferred from the fact that Moses is alluded to as the ancestor of the Shilonite priesthood (1 Samuel 2:27). On the possible Levitical background of Jeremiah see also Weippert, H. 1973:13-19 (in a refutation of the views of G. Rietzschel).

123 Some authors have argued that the spiritual ministry of the Levites developed out of their role as militia. Originally they would have been the armed guardians of the Mosaic tabernacle (Schmitt, G. 1982:258). The terminology used in connection with the Levites in the Priestly sections of the Pentateuch has indeed a military ring to it (note such terms as *mišmeret*, 'watch', *ṣābāʾ*, 'army', and *śar*, 'commander'). Yet the Levites bear a closer resemblance to the Salvation Army than to the foreign legion.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

INTEGRATION AND OPPOSITION: RELIGION UNDER THE OMRIDES

The adroit use of religion can be a powerful means of social engineering. Though Jeroboam I and his successors would not have formulated it this way, the Israelite kings were well aware of the political potential of state religion. It is for this reason that they created national sanctuaries and appointed a clergy supported from the royal treasury. The use of the exodus tradition as a national charter myth was part of the same design: it was intended to weld together a young nation by offering it a focus of national identity. The exodus myth, disseminated by the Levites and the prophets was expected to strengthen the national devotion to Yahweh, which the authorities hoped would supplant the traditional loyalties to other gods.

The politics of religious unification entailed an effort to bring the many local cults in line with the state religion. The interference of the government in the affairs of local family religion took on various forms. Some practices were simply proscribed because they were perceived as a danger to the security of the state; this, however, was a rather brutal and mostly unsuccessful way of coping with the phenomenon of local religion. The appointment of a state-supported clergy to do service at the local shrines (1 Kings 13:33) was more effective. At a theological level, the authorities sought to domesticate the practices of family religion by means of the integration of the family gods in the religion of state. To this end, Yahweh was identified with El, and made to share official recognition with Baal, El and Baal being the two principal family gods besides Yahweh.

The initiative to treat Yahweh and Baal as peers in the state cult was taken under the reign of the Omrides (*ca.* 880-840). Their politics of religious parity failed. The Yahwistic clergy did not accept its loss of prestige and power. Turning against the authorities whose civil servants they had once been, a part of the prophetic orders developed into a Yahweh-alone movement. The emergence of this new party was eventually to have a decisive influence on the outcome of the competition between state religion and family religion.

The Interaction between State Religion and Family Religion

The cohabitation of state religion and family religion in one nation was a source of conflicts. Many of these were intimately connected with the

opposition against the monarchy. The transformation of a segmentary society into a state had not abolished the sentiments of local independence, of which the cult of the clan god was the ritual expression. With its emphasis on genealogical and local identity, materializing in the ancestral inheritance (*naḥălâ*), family religion fostered anti-royalist feelings among the Israelite population.

The opposition against the monarchy was deep-seated. Samuel's warning about the ways of a king can be seen as its literary reflection.

> These will be the ways of the king who will reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them to his chariots and to be his horsemen, and to run before his chariots; and he will appoint for himself commanders of thousands and commanders of fifties, and some to plow his ground and to reap his harvest, and to make his implements of war and the equipment of his chariots. He will take your daughters to be perfumers and cooks and bakers. He will take the best of your fields and vineyards and olive orchards and give them to his servants. He will take the tenth of your grain and of your vineyards and give it to his officers and to his servants. He will take your menservants and maidservants, and the best of your cattle and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your flocks, and you shall be his slaves.
>
> 1 Samuel 8:11-17

The passage belongs to the so-called anti-monarchic texts of the Bible.[1] Its emphasis on the loss of self-determination which the subjects of the king are bound to suffer gives voice to the resentment of the local population over the royal politics of dispossession and reallotment of land.

The conflict between reasons of state (which more often than not is a euphemism for the whims of the king) and local interests runs through the entire history of Israel in the monarchical period. The narrative about Naboth's vineyard is illustrative of the contrast between the logic of royal politics and the values of family religion (1 Kings 21:1-16).[2] The conflict is situated in the time of Ahab (*ca.* 860 BC). Naboth possessed a vineyard which bordered on the palace of Ahab. The king wished to buy it and then turn it into a private vegetable garden. Naboth's reply to the king's proposal reflects a basic tenet of family religion:

> I'll be damned by Yahweh if I give you the inheritance of my fathers![3]

The conditional curse is not just a manner a speaking; the family inheritance is sacred; it lies under the protection of the family god, here identified

---

[1] For a thorough analysis of the text see Crüsemann 1978:66-73.

[2] See Welten 1973; Seebass 1974; Bohlen 1978; Würthwein 1978; Oeming 1986; Rofé 1988.

[3] 1 Kings 21:3 *ḥālîlâ llî mēYHWH mittittî ʾet-naḥălat ʾăbōtay lāk*.

(whether correctly or not is a different matter) with Yahweh. Family religion made the possession of the land with which the family identified a sacred right; as such it proved to be a force that ran counter to the interests of the palace.

Ironically, Queen Jezebel eventually succeeded in accomplishing Ahab's designs by using her influence on the local religion of Jezreel. On her instruction, the heads of the principal families (referred to as **hazzĕqēnîm wĕhaḥōrîm*) organized a ritual fast during which Naboth was falsely accused (1 Kings 21:8-14). The narrative should be read against the backdrop of the reports on the great drought during the reign of Ahab (1 Kings 17-18);[4] Naboth was framed as the irreverent citizen whose blasphemous conduct had caused the famine.[5] The action of Jezebel, who wrote letters in Ahab's name to the local leadership of Jezreel, shows that the palace might successfully intervene in the affairs of local religion; the nobility in charge of the sanctuary at Jezreel heeded the orders of the palace. The accusation according to which Naboth would have cursed God and the king (1 Kings 21:10, 13) attests to the fact, moreover, that local religion could also be used in support of the monarchy. Seditious comments about the king were apparently thought of as behaviour deserving excommunication. The story of Naboth's vineyard demonstrates the success of the Omrides in controlling the local cults.

Efforts to curb the potentially dangerous influence of family religion have been made ever since the Israelite monarchy came into being. Saul is reported to have prohibited the practice of necromancy in his kingdom (1 Samuel 28:3.9.12).[6] There is no need to interpret this piece of information as a Deuteronomistic anachronism.[7] Necromancy being intimately related with the cult of the dead (it is conceived of as a consultation of the *ʾōbôt*, the departed fathers, in 1 Samuel 28:3), it could be seen as a form of divination legitimized by the ideology of family religion. In that capacity, necromancy was a potential threat to the stability of the royal rule. The ancestors might inspire resistance to the leadership of the national administration, or even foment revolution. The suppression of necromancy was not an act of

---

4 Cf. Würthwein 1984:247 who argues that chapter 21 originally followed immediately after chapters 17-19. Note that the LXX has reversed (or corrected) the order of chapters 20 and 21.

5 As suggested to me by Bob Becking (Utrecht).

6 The text of 1 Samuel 28:3 literally says that Saul had 'removed' (*hēsîr*) the ancestor spirits (*ʾōbôt*) and the soothsaying spirits (*yiddĕʿōnîm*) out of the land, which is a strange way of putting it, since it seems difficult to remove ghosts. It is generally assumed that those who put the questions to (שאל ב) the ghosts are meant.

7 On the reliability of the information see Stoebe 1973:489.

disinterested piety on the part of Saul,[8] but an attempt to secure the state monopoly on divination.

Saul's suspicion against necromancy may be compared with the fear of unauthorized prophecies on the part of Neo-Assyrian monarchs. Esarhaddon's succession treaty contains a stipulation under whose terms the vassals of Assyria were to report 'any evil, improper, or ugly word' spoken against the crown prince designate. Such incitements to treason might very well come 'from the mouth of a prophet, an ecstatic, or an inquirer of oracles'.[9] The potential danger of prophets was not imaginary. The conspiracy of an individual called Sāsî in 670 BC had been supported by a prophet who had proclaimed, in the name of the god Nusku, that Sāsî would destroy the name and offspring of Sennacherib and become king himself.[10] Necromancers and prophets were a source of anxiety to the authorities because they might become the spokesmen of an otherwise silent political opposition. In states with virtually no democratic tradition, popular discontent is apt to use religious means as a vehicle of expression; under the trappings of the *vox dei*, it is really the *vox populi* that speaks.[11]

One of the ways to exercise control over the religious practices in the local sanctuaries was the appointment of priests and supervisors. Saul had appointed the Edomite Doeg as supervisor at Nob; the man acted as a royal informant, keeping the king apprised of any irregular event in the sanctuary (1 Samuel 21:8; 22:9-10).[12] Jeroboam I was later remembered as the king who had appointed priests from among all the people to serve at the various local sanctuaries (*bāmôt*, 1 Kings 12:31; 13:33). The control of the palace was strongest, of course, over the state sanctuaries. The attitude of Amaziah in the encounter with Amos is telling. By his own admission, Amos did not belong to an official prophetic order (Amos 7:14). He belonged to the stratum of unorganized religion, and his message was jeopardizing the undisturbed functioning of the state temple. That is why Amaziah promptly informed the king about the situation (Amos 7:10) and ordered the prophet to leave Bethel (Amos 7:12-13).

These incidental reports on clashes between civil and private religion offer

---

[8] *Pace* Hertzberg 1956:173 'Dass Saul gegen diese Religion der Unterwelt etwas unternommen hat, zeigt wieder sein offenkundiges Verlangen nach korrekter Frömmigkeit, für sich und für sein Volk.'

[9] SAA 2:33 [116] *lū ina pî* [lú]*rāgime* [117] [lú]*maḫḫê mār* (d u m u) *šā'ili amat ili* (d i n g i r). Note that the *šā'ili amat ili* could refer to a necromancer.

[10] *ABL* 1217 r. 4'-5', cf. *LAS* 2:238-240.

[11] Cf. Bottéro 1973:137.

[12] The idiomatic expression *ne'ṣār lipnê YHWH* (1 Samuel 21:8) is still obscure (see *HAL*[3] 824). It is here understood as 'one dispensed from normal duties to serve in the presence of Yahweh'.

a glimpse into the troubled relationship which obtained between the two. Their interaction was usually one of confrontation. It is evident from the few encounters which have been recorded that there was no question of a peaceful coexistence of the two compartments of religion. State religion and family religion were actually involved in a form of competition, owing to which local religion tended to develop into unauthorized religion. Yet the interference of the state in the realm of family religion might also lead to a kind of incorporation of family religion into the religion of the state. Through the priests they had appointed, the authorities were able to have some influence on the local practices—as the case of Naboth shows. To draw family religion further into the orbit of the official cult, the state theologians proceeded with an integration of the main family gods in the official ideology. The identification of Yahweh and El was the first stage in this process.

Yahweh and El

The task the Israelite kings saw themselves faced with in their religious politics was the necessity to somehow subordinate family religion to the religion of the state. Such a subordination had been feasible in Babylonia and Syria by virtue of a sophisticated theological system in which the pantheon was presented as a complex hierarchy. The society of the gods was pictured as an administration in which internal relations were determined by rank and position, the hierarchy of the gods reflecting the hierarchy of the social realities (cities, neighbourhoods, villages) with which these gods were associated.[13] The fact that Babylonian family gods (that is, local gods connected with the neighbourhood or the village) could be asked to intercede with the higher gods (that is, national gods connected with the city, the capital, or the land), reflects the subordinate position of family religion in respect to state religion; intercession is normally performed by an inferior with a superior.

The integration of family religion and state religion in Israel was not achieved by analogy with the Mesopotamian model. The main instrument which the authorities initially used to reach their aim was that of assimilation and identification. As demonstrated by the theophoric place names and personal names, the devotion to El and Baal was quite common in early Israelite family religion.[14] El and Baal were venerated in their local manifestations, and as such the El of one place was to be distinguished from the El of

---

[13] Cf. Handy 1994 for an interpretation of the Syro-Palestinian pantheon as a hierarchical bureaucracy.

[14] See 'Unedited Evidence' in Chapter Ten.

another. Yet the mythological heritage from Ugarit shows that El and Baal, notwithstanding a variety of local manifestations, were seen each as one distinct divine person. In this respect, the situation in ancient Palestine did not fundamentally differ from the one obtaining in modern Europe where a multitude of local manifestations of the Madonna does not impede her conceptualization as one person. The Israelite authorities (or rather the theologians at their service) did not construe a pantheon in which Yahweh was high god, and El and Baal lower ranking deities. The method they pursued was that of identification: by identifying El with Yahweh they endeavoured to nationalize the local religion. If El could be seen as a local form of Yahweh, then the local shrines could be regarded as branches of the state temples.

The first major effort to bring family religion within the orbit of the state religion was made under Jeroboam I (ca. 925-905). According to the biblical historians, Jeroboam made two golden calves, identified them as images of Yahweh ('Your god, o Israel, who has brought you up from the land of Egypt'), and put the one in Bethel and the other in Dan (1 Kings 12:28-29).[15] To understand the significance of this act, it must be taken into account that 'bull' (and the term 'calf', *ʿēgel*, refers to a young bull) is the traditional epithet of the god El in Ugaritic texts (*tr ỉl*).[16] To judge by its name, moreover, Bethel ('temple of El') was originally a centre of El worship. The intimate link between the god and the city is confirmed by the role of El in the Jacob tradition.[17] Such data throw doubt on the biblical statement that Jeroboam actually made the bull image of Bethel.[18] But whether or not Jeroboam be credited with the introduction of the tauromorph image is of secondary importance by comparison with the theological implications of his action. He interpreted the traditional El iconography in Yahwistic terms, and

---

15 Cf. the section on 'The Religious Politics of Jeroboam I' in Chapter Eleven.

16 See Pope 1955:35-41; Smith, M. S. 1994:128 (with further references). Nowhere in the Ugaritic texts is the term *tr* used for Baal, *pace*, e.g., Soggin 1966:201 (*KTU* 1.12 ii 54 likens Baal to a bull, *km tr*). The title *šôr ʾēl* ('Bull El') has also been discerned in Hosea 8:6, where the impossible **kî miyyiśrāʾēl* ('for from Israel') has to be read as *kî mi šôr ʾēl* ('for who is Bull El?'), which fits well in the context, see Tur-Sinai 1950. It may be possible to compare the designation of Jacob as **bĕkôr šôr*, 'the first-born of the Bull' (Deuteronomy 33:17), which corresponds to the designation of the god El as Jacob's 'father' in Genesis 49:25.

17 See the section 'The Religion of the Patriarchs according to the Elohist' in Chapter Ten.

18 This doubt is reinforced by the existence of a cult myth in which Aaron was hailed as the man behind the calf (Exodus 32). 'It is difficult to resist the conviction that in its original form the story of the golden calf, so far from being a blot on the memory of Aaron, rather redounded to his credit,' according to Kennett 1905:165; so too Cross 1973:74; Klein, H. 1977:252. Note the fact that Judges 17-18 provides a rival etiology for the divine image in the sanctuary of Dan.

thereby identified El with Yahweh.[19] The traditional cult at Bethel was not discontinued but reinterpreted.

The use of the bull image and the traditional position of El in the cult of Bethel are not the only reasons to suspect that the authorities proceeded with the official equation of El and Yahweh. Another indication to the same effect is the veneration of the Asherah of Yahweh in the Northern Kingdom and its trading posts. A by now famous fragment of a storage-jar from Kuntillet ʿAjrūd, an Israelite caravanserai 50 kilometres south of Kadesh-barnea, contains a blessing by 'Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah'.[20] Alongside 'Yahweh of Samaria', then, there was the 'Asherah of Samaria'. The goddess is also mentioned under that name in Amos 8:14, where the reading אשמת שמרון, 'the guilt of Samaria', is a polemical distortion of אשרת שמרון, the 'Asherah of Samaria'. In the Ugaritic mythology, Asherah is the consort of El.[21] There is no reason to assume that the situation was originally any different in Palestinian religion.[22] When the goddess is coupled with Yahweh, then, it must be assumed that Yahweh has taken over the position of El. It is here suggested that the take-over was realized by means of a merger in which El was interpreted as an allomorph of Yahweh.[23]

Some of the oldest evidence of the identification of Yahweh and El is found in the so-called theophany texts from the Northern Kingdom. Examples of literary theophanies are found in Deuteronomy 33:2-3, Judges 5:4-5, and Psalms 18:8-16; 77:17-20; 97.[24] Not all of these texts have a Northern provenance, but the ones that describe Yahweh as coming from the South do.[25] Prime examples of this Ephraimite tradition are found in the theophany hymn that frames the Blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33:2-5, 26-29) and in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5). Though the Northern theophany texts are traditionally adduced to substantiate the thesis that Yahweh is at core a storm god like Hadad or Baal,[26] they in fact incorporate El

---

19 On the early identification of Yahweh and El see also Eissfeldt 1956; Smith, M. S. 1990:7-12.

20 Davies, G. I. 1991:80-81; Renz 1995:61.

21 Wiggins 1993:71-72.

22 See Olyan 1988:38-61, who correctly observes that the association with Baal in the Hebrew Bible is due to a Deuteronomistic polemic.

23 It need hardly be said that the same identification underlies the Elohist pieces in the Book of Genesis.

24 The principal study of the genre is still Jeremias, Jörg 1965 (1977²).

25 Nielsen 1978:81-82; Axelsson 1987; 1988.

26 See Kingsbury 1967:206-209, who notes the common occurrences of the storm figure in the theophany passages of Psalms 18:9-14; 68:7-8; 77:16-19 [*w*. 17-20 in the Masoretic text]; Judges 5:4-5; Deuteronomy 33:2-3; Habakkuk 3:3-4 and observes that 'all these passages save Psalm 18 and Zechariah 9:14 have an interest or origin in the north.'

mythology in a poetical reflection on the Yahwistic exodus tradition. El is presented in these texts, not as an aged and slightly senile deity, but as a warrior god.[27] By implication, he is the one who led the Israelites out of Egypt.[28]

The fact that some of the Israelite theophany texts have incorporated El mythology is evident from a study of the opening lines of the so-called Blessing of Moses in Deuteronomy 33. Since the commentaries of Bertholet[29] and Steuernagel[30], it is widely recognized that the Blessing of Moses is in fact a collection of tribal sayings (*vv.* 6-25) set within the framework of an ancient hymn (*vv.* 2-5 & 26-29).[31] In the present text the hymn has been cut in two: after the mention of 'the tribes of Israel' (*v.* 5c), there follows a series of twelve 'blessings'—or rather popular sayings about the tribes.[32] This interlude—in fact the greatest part of the chapter—is followed by the last section of the hymn.[33] Several scholars have found stray phrases of the hymn among the tribal sayings,[34] but none of their proposals has commanded general assent.

The hymn opens with the description of a theophany that is presented as a historical meeting of Yahweh with his people, on which occasion Yahweh became king in Israel ('Jeshurun', *v.* 5). This is one of the earliest—if not the earliest—instances where the title 'king' (*melek*) is applied to Yahweh. A close parallel is found in the vision of Micaiah the son of Imlah. This Ephraimite prophet saw Yahweh 'sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him, on his right hand and on his left' (1 Kings 22:19). Though the title 'king' is not used here, the image is evidently that of Yahweh as heavenly king surrounded by his court. It is part of the Ephraimite heritage. The theocratic ideal has a strong tradition in the Northern Kingdom. It went hand in hand with a critical stance toward the institution of the

---

27 On El as a warrior see especially Miller, P. D. 1967. The notion according to which El was a *deus otiosus* with little influence is based on the Baal cycle from Ugarit. Yet the Ugaritic Baal mythology can hardly be called an impartial witness to the traditional theology about El, since the texts are aimed to promote Baal at the cost of El. The warrior traits of El can also be reconstructed on the basis of the identification of Amurru as the Amorite El (^{d}m a r - t u = ^{d}a n m a r - t u, Amurrum = El-Amurrum).

28 Cf. Wyatt 1992. Wyatt's suggestion to emend אלה to אל in Exodus 32:4 and 8, which yields the expression 'El is your god, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt' (Wyatt 1992:79) is intriguing but not compelling. The identification of El with Yahweh would be supported by, but does not depend on, the emendation.

29 Bertholet 1899:102-112.

30 Steuernagel 1923^{2}:173.

31 See also Budde 1922:1-4.

32 Cf. Christensen 1984:389.

33 Gaster 1947; Seeligman 1964; Axelsson 1987:48-50; Jeremias, Jörg 1987:82-92.

34 E.g. Weisman 1978.

monarchy which was felt by some to be a rejection of Yahweh's rule (1 Samuel 8:7).[35]

The ancient theophany that frames the tribal sayings has suffered serious damage in the process of textual transmission. The difficulties of translation are in part the result of the text's poetic and archaic language; in part they follow from the theological censorship to which the text has been submitted. The original opening lines (*v.* 2) can only tentatively be reconstructed:

> Yahweh came from Sinai,
> and from Seir he shone;[36]
> He lighted up from Mount Paran,
> and came from Meribath-Kadesh.[37]
> At his right was Asherah ....[38]

The first lines of the poem mention various places with which Yahweh was associated in the earliest traditions; they are in complete consonance with the classical Ephraimite mythography. Through a textual correction we discover that Yahweh came accompanied by Asherah.[39] Their association is based on Yahweh's identification with El—an identification which becomes explicit in *v.* 26: 'There is none like El, o Jeshurun'.[40] The presence of Asherah in this

---

35 Cf. Crüsemann 1978.

36 The difficult למו has not been translated. Dahood 1966:173 argues that *lāmô* means 'to us' or 'for us', following the translation of the versions (LXX *hemin, humin*). For that translation, however, one would have to emend the text into *lānû*—which many commentators do (so, e.g., Dillmann 1886[2]:417). Another option is to correct into לעמו, 'for his people', see von Gall 1898:11; Budde 1922:6; Seeligman 1964:76. The solution suggested by Nyberg 1938:324-334 ('from those who have Seir as their god') has found no followers. Perhaps the name El hides behind למו. מו (*-mô*) could stand for enclitic *-ma* (cf. the archaic or pseudo-archaic preposition במו, *bĕmô*, which has developed out of original **bima*, cf. Ges[18] 156 s.v.). Since למו stands twice at the end of a strophe, it can hardly be a preposition. It might have to be read as אלמו, 'El' (< **ilima*). This solution yields a fine chiastic parallelism of the first two cola, and identifies the Asherah of *v.* 2e as the 'Asherah of El'—which is in perfect agreement with the mythological lore from the Ugaritic texts.

37 The reading מרבבת קדש is apparently corrupt for ממרבת קדש (see, e.g., Wellhausen 1905[6]:342-343). Though some wish to maintain the Masoretic text (Nyberg 1938:335; Jeremias, Jörg 1965:63-64; Weinfeld 1984:124), the LXX reading *kadēs* and the comparison with Exodus 32:51 ('at the waters of Meribath-kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin') suggest the emendation. The name Meribath-kadesh underlies Numbers 20:13 'These are the waters of Meribah, because the Israelites contended (ריב) with Yahweh, and he proved himself holy (קדש) among them.' The adduced parallels in Numbers 10:36 and Psalm 68:18[17] are insufficient evidence to warrant a translation 'the ten thousands of Kadesh' (*pace* de Moor 1990:162 and n. 280). For a discussion and references to further literature see Axelsson 1987:49.

38 See note 36.

39 The reading אשרת for אשדת goes back to Nyberg 1938:335. Its plausibility has increased considerably after the discovery of the collocation 'Yahweh and his Asherah' in the inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrūd (cf. Weinfeld 1984:124).

40 Read *kĕʾēl* for *kāʾēl* (cf. Budde 1922:15). The article had been added by the Masoretes in an attempt to turn the name of El into an appellative.

theophany text from the Northern Kingdom (cf. the names 'Jacob' and 'Israel' in *vv.* 28-29) is early evidence of the official confiscation of the El mythology.[41]

Another ancient hymnic fragment with allusions to the El mythology found its way into the Psalm of Habakkuk. The designation of the hymn as the 'Psalm of Habakkuk' is conventional, and based on the fact that the text is found as the last chapter of the Book of Habakkuk. Yet it is widely agreed that Habakkuk 3 is only superficially connected with the other materials contained in the book. In view of its content, the psalm has an Ephraimite provenance. It consists of two parts, of which the first (*vv.* 3-7) depicts Yahweh under the traits of a solar deity.[42]

Eloah came from Teman,
Holy One from Mount Paran;
His splendour covered the heavens,
his radiance[43] filled the earth.
He shone like a destroying fire[44],
and rays flashed from his side.[45]
Before Him marched Pestilence,
and Plague went forth in his footsteps.
He stopped and measured the earth,
he looked and shook the nations:
Immemorial mountains were split,

---

41 It should be noted that the text in its present form also ascribes several traits and epithets to Yahweh that are reminiscent of Baal (e.g. 'Rider of Heavens', '(Rider of) the clouds', *v.* 26).

42 While the first part of the Psalm of Habakkuk is mainly at home in the Ephraimite theophany tradition, the second part plays a different register. From *v.* 8 onward, there is a perceptible change of tone. Yahweh assumes the traits of a warrior riding a horse-drawn chariot set out to do battle against the waters (*v.* 8). The bow is his weapon; with seven heavy arrows ('shafts') he attacks the enemy. It is evident from *v.* 11 that the battle here depicted is a mythopoeic vision of the storm: the glare (*ʾôr*) of Yahweh's arrows characterizes them as flashes of lightning; his flashing spear is a thunderbolt (*bārāq*). Though other elements are involved in the conflict (Sun and Moon, Mountains and Deep), the real adversary is Sea with its mighty waters (*v.* 15). It is important to note the distinctive character of the two parts of the hymn; though artfully interwoven, they reflect different mythological themes. The second part abounds with well-known themes from the mythology of Baal, especially his battle against Sea and its monsters. In the first part of the hymn, however, it is a different type of deity which holds the stage.

43 The translation is based on the assumption that תהלתו should be related to הלל, 'to shine, to be brilliant' (cf. *HAL*[3] 1560 *s.v.* II תהלה). Although the meaning 'praise' for *tĕhillâ* is far more customary, the solar context favours the more specific rendering 'radiance'.

44 So with Hiebert 1986:4, 17. Alternatively, one could translate 'brightness like daylight is under him', cf. Exodus 24:10 'and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a pavement of sapphire stone, like the very heaven for clearness' (RSV).

45 The words ושם חביון עזה are presumably a gloss (so BHS), the emendation into *yśmḥ bywm ʿzh*, 'He rejoiced in the day of his strength' (Hiebert 1986:18-19), being more ingenious than convincing.

everlasting hills collapsed.[46]
Cushan's tents were seized with panic,
the curtains of Midian trembled.[47]

The divine hero whose appearance this hymn celebrates is referred to as Eloah and 'Holy One'. Though both terms are evidently understood here as titles of Yahweh, they originally refer back to the Semitic deity El. A comparison between Psalm 18:32 ('Who is Eloah but Yahweh?') and its parallel in 2 Samuel 22:32 ('Who is El but Yahweh?') shows how closely the names El and Eloah are associated in the biblical tradition. Also 'Holy One' (*qādôš*, note the absence of the article) is a title that applies first of all to El: he is the uppermost holy one, and his sons ('the sons of El', i.e., the gods) constitute the council of the 'holy ones'.[48]

The god is associated with Teman and Paran. 'Teman' seems to have designated the northern part of Edom and also, in biblical usage, Edom as a whole.[49] 'Mount Paran' cannot be localized with certainty. If it was somewhere in the 'wilderness of Paran', it must be located west of Edom and south of Judah; the name survives as Jebel Fārān, a mountain area 80 kilometres west of Petra.[50] The name is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the god whose manifestation is described here should be identified with El. In Genesis 14:6 there is a reference to אֵיל פָּארָן, which is apparently a theological correction for אֵל פָּארָן, 'El of Paran'.[51] This 'El of Paran' is reminiscent of 'Yahweh of Teman' mentioned in the Hebrew texts from Kuntillet ʿAjrūd as a manifestation of Yahweh.[52]

The solar language used in Habakkuk 3:3-7 and Deuteronomy 33:2 has its closest extra-biblical parallel in a heavily damaged theophany text from Kuntillet ʿAjrūd. It is quoted here after a provisional edition.[53] The first three remaining lines read:

---

[46] The text adds 'His are eternal tracks' (הליכות עולם לו), presumably a textual corruption (BHS).

[47] For a discussion of the textual problems see Jeremias 1965:38-40.

[48] It is debated whether the divine title *qdš* in Ugaritic refers to Asherah (so Cross 1973:33-35) or El (so Xella 1982:13-15). The collocation *ʾilm // bn qdš*, 'the gods' // 'the sons of Qdš' (*KTU* 1.2 i 20-21) allows both interpretations.

[49] Knauf 1988:52 n. 260; 1992b.

[50] See *HAL*[3]:860a (with references to further literature); Hamilton 1992.

[51] See Nyberg 1938:335.

[52] Renz 1995:64, cf. Renz's reconstruction on p. 62, line 5. For a discussion of the expression and references to relevant literature see Keel & Uehlinger 1992:257 and n. 202; 258-259.

[53] Aḥituv 1992:160-162, with commentary and bibliography. For a different edition see Renz 1995:59.

[...]ובזרח.אל.בר	And when El shone forth [...]
[... .]וימסן הרם	the mountains melted [...]
[...]וידכן.גבנם	and the peaks[54] were crushed [...]

Though severely damaged, this text is of great interest as it shows that in the Ephraimite tradition the god El (presumably identified with Yahweh, as in Deuteronomy 33) could be cast in the role of a warrior god with solar traits.[55] It represents an interesting addition to the material collected by Patrick D. Miller in his article on 'El the Warrior'.[56] Whereas Miller's data emphasized El's combatant role in the cosmogony (or theogony), the Kuntillet ʿAjrūd text links El the warrior with an undetermined 'day of combat'.[57] This 'day of combat' may have been an Ephraimite concept associated with the 'day of Yahweh' (cf. Hosea 10:14; Amos 1:14).

The available evidence suffices to substantiate the claim that at an early stage of Israelite state religion, presumably toward the end of the tenth century BC, El was reinterpreted as an allomorph of Yahweh and thereby integrated into the theology of the state religion. The significance of the identification should not be underrated. It has been argued that, by the beginning of the first millennium BC, El played no longer a role of any consequence. To prove their point authors note the absence of any reference to El in the Amarna letters. Literary occurrences of El in first millennium inscriptions confirm his subordination to the storm god (Hadad or Baal).[58] It must indeed be conceded that in most local pantheons of the Near East El had lost his preeminence in the Iron Age. Yet in southern Palestine and Transjordania, El continued to be regarded as a god of importance.[59] Especially in the realm of family religion, which tends to be conservative, El remained an object of devotion.[60] The assertion that *ʾēl* in the Israelite anthroponyms and toponyms is simply an appellative cannot be substantiated.[61] The early Israelites were aware of El as an identifiable deity, even though the personality of the god had become rather bleak. As long as El and Yahweh were recognized as distinct theonyms, the application of the name El to Yahweh amounted to an identification.[62]

---

54 Reading גבנם for גבנם.

55 Cf. Keel & Uehlinger 1992:277-278 who speak of 'offenbar eines solarisierten El'.

56 Miller, P. D. 1967; 1973:48-58.

57 Assuming that the restoration [... בים מלח]מה in lines 5 and 6 is correct. It is unclear whether the lines in question refer to the deities Baal and El or to human persons called Baruch-Baal (לברך בעל) and Samuel (לשמאל).

58 See Niehr 1990:19-21; Rendtorff 1994:5.

59 See Müller 1980d:6.

60 Müller 1980d:5.

61 *Pace* Rendtorff 1994.

62 There is no good reason to abandon the term 'identification' in favour of

By means of the identification of Yahweh and El, the state theologians attempted to bridge the gap between the cult of Yahweh and the family devotion to El. The evidence of the premonarchic Israelite onomasticon shows that the religion of the early Israelites was focused in large measure on El.[63] The Jacob tradition that is preserved in the Elohistic passages of Genesis confirms the role of El as family god among the early inhabitants of Ephraim. The contrast which citizens felt between their private devotion to El and their public recognition of Yahweh was overcome by the identification of the two. Fragments of the El mythology (notably his association with Asherah, the tauromorph iconography, and El's solar aspects) were transferred to Yahweh;[64] Yahweh mythology, on the other hand, was associated with El.[65] The local avatars of El could henceforth be regarded as refractions of the one national god Yahweh-El. As is so often the case in the history of religions, the proclamation of a new dogma (in the present case the equation of El with Yahweh) served political interests.

The Religious Politics of the Omrides

Though the official identification of El with Yahweh had done much to bring about an integration of family religion and state religion, it eventually divided the population in two factions. Whereas many Israelites venerated El as the god of their family or clan, many others were devoted to Baal as their god. In the course of time, the two groups tended to become rivals. The worshippers of Yahweh-El, whose religion had been granted official status, claimed to be true Israelites; was their god Yahweh-El not the official god of Israel? They began to refer to the worshippers of Baal as Canaanites. Ethnicity had nothing to do with these terms. 'Israelite' was merely a honorific self-designation, whereas 'Canaanite' was a derogatory adjective applied to others. Ethnically speaking, nearly all Israelites had their roots in Canaan.

A reflection of the disputes to which the antagonism between devotees of Yahweh and worshippers Baal could lead may be found in the narrative

---

'assimilation', the difference being the deliberate equation of two distinct deities as opposed to a gradual process of convergence facilitated by the dwindling importance of El as a separate deity. It could be argued that the undeniable assimilation occurred in the wake of the deliberate identification.

63 See de Moor 1990:13-34.

64 It should be kept in mind that the El mythology that the early Israelites knew did not correspond in every respect with the El mythology of the Ugaritic texts. The solar imagery and the warrior traits of the 'Israelite' El have no obvious parallel in the Ugaritic texts. It is not certain, on the other hand, that Yahweh owed his role as creator and highest god to a transfer of El mythology, cf. Rendtorff 1966.

65 Notably the exodus tradition, see Wyatt 1992.

about the destruction of the altar for Baal by Jerubbaal the son of Joash (Judges 6:25-32).[66] The story is about the young man Jerubbaal who, under cover of night, broke down the altar for Baal and cut down the wooden pole beside it.[67] As the men of the town discovered the damage, they started a search for the culprit. When it turned out to be Jerubbaal, they went to see his father.

> Then the men of the town said to Joash, 'Bring out your son, that he may die, for he has pulled down the altar of Baal and cut down the wooden pole beside it.' But Joash said to all who were arrayed against him, 'Will you contend for Baal? Or will you defend his cause? Whoever contends for him shall be put to death by morning. If he is a god let him contend for himself, because his altar has been pulled down.
>
> Judges 6:30-31

Though the story in its present form is one of conversion (according to *v.* 25 the altar belonged to Jerubbaal's father, which means that Baal was also Jerubbaal's god), the pious legend feeds on the reality of local skirmishes between Baal devotees and worshippers of Yahweh.[68] There is no reason to distrust the historicity of such conflicts. Once Yahweh-El had been given official status, the worshippers of Baal felt treated as second rate citizens. The inevitable tensions caused by the situation will have manifested themselves in a variety of local rivalries.

The religious politics of the Omride kings marked a turning-point in this development. Omri and Ahab took measures to overcome the internal division that followed from the different treatment of the two main segments of the population. To understand the objectives of the Omride interventions in the state religion, their religious politics must be seen in the context of their overall political programme. The rule of the Omrides marked a golden age in the political history of Israel.[69] In the span of a few years, the State of Israel changed from a minor political entity into a major power. Omri (*ca.* 885-874) and Ahab (ca. 874-853) first curbed and then repelled the Aramaean influence in Palestine. Transjordanian territories were incorporated into the kingdom (2 Kings 3:4-5). By a clever use of diplomacy, the Omrides

---

66 On the Gideon narratives see 'The Altar of Gideon' in Chapter Ten. For a discussion of *vv.* 25-31 see Preuss 1971:67-72.

67 With Richter 1966^2:164-168 the *vv.* 25-27a and 32 can be regarded as the redactional frame of the original narrative of *vv.* 27b-31.

68 Richter 1966^2:164 n. 148; Smend 1975:176.

69 For a survey of the period of the Omrides see Herrmann, S. 1980^2 (1973):257-272; Timm 1982; Soggin 1984:201-210; Donner 1986:260-274; Miller & Hayes 1986:250-287; Mazar, B. 1992:116-126; Ahlström 1993:569-606. On the relations of the Omrides with Tyre see Briquel-Chatonnet 1992:63-73.

developed good relations with Phoenicia and Judah. The peace with Phoenicia was consolidated by the marriage of Ahab with Jezebel, the daughter of Ittobaal ('Ethbaal') the king of Sidon (1 Kings 16:31),[70] and the entente with Judah was sealed by the marriage of Ahab's daughter (or sister) Athaliah to Jehoram, then the Judahite crown prince (2 Kings 8:18; 2 Chronicles 21:6).

The Omrides combined a successful foreign policy with a domestic politics designed to modernize their kingdom. As enlightened monarchs they had little sympathy for the notion of theocracy. Omri broke with the tradition of a charismatic kingship and tried to institutionalize the principle of dynastic succession.[71] To facilitate the administration of the kingdom, the Omrides reorganized the division of the territory and placed the districts under the supervision of governors (*śar*), each one being assisted by a staff of 'servants' (1 Kings 20:14-15.19). Putting the seal on the new political climate, Omri built Samaria as the capital of the kingdom. Until then, various places had served as centre of the administration. Samaria, however, was a city with no past. Omri constructed it around 880 on land he had bought from the Shemer family (1 Kings 16:24). Though the royal family also maintained a palace at Jezreeel (1 Kings 18:46; 21:1; 2 Kings 9:17), Samaria functioned as the national capital (1 Kings 16:29). Omri was buried in Samaria (1 Kings 16:28), and so were Ahab (1 Kings 22:37) and Ahaziah (2 Kings 1:17). The political importance of Samaria is confirmed by the fact that 'Samaria' later came to be the name of the Israelite state as a whole (e.g., 1 Kings 13:32; 2 Kings 17:24; 23:19).

In an influential essay on the city of Samaria, Albrecht Alt has argued that the Omrides maintained two capitals (viz., Samaria and Jezreel) to satisfy both the Canaanite and the Israelite elements of the population.[72] Jezreel, according to Alt, was a genuinely Israelite town, whereas Samaria was a Canaanite enclave until after the demise of the Omrides. Though Alt's suggestion is attractive, it cannot be accepted without certain strictures. Its main weakness consists in the unwarranted supposition that there was an ethnic opposition between Israelites and Canaanites. Since the archaeological research of recent years suggests that the majority of the Israelite settlers came from a Canaanite background, the opposition of Israelites versus Canaanites is historically false. The competition was not ethnic but religious. Alongside the official cult of Yahweh-El propagated by the state, many

---

[70] The information provided by Menander of Ephesus, as quoted by Josephus, *Antiquities* 8.13.2, who suggests that Ittobaal was king of Tyre, is unreliable, see Timm 1982:200-231.

[71] Alt 1951.

[72] Alt 1954. The hypothesis has been adopted and defended by quite a number of other authors. See, e.g., Donner 1977:400-404.

Israelite citizens continued to worship Baal in their family religion. Witness the high percentage of Baal names in the Samaria ostraca (seven theophoric names are constructed with Baal, as opposed to eleven with Yahweh), Baal continued the be a major god in the realm of Israelite family religion.[73]

The partial truth of the view propounded by Alt concerns the Omride attempt to reach a kind of reconciliation between the national cult of Yahweh, on the one hand, and the local religions focused on Baal, on the other. Alt's error lies in the identification of the former with the Israelites and of the latter with the Canaanites. Though the family religion of many Israelites consisted of the worship of a local Baal, it was not for that reason Canaanite. The cult of El and Baal, under a variety of local avatars, was indigenous among the early Israelites in the central hill country; it was the worship of Yahweh, rather, that could be seen as an innovation, having reached the Israelites through the influx of settlers from southern Transjordania. The Omrides were not trying to reconcile two ethnic groups. As enlightened monarchs, they merely wished to grant worshippers of Baal the same kind of recognition as the worshippers of Yahweh-El. Their religious politics were in a sense liberal: in their view the state had to observe neutrality in religious matters. Since a separation between religion and politics was inconceivable at the time, they sought to give equal rights to the cults of Yahweh and Baal.

The Omride kings tried to carry out their programme of equal rights by the admission of Baal into the national pantheon. Though it has been argued that the Omrides meant to officially identify Baal and Yahweh in a manner comparable to the earlier identification of El and Yahweh,[74] there are no firm indications that this is what they attempted. It is true that the Bible contains traces of the incorporation of the Baal mythology in the mythology of Yahweh, such as the motif of Yahweh's combat against Sea and its monsters[75] or—in Judah—the identification of Mount Zion with Mount Zaphon (Psalm 48:3).[76] The synthesis of the gods was bound to fail, however, as long as Baal was recognized as a distinct deity. Both Yahweh and Baal were strong personalities, so to speak. Each had his own mythology, neither of which lent itself to a smooth integration with the other. Moreover, the Baal cult

---

73 On the Samaria ostraca see Mazar, B. 1986:173-188.

74 Those who defend this view refer to the religious politics of the Omrides as 'syncretism', see, e.g., Hentschel 1985:84-85. It is quite unlikely, however, that the Israelites were unaware of the difference between Yahweh and Baal. The theophoric anthroponyms with Baal can hardly be explained as evidence of devotion to Yahweh under the traits of Baal (*pace* Hentschel 1985:84).

75 See Day 1985.

76 For other instances of 'syncretism' between the mythologies of Baal and Yahweh see Loretz 1990:73-78; Smith, M. S. 1990:41-79.

which the Omrides sought to promote had political overtones that did not allow the demotion of Baal to the level of a mere epithet for Yahweh; the Phoenician connections of the Omrides did not leave room for that possibility.

As a theological fusion of Baal and Yahweh was neither feasible nor desirable, the Omrides followed a politics of religious parity. In name Yahweh remained the national god, witness the inscription by the Moabite king Mesha.[77] Yet contrary to the situation at Jezreel (1 Kings 21:1-16), the temple which Omri built in Samaria was devoted to the cult of Baal (1 Kings 16:32; 2 Kings 10:18-29). Omri and his successors endeavoured to create a situation in which Baal had his place alongside Yahweh-El.[78] In addition to the cult of Baal at the national temple in Samaria, the Omrides supported a large body of cult personnel of Baal (referred to as the 'prophets' of Baal) stationed throughout the land (1 Kings 18:19; 2 Kings 10:19). Henceforth, the prophets of Yahweh had to share their privileges with the prophets of Baal. The political benefit of the official recognition and support of the Baal cult consisted in the extension of control over the various local cults (cf. 2 Kings 10:18-21).

The motives behind the Omride religious politics have been obscured by the biblical authors. In their view the Omride politics towards the Baal cult were inspired by the particular zeal of Jezebel. In the later biblical tradition Jezebel has been depicted under the traits of a prototypical 'foreign woman'.[79] Her devotion to Baal was deemed demonic, and her efforts on behalf of the propagation of his cult were qualified as 'harlotries and sorceries' (2 Kings 9:22). In fact, the incrimination of Jezebel, as though she single-handedly introduced the Israelites to the cult of Baal, is merely meant to portray Baal as foreign god. Devotion to Baal was thereby retroactively turned into anti-patriotic behaviour. Although presented in the biblical writings as the doings of the develish Jezebel, however, the institutionalization of a national Baal cult must be seen as the well-considered religious politics of the Israelite kings.

The promotion of the Baal cult cannot be construed as an act of diplomacy, similar to Ahab's marriage with Jezebel, to please the Phoenician leadership and to bring Israel in line with its northern neighbour states.[80] Should that have been the case, the mere presence of an image of Baal in the

---

77 *KAI* 181:14-18.

78 Cf. Smend 1975:174 '... die Religionspolitik der Omriden ... scheint ... darauf angelegt gewesen zu sein, dem Baal zu geben, was des Baal war, und Jahwe zu geben, was Jahwes war.'

79 See Soggin 1981c.

80 Contrast, e.g., Albertz 1992.1:231.

official temples would have sufficed. There is no indication that the Baal of the Omrides was the Baal of either Sidon or Tyre.[81] The reports on the appointment of a body of religious personnel affiliated with the Baal cult shows that the Omrides wished to do more than to signal their recognition of Baal as an official Phoenician deity. Neither the diplomatic explanation nor the biblical interpretation does justice to the Omride politics. The Omrides regarded themselves as enlightened monarchs who stood above the religious rivalries in their kingdom. They set out to create a modern state which combined an efficient administration and a strong military presence with equal rights for the main religious groups.

The introduction of Baal into the official religion of the state was fraught with theological consequences. The Baal whom the Omrides worshipped was not just the divine patron of one of the Phoenician cities; he was the Baal as we know him from the Ugaritic mythology, the annually disappearing and returning god of storms and rain. The character of the Omride cult of Baal can still be gauged from the account of the contest between Elijah and the Baal prophets on Mount Carmel (1 Kings 18).[82] The story is set in the time of the great drought. The cultic personnel of Baal interprets the prolonged absence of rain mythologically as the effect of Baal's descent to the nether world. That is why they cut themselves with swords and lances, and make a great deal of noise (1 Kings 18:28). Their behaviour is typical of mourners; they give ritual expression to their grief over the death of their god. Elijah's sneering comments about Baal's being on a journey or asleep (1 Kings 18:29) play upon the mythological theme of Baal's death: the god's sleep is a sleep of death.[83] A later biblical source speaks about the mourning rites over Hadad-Rimmon, the Aramaean avatar of the storm god,[84] near Megiddo (Zechariah 12:11). Apparently, the rituals of the Baal cult, with all their mythological trappings, had a long life.

The Omride admission of Baal into the state cult was not intended to promote him as the new god of Israel. Extra-biblical evidence for Baal as an important Israelite god under the reign of the Omrides is lacking. The suspicion that the biblical historians have exaggerated the magnitude of Baal's place in the Omride state religion seems justified. Though it would be hypercritical to deny the fact that Baal entered the Israelite state pantheon due to the Omride politics of parity, there is no reason to assume that the god

---

81 *Pace* Briquel-Chatonnet 1992:299, who (along with many others) identifies the Baal of the Omrides with Melqart.

82 See de Vaux 1967a; Preuss 1971:80-100; Seebass 1973; Briquel-Chatonnet 1992:303-313.

83 See Jagersma 1975; so too Würthwein 1984:220; Hentschel 1985:81.

84 See Greenfield 1987:68.

ever gained greater prominence than Yahweh. The real situation is aptly described by Elijah's diagnosis of the Israelites as a people 'limping on both sides' (*pōsĕḥîm ʿal-šĕtê hassĕʿippîm*, 1 Kings 18:21), an expression implying that religious dualism saps the strength of a nation.[85] All the Omrides had hoped to obtain, however, was a situation of religious parity. To satisfy all their subjects they gave Baal and Yahweh-El a comparable place in the state cult—though Yahweh remained the national god.

The Rise of the Yahweh-Alone Movement

Although many Israelites may have welcomed the Omride politics as a change for the better, there were also very hostile reactions. The opposition came primarily from two groups, to wit, the prophets of Yahweh and a pro-Assyrian faction among the landed gentry.[86] Though united in their rejection of the Omrides, their motives ran parallel only in part.

Many prophets of Yahweh reproved the Omride innovations because they perceived them as an assault on their position as servants of the national religion. Even if the reports about the execution of the 'prophets of Yahweh' are grossly exaggerated (1 Kings 18:4, 13),[87] the Yahwistic cult personnel is bound to have suffered from the Omride patronage of a rival priesthood.[88] The resentment of the Yahweh prophets was exacerbated by their personal commitment to the ideology of the national religion. In combination with such notions as the land of Israel as the 'heritage of Yahweh' and the Israelites as the 'people of Yahweh', the exodus tradition served as the major focus of their identity. The 'New Deal' politics of the Omrides, granting official status to the Baal mythology as well, threatened to jeopardize that identity. Their response was to cling to it all the more tenaciously.[89]

The motives of the old nobility were quite different. Though some of them may have been in sympathy with the prophets' criticism of the religious politics of parity, their main objection against the Omrides concerned the new political and economic order. Based on their inherited wealth, the

---

[85] See Timm 1982:74 n. 87. Würthwein understands the expression in a different way: Israel is likened to a bird constantly hopping from the one branch to the other (1984:217).

[86] On the involvement of the pro-Assyrian party in the coup of Jehu see Astour 1971, cited with approval by Soggin 1984:216.

[87] Cf. Schmitt, H.-C. 1972:124-125.

[88] Johnson, A. R. 1962[2]:28 analyzes the competition between Baal prophets and Yahweh prophets as 'a rivalry between two different cults and their respective specialists'.

[89] It must be emphasized that there is no evidence for the view according to which Elijah and the prophetic orders which he represented were acquainted with the first commandment ('You shall have no other gods beside me'), *pace* Hentschel 1985:89. On the contrary, the demand for monolatry by the Yahweh-alone movement was elicited by the Omride politics, cf. Golka 1978.

Israelite aristocracy (known under such terms as *nĕdîbîm*, *ḥōrîm*, and *gĕdōlîm* in the Bible) traditionally enjoyed a position of affluence and influence. Owing to the growth of the royal bureaucracy, on the one hand, and the intensification of commerce by the creation of a monetary economy and the development of trade relations with Phoenicia, on the other, the landed gentry was faced with the emergence of a new ethics of property. The conflict between Naboth and Ahab is illustrative: Naboth belonged to the local nobility of Jezreel, yet he was simply overruled and removed at the king's wish.[90] Favoured by the economic climate, there arose a class of nouveaux riches who owed their wealth to trade. Though the Israelite economy was thriving, the established nobility saw its position endangered. Their identity as a class was undermined by the royal no-nonsense politics and the commercial success of upstarts.

The discontent of the landed gentry also fed on the success of the dynastic tradition which the Omrides had established. In spite of anti-royalist currents in Israel, kingship was an accepted phenomenon; the principal proviso was that it should not be hereditary. Both the aristocracy and the prophets held fast to the theocratic ideal: human rulers were to be chosen by God, as with the religious leadership.[91] The same idea is echoed in the message of Hosea (Hosea 8:4-6). To these men, the far more 'secular' principles on which the Omrides had founded their rule were a lapse from the divine order. Once again, the motives for maintaining the theocratic ideal may have been quite dissimilar—at least on the face of it. To the prophetic orders it was a religious concern; the landed gentry may have seen the theocratic model as a means of exerting some influence on the choice of the political leadership. The divine election of a king was not a lottery; endorsement by the social élite was a prerequisite.

The opposition elicited by the Omride politics spelled the end of the Omride dynasty. Joined in an anti-Omride coalition, the 'sons of the prophets' and the pro-Assyrian nobility eventually succeeded in bringing their own man to power. His name was Jehu. In 841 BC Jehu seized the throne, killing Joram and all who remained of the house of the Omrides (2 Kings 9-10). A military governor of the king, Jehu had been encouraged to disloyalty by 'one of the sons of the prophets'. Sent by Elisha, this anonymous prophet had secretly anointed Jehu king in the name of Yahweh 'the god of Israel' (2 Kings 9:1-10). The ceremony was entirely in keeping with the Ephraimite tradition of charismatic leadership; in like manner Saul had been appointed

---

[90] The social status of Naboth may be inferred from the fact that he was seated 'at the head of the people' (*bĕrō'š hā'ām*, 1 Kings 21:9), cf. Würthwein 1984:249.

[91] Rendtorff 1962:154.

king by Samuel (1 Samuel 10:1). The rebellion of Jehu was presumably inspired by personal ambition; were it not for a significant popular support, however, his *coup* would probably have been aborted.

Considered in hindsight, the time in which the Omrides reigned was one of the crucial periods in the history of Israelite religion. The religious politics of parity triggered an opposition that would assume the character of a fundamentalist protest movement, to use an anachronistic misnomer. Modern scholars have dubbed it the 'Yahweh-alone movement'.[92] Its basic creed held that no one can serve two masters; the factual existence of other gods was not denied, but only Yahweh was deemed worthy of the worship of the Israelites.[93] The leaders of the movement, to be located among the prophetic orders, made Elijah their literary spokesman.[94] His pressure on the people to make a choice reflects their principal message: 'If Yahweh is god, follow him; but if it is Baal, then follow him' (1 Kings 18:21).[95] Though phrased as an alternative, there could naturally be no doubt about which god truly deserved to be worshipped. According to the theology of the Yahweh-alone movement, Yahweh had been Israel's god from the land of Egypt; there was no other saviour besides him (Hosea 13:4).

Under the influence of the Omride religious politics, certain segments of the prophetic orders developed into groups of intransigent zealots averse to any compromise. They remained so also after the revolt of Jehu. The restoration under Jehu proved ephemeral: it was not long before it became clear that many of the developments that had occurred under the Omrides were irreversible.[96] The members of the orders were still known as prophets, and their connections with the court were never entirely severed, but their religious ideology took a turn. They radicalized the demand for loyalty to

---

92 The expression was brought into currency by Smith, M. 1971, and has been widely used since, see notably Lang 1981.

93 The Yahweh-alone movement which arose in the aftermath of the Omrides did not preach monotheism in the strict sense of the term. Its message was one of monolatry (cf. Hentschel 1985:88). True monotheism, as a metaphysical statement, probably did not gain ground in Israel until the Hellenistic Period, see Tromp 1995:105-108.

94 Though it cannot be excluded that Elijah gave the impetus to the emergence of the Yahweh-alone movement, his role as their spokesman has been magnified by the tradition. Since the Elijah stories were at home in the circles of Elisha's disciples (see the discussion in Chapter Twelve), they presumably reflect trends and circumstances of about 800 BC rather than 850 BC. With Smend 1975:173 it must be maintained that the Mount Carmel story was conceived after the revolution of Jehu.

95 Instead of describing the terminology as Deuteronomistic (so Würthwein 1984:217), I would prefer to call it proto-Deuteronomic. The Deuteronomic movement (for which see Chapter Fourteen) is rooted in the opposition party which manifested itself by the end of the ninth century BC.

96 Cf. Ahlström 1977b. Ahlström argues that Jehu's revolt was purely political in motivation, lacked popular support, and did not lead to the 'purification' of Israelite religion.

Yahweh and for commitment to his cult. 'Zeal for Yahweh' (*qinʾâ laYHWH*, 2 Kings 10:16) became a central value: Elijah was pictured as a man who had been 'very zealous for Yahweh' (*qannōʾ qinnēʾtî laYHWH*, 1 Kings 19:14). The reverse of the coin was a fierce opposition against the worship of all other gods. In the view of these fundamentalists, Yahweh was 'a jealous god' (*ʾēl qannāʾ*, Deuteronomy 5:9) who did not tolerate idols in his vicinity. In practice, the iconoclasm of the movement was directed against all forms of Baal worship, whether in the state cult or in family religion.

The Book of Hosea can be used to illustrate the almost complete disenfranchisement of the prophetic orders from the political establishment by the mid-eighth century. In the judgment of Hosea, the Israelite kings had disqualified themselves.[97] There was no longer any real leadership for 'all their kings have fallen, and none of them calls upon Me' (Hosea 7:7). The fundamental flaw lay in Israel's rejection of the theocracy: kings had been appointed without prior consultation of God (Hosea 8:4). In the turmoil of his time over the Assyrian threat, Hosea refused to side with either the pro-Egyptian or the pro-Assyrian party.[98]

> Ephraim is like a dove, silly and without sense,
> calling to Egypt, going to Assyria (...)
> Woe to them, for they have strayed from Me!
> destruction to them, for they have rebelled against Me.
>
> Hosea 7:11, 13

Hosea's position on the issue was not one of neutrality. He actively opposed both the diplomatic overtures to Egypt and the politics of submission to Assyria. Carrying oil to Egypt—a reference to the oil used in ceremonial treaty oaths[99]—was just as wrong as striking a bargain with Assyria (Hosea 12:2[1]; cf. 11:5).[100] The alternative the prophet advocated was a politics of conversion to Yahweh—which strikes the modern reader of his book as a rather impractical form of theocracy. It was, politically speaking, a non-solution.

The message of Hosea may be regarded as the fruit, ultimately, of the religious liberalism of the Omrides. Supported by an important segment of the population, many prophets refused to comply with a politics which gave Yahweh and Baal equal rights. Their discontent over the losses they suffered —losses in means or in prestige and influence—materialized in a religious

---

97 On Hosea's position in respect of the institution of kingship see Gelston 1973; Utzschneider 1980:66-88; Jeremias, Jörg 1983:31-32

98 See Donner 1964:77-80.

99 See McCarthy 1964.

100 See Donner 1964:91-92.

counter-movement that was fundamentally opposed to the political order of the day. By its condemnation of both the national cult patronized by the state and the local cults based on kinship and co-residence, it prepared the spirits for a religion based on personal commitment. This new religion, prefigured to some extent in the orders of the prophets and the Levites themselves, was not to come into existence until after the Fall of Samaria and the disappearance of Israel as a separate kingdom.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

IN SEARCH OF NEW IDENTITIES: THE EPHRAIMITE DIASPORA

After Hosea it did not take long before Israel disappeared from the political map. Under the attacks of Tiglath-pileser (745-727), Shalmaneser V (726-722) and Sargon II (721-705), Israel was first made a vassal, then reduced in size, and finally turned into an Assyrian province. Many inhabitants of the country fled to Judah for political, economic or religious reasons. Though they may not have intended to stay there, most refugees remained in the South for generations. They had children and grandchildren, and as the one generation succeeded the other, they mingled with the Judahite population, eventually lost their Ephraimite identity and became Judahites or Jews. To the second and third generations of the Ephraimite migrants, however, identity was still something to be constructed rather than inherited. Living in Judah they had preserved the traditions of their parents and grandparents. Drawing on two separate religious cultures, they set out to search for new identities.

The Fall of Samaria and the Exile to Judah

The developments which led to the Ephraimite diaspora in Judah are not known in their details, but a general outline can be confidently reconstructed on the basis of biblical, cuneiform, and archaeological sources.[1] It is a story of rapid decline of political power. Whereas the reign of Jeroboam II (787-747) was still a time of political expansion and economic prosperity, his successors saw Israel's glory quickly vanish. When Tiglath-pileser invaded Syria and defeated Hamath in 738, King Menahem had to pay a tribute of a thousand talents of silver in token of submission.[2] Israel had become an Assyrian vassal, even if it might internally cultivate the illusion of political independence.

The death of Menahem in 738 inaugurated a period of political chaos. Menahem's son held the throne for just a few months, after which he was

---

[1] For studies of the period see Donner 1964; 1977:421-434 (with references to relevant literature); Otzen 1978 (for a slightly different version of the same paper see Otzen 1979); Weippert, M. 1982; Soggin 1984:221-230; Becking 1985; 1992.

[2] See 2 Kings 15:19-20; Levine, L. D. 1972; Weippert, M. 1973:29-34.

deposed by a military leader from Gilead called Pekah (737-732, see 2 Kings 15:27-31). Pekah tried to free Israel from the Assyrian yoke by joining the anti-Assyrian coalition led by the king of Damascus. As they tried to force Judah to join them, Tiglath-Pileser laid siege to Damascus and captured the city in 732. Pekah met his death at the hands of a pro-Assyrian faction that made Hosea (732-724) king in his place.[3] As Shalmaneser succeeded Tiglath-pileser in 726, Hosea interrupted the annual payment to Assur and solicited Egyptian support for an anti-Assyrian revolt. The Israelite king had miscalculated his chances. Shalmaneser took Hosea captive, and reduced the state of Israel to the single city of Samaria. Two years later Samaria fell at the hands of Shalmaneser (2 Kings 18:9-11), thus putting the seal on the defeat of Israel.[4]

In the wake of the defeat of the Northern Kingdom, important segments of the population were deported to Assyria.[5] In 732 Tiglath-pileser carried the people of Gilead, Galilee, and the land of Naphtali to Assyria (2 Kings 15:29). After the fall of Samaria, the king of Assur made Israelite captives dwell 'in Halah and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes' (2 Kings 17:6; cf. *v.* 23). The biblical reports about the deportations are indirectly supported by the evidence from Assyrian sources. A legal document connects the area of Ḫalaḫḫu (Halah) with three persons bearing West-Semitic names,[6] and various documents attest to the presence of Israelites in the province of Guzana (Gozan).[7] Other data point to a substantial Israelite presence in the Assyrian military.[8]

The forced Assyrian migration involved only a minority of the Israelites, however. It has been estimated that out of every hundred Israelites, not more than five were actually deported.[9] It may be regarded as certain that a large part of the population remained in the country.[10] They had to share the land with people from Babylon, Kuthah, Avva, Hamath and Sepharvaim (2 Kings 17:24). Some of the immigrants came as refugees; others were brought by the Assyrians in an attempt to keep a smouldering Israelite nationalism from flaring up. The immigrants had come with their own gods.[11]

---

3 Weippert, M. 1982:398.

4 Though the successor of Shalmaneser, Sargon II, claimed to be the author of Samaria's defeat, the actual fall of the city is generally believed to have occurred in the last year of Shalmaneser's reign.

5 On the Neo-Assyrian deportations see Oded 1979; 1995.

6 See Becking 1992:62-64.

7 Becking 1992:64-69

8 Becking 1992:73-78

9 The figure is given by May 1943:58.

10 Cf. Oded 1979:22.

11 Cf. the section 'Religious Identity in Situations of Diaspora' in Chapter Six.

The report about the Assyrian appointment of an Israelite priest in Bethel who had orders to teach the Mesopotamian settlers of Samaria 'the law of the god of the land' (*mišpaṭ ʾelōhê hāʾāreṣ*, 2 Kings 17:27) suggests that Yahweh continued to receive official worship in Israel; was he not the god of Samaria? His cult was combined with the veneration of a diversity of other deities at a local level. The situation was in many ways a continuation of the earlier practice in which worship of Yahweh at the national level had coexisted with the worship of a variety of Baals at a local level.

Many Ephraimites did not go to Mesopotamia nor stay in the land, but fled to the South to settle in Judah or, having progressed further south, in Egypt.[12] The bulk of the evidence of this demographic move of Ephraimites to Judah is indirect. It is generally accepted that in the period following the fall of Samaria, various texts and traditions which originated in Israel were transferred to Judah and incorporated in what was to become the Hebrew Bible. An obvious case is the Book of Hosea; some or all of Amos' written prophecies may have followed the same route to the Southern Kingdom. The incorporation of the Elohist as one of the narrative strands in Genesis was not possible before the literary tradition had gained ground in Judah.[13] There are also several Ephraimite psalms that ended up in the Jerusalem psalter.[14] Some sections in the Book of Judges and the Books of Samuel, and perhaps some in the Books of the Kings as well, stem from the North.[15] Since the redaction of said books took place in the South, the earlier material must at some point have been transferred to Judah.

Aside from the transmission of literary material from Israel to Judah, there is evidence of the transfer of certain religious tenets and motifs.[16] A case in point is the exodus motif. The exodus tradition has an Ephraimite origin; it was celebrated in such royal temples as Bethel, whereas the official cult at Jerusalem gave pride of place to the Zion theology and the dynastic promise to David.[17] The fact that the Judahite clergy eventually incorporated the exodus motif in their official theology is presumably due to the influence of exiled priests from the former Northern Kingdom. Since transmission of texts and traditions does not occur without transmitters, it must be assumed

---

12 The Israelite diaspora in Egypt is mentioned in Isaiah 11:11, cf. Weinfeld 1985:87-88.

13 On the Ephraimite background of the Elohist see Cazelles 1966:810-812; Vriezen & van der Woude 1973[4]:164; Schüpphaus 1975:210; Eissfeldt 1976[4]:269-271 (undecided); Craghan 1977; Jenks 1977; Klein, H. 1977.

14 Rendsburg 1990:13-15 and *passim*.

15 For the Book of Judges see Burney 1918:171-176; Noth 1962. For the Books of Kings see Burney 1903:208-209; Cogan & Tadmor 1988:9.

16 Otzen 1978:107 speaks about the transfer of 'many of the deuteronomistic traditions ... brought from the defeated North State to Judah and preserved there.'

17 See, e.g., Hoffman 1989; Cooper & Goldstein 1992.

that certain Israelites to whom the relevant texts and traditions were familiar have moved to the South. They brought their beliefs and traditions with them, and once they were fully integrated in the Judahite society, their traditions became part of the Jewish heritage.

The migration of inhabitants of Israel to Judah may be inferred from the incorporation of Ephraimite texts in the Judahite collection of sacred books. The inference is supported by historical and archaeological considerations. Assyrian pressure gave many Israelites good reason to leave their native country. Judah was a likely place of refuge; it was close, still independent, and after all a sister state. Judahites, too, venerated Yahweh as their national god; though locally diversified, the various forms of Yahweh could nevertheless be recognized as manifestations of one god.[18] The fact that a Judahite prophet like Amos could preach in Bethel implies some common basis of religion in Judah and Israel. Apparently, the temple of Jerusalem was considered by early Israelite kings to be in competition with their own sanctuaries (cf. 1 Kings 12:26-27). Ties of kinship, moreover, transcended the political border between the two states. Some of the Israelites who fled to the South will have found a place to stay with their family.

The archaeological evidence for an influx of Israelites in Judah after 720 BC is indirect. It consists primarily of indications of settlement of the Western Hill of Jerusalem, owing to which the built-up area of Jerusalem expanded to three or four times its former size around 700.[19] The new suburb was known as the Mishneh ('Second Quarter') and was later incorporated into the city.[20] It is difficult to explain the sudden growth of the city by a natural population increase or by exceptional economic prosperity. The expansion was not a gradual process; archaeological soundings suggest a spectacular growth overnight, so to speak. A mass immigration from the former Northern Kingdom presents itself as an attractive—though hypothetical—explanation.[21] Some of the Israelite towns had been reduced and

---

[18] Extra-biblical evidence from Kuntillet ʿAjrud mentions a 'Yahweh of Samaria' and a 'Yahweh of Teman'; it is possible that the two names designate one god, viz. the official god of the Northern Kingdom ('Samaria', after its capital). Yet the recognition of a Northern Yahweh is mirrored by the worship of a Yahweh of Hebron and a Yahweh of Zion. Though the constructions *bĕḤebrôn* and *bĕṢiyyôn* are normally translated 'in Hebron' and 'in Zion', a comparison of the name Milkaštart ('Milku of Aštart') with the expression *mlk bʿṯtrt* ('Milku in Aštart') suggests that such expressions as *YHWH bĕṢiyyôn* (Psalm 99:2) and *YHWH bĕḤebrôn* (2 Samuel 15:7) should be understood as references to local forms of Yahweh (Barré 1983:186 n. 473; cf. 1 Samuel 5:5 *Dāgôn bĕʾAšdôd*, 'Dagan of Ashdod'). The religious situation in Israel and Judah, therefore, was not merely one of polytheism, but also of poly-Yahwism.

[19] See Broshi 1974; Meier, W. 1981.

[20] See Avigad 1984:54-55; 2 Kings 22:14 and Zechariah 1:10.

[21] Broshi 1974; Meier, W. 1981; Avigad 1984:54-55.

impoverished, and some had been destroyed and abandoned; their inhabitants must have sought refuge in the South. Though there is also archaeological evidence of intensified colonization in the Judaean hill country,[22] the majority of the Israelite exiles seem to have settled in Jerusalem and its vicinity. To people trying to make a new life for themselves, cities usually offer more opportunities than the country.

The influx of Ephraimites after 720 is reflected in some of the prophecies of Isaiah (*ca.* 700 BC). The prophet had a son whom he had named Shear-jashub, meaning 'A remnant shall return' (Isaiah 7:3). Another passage in the Book of Isaiah plays upon the significance of this name by saying that 'the remnant of Jacob' will return to *ʾēl gibbôr*, 'the mighty god', a cult name of Yahweh in Jerusalem (Isaiah 10:20-21). The verses interpret the personal name Shear-jashub as a reference to the Ephraimite migration to Judah; though experienced as a diaspora by the Israelites, the influx from the North could be qualified as a 'return' from the perspective of a Judahite prophet. Was Judah not the mother nation, the Davidic kingdom, from which the Israelites had separated themselves?[23] Other Isaianic prophecies, too, comment upon the cohabitation of Judahites and Ephraimites which the prophet witnessed in his days. 'Ephraim's jealousy shall vanish and Judah's enmity shall end; Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not harass Ephraim' (Isaiah 11:13). Such peace among the rival nations was possible only because the one had ceased to exist; the presence of the Ephraimite refugees in Judah was celebrated by the prophet as a symbol of the new brotherhood.[24]

In the absence of any direct testimony from the Israelite exiles, the motives and expectations of the first generation of Ephraimite migrants in the South are a matter of conjecture. The exiles did not know that Samaria would never recover its independence and may well have looked upon their stay in Judah as temporary. Most of them, however, never returned to their native soil. Nor did their children or their grandchildren go back to the land of their ancestors. To the second and third generations of the exiles, identity was a matter of concern. They had developed roots in two cultures: born and raised on Judahite soil, they were Israelite by tradition. Unlike their fathers and grandfathers, they knew their stay in Judah was permanent. Yet they did not want to simply abandon their Ephraimite identity. Their search was for a new

---

22 Broshi 1974:26; Stern 1975:35-36.

23 Cf. Cazelles 1982.

24 Cf. Weinfeld 1992:178-179, who interprets Micah 5:1-2 as a meditation upon the presence of Ephraimite refugees in Judah.

identity which would allow them to integrate in their Judahite surroundings without denying their Israelite past.[25]

The biblical records have preserved data about several Ephraimite groups and individuals in diaspora in Judah. The Rechabites are one example of an Ephraimite community on Judahite soil; they will be discussed first. They sought their identity through a seclusion from the contemporary culture; living in the way of nomads, they wanted to revive the devotion of an illusory yet to them very real past. The Deuteronomists are the second group that will be dealt with. Descending from the Levitical orders, they propagated the idea of the nation as a religious community taking the place of the local sacral societies. Under the leadership of Yahweh, Ephraimites and Judahites would be brothers living in a humane and orderly state. The prophet Jeremiah, on whom the discussion of the Ephraimite diaspora will close, had Ephraimite roots, too. He was a contemporary and witness of both the Rechabites and the Deuteronomists. Though he sympathized with both groups, he belonged to neither. Owing to his personal experiences, Jeremiah entertained no hopes for the Israelites as a nation. Identity, to him, was first and foremost personal. Faced with the crisis of the exile, each man—whether from Ephraim or from Judah—stood alone before Yahweh.

The Rechabite Community

One group of Israelites that found refuge in Judah is the community of the Rechabites. The principal source of information about them is Jeremiah 35. This chapter contains the description of a meeting of the prophet with representatives of the Rechabites in the temple at Jerusalem, sometime around 600 BC. Jeremiah brought the clan of the Rechabites ('Jaazaniah the son of Jeremiah, son of Habazziniah, and his brothers, and all his sons, and the whole house of the Rechabites') to the temple, gave them cups and pitchers full of wine, and invited them to drink. The Rechabites refused, saying:

> We drink no wine, for Jehonadab ben Rechab our father gave us a rule: 'You shall drink no wine, neither you nor your sons, for ever. Nor shall you build houses, or sow seeds. Vineyards you shall neither plant nor possess. But you shall dwell in tents all your days, that your days may be many in the land in which you dwell as foreigners.' And we honour the wish of our father Jehonadab ben Rechab, in everything he commanded us: we never drink wine, neither we nor our wives, nor our sons and daughters. Nor do we build houses as our dwelling place. And we possess neither vineyards, nor fields,

---

[25] Cf. Sanders' observation in connection with the fall of Samaria: 'Israel's identity—that is, her memory or story—lay in the hands of those refugees who fled to the south and with their hosts in the south' (Sanders 1972:28).

> nor sowing-land. But we live in tents, and observe and do everything Jehonadab our father commanded us.
>
> Jeremiah 35:6-10

The Rechabites would normally not have been dwelling within a city. They found themselves in Jerusalem because of the military pressure from the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar and his army (Jeremiah 35:11).

The Rechabites who had withdrawn to Jerusalem in the days of Jeremiah considered themselves the physical and the spiritual descendants of Jehonadab ben Rechab ('Jehonadab ben Rechab our father', Jeremiah 35:6). Jehonadab was a contemporary of Jehu (*ca.* 840 BC); he lived in the hill country of Manasseh between Jezreel and Samaria (2 Kings 10:12-17); for all we know, he was a native Israelite. From the personal name of Jehonadab and those borne by his descendants (Jaazaniah, Jeremiah, and Habazziniah) it may be deduced that they worshipped Yahweh (whose name occurs as 'Jeho-' or '-iah' in theophoric names) as their god. The impression is confirmed by the narrative about Jehonadab and Jehu. When Jehu came upon Jehonadab he invited him to come with him to see his 'zeal for Yahweh' (*qinʾātî laYHWH*, 2 Kings 10:16). Jehonadab consented and became an accomplice in the demolition of Baal's temple in Samaria and in the massacre of the god's worshippers (2 Kings 10:18-27). He can be viewed as an exponent of the incipient Yahweh-alone movement in the Northern Kingdom in the days of Elijah and Elisha.

Two-hundred years separate Jehonadab's participation in Jehu's crusade from the moment the Rechabites declined the wine which Jeremiah offered them. Nothing is known about the history of the Rechabites in that period. We can only conclude that at some point during these two centuries the Rechabite community must have moved from Israel to Judah. The Ephraimite origins of the Rechabites are not in doubt. The fact that the First Book of Chronicles associates the Rechabites with the Calebites and the Kenites from South-East Palestine[26] (1 Chronicles 2:55;[27] 4:11.12 [read 'Caleb' for 'Celub', and Rechab for Rechah]) has no historical value. The post-exilic Chronicler knew the Rechabites only as a Judahite group; in his perception they were related to the Calebites and the Kenites on account of their nomadism. The genealogies of the First Book of Chronicles interpret such similarities in terms of descent and kinship.[28] As will be demonstrated

---

[26] For the Kenites see Joshua 15:22.57; Judges 1:16; 4:11; 1 Samuel 15:5-6. The Calebites are located around Hebron and Debir (Joshua 14:6-15; 15:13.14-19; Judges 1:11-15) and in the Negeb (1 Samuel 30:14). On the Calebites see also Noth 1932:110-111; Beltz 1974:64-70.

[27] See Talmon 1958.

[28] For this phenomenon in genealogies see Wilson 1977, with extensive bibliography.

below, the nomadism of the Rechabites was in fact specifically Ephraimite in origin. No precise moment for the Rechabite migration can be fixed; it should in all likelihood be related, however, with the fall of Samaria.

The descendants of Jehonadab had a reputation for their particular lifestyle: they did not use alcohol, live in houses, or practise agriculture. Pursuant to the rule which they believed could be traced back to their ancestor, they led a life that condemned them to social marginality. The motives which led the Rechabites to adhere to a code of conduct that was liable to alienate them from their surroundings have long been a matter of debate among biblical scholars. Very different suggestions have been made. They can be divided over two categories: the one consists of solutions that are based on the conviction that the Rechabites were a religious group or sect, which means that the reasons for their behaviour had a religious inspiration; the other category consists of mundane explanations to the lifestyle of the Rechabites. A survey of some of the proposed interpretations illustrates the range of possibilities.

The interpretation of the Rechabites as a religious sect has been championed by Karl Budde. In an English article in the *New World*, published in 1895, Budde expressed the view that there were several groups in ancient Israel that cherished and propagated the 'nomadic ideal', the Rechabites being one of them. Were the customs of the Rechabites not typically those of the desert? It was during the journey through the wilderness that the people of Israel had dwelt in tents. According to Deuteronomy 29:6, the wandering Israelites had not eaten bread (which would imply the cultivation of grain), nor drunk wine or strong drink. By returning to this nomadic lifestyle, the Rechabites would have hoped to revive the religious purity of the desert. To them, Yahweh was something of a nomad himself: he was a tent-dweller who spurned the settled life of the Canaanite farmers. Even in the days of Jeremiah, the Rechabites continued to be the 'missionaries' (the term is Budde's) of a Yahwistic desert religion.[29]

The interpretation of the Rechabites as a religious group also occurs in different guises. In a study published in 1979 it was argued that the Rechabites were a prophetic school rivalling the one headed by Elisha. Both the Rechabites and the Elisha prophets would have claimed succession to Elijah; the principal difference between the two groups would be the fact that, in the eyes of the Rechabites, the Elisha group had lapsed from the prophetic ideal

---

[29] Budde 1895. The views of Budde have found their way into a wealth of scholarly literature. See especially Meyer 1906:136; Humbert 1921; Flight 1923:167; Humbert 1925; Gautier, L. 1927; Causse 1937:69-70; Dietrich, W. 1979:72-73.

of poverty since they had begun to live in houses. Only the Rechabites would have remained steadfast in their obedience to the standards set by Elijah.[30]

Another interpretation of the Rechabites as a religious group sees them as post-exilic priests on the basis of the affinity between the priestly promise at Jeremiah 33:18 ('and the Levitical priests shall never lack a man in my presence') and the promise to the Rechabites in Jeremiah 35:19 ('Jonadab ben Rechab shall never lack a man to stand in my presence').[31] A further element advanced in support of the parallel between the Rechabites and the Levitical priests is their status as *gērîm*, 'resident aliens': both the Levites (Deuteronomy 18:6) and the Rechabites (Jeremiah 35:7) lived as sojourners (the Hebrew root is גור).

Advocates of a mundane explanation of the behaviour of the Rechabites have come up with a variety of possibilities, too. A view that has won considerable support suggests that the Rechabite mode of life was an occupational pattern, not a religious vocation. Frank S. Frick argues that the Rechabites belonged to 'a guild of metal-workers involved in the making of chariots and other weaponry',[32] a suggestion based on the etymology of their name (compare the words *rōkēb*, 'charioteer', *rakkāb*, 'driver', and *markābâ*, 'chariot')[33] and their genealogical connections.[34] Metallurgists in antiquity were organized in guilds, and a guild functioned more or less like a clan. Owing to the itinerant nature of their work, smiths and metallurgists did not establish a permanent domicile. Their teetotalism, finally, might be explained as a precaution against the inadvertent disclosure of the secret lore of their profession. Though the suggestion that the Rechabites were chariot makers has elicited sceptical comments,[35] the plea for a sociological interpretation of their lifestyle has found favour with a number of authors—though they do not necessarily deny the religious aspects of the Rechabite dissent.[36]

To allow a critical assessment of the suggested solutions, the actual Rule of the Rechabites must be submitted to a closer analysis. It has often been noticed that it displays a striking similarity to the customs that Diodorus Siculus ascribes to the Nabataeans (XIX 94.2-3):

---

30 Cummings 1979.
31 Levenson 1976:510-511.
32 Frick 1971:285.
33 Frick 1971:282-283.
34 Frick 1971:286-287.
35 See, e.g., Dietrich, W. 1979:72 note 6; Keukens 1983. It should be noted that Frick, in his dissertation about the Israelite city (written in 1970, but published in 1977), argues for a link between the Rechabites and the ideology of the 'holy war', rather than to present them as metallurgists.
36 See, e.g., Carroll 1977.

> They lead a life under the open skies, calling the uninhabited desert their homeland (. . .). It is their custom (νόμος) not to sow grain or to plant fruit-bearing trees; nor do they use wine or settle in houses. And whosoever among them is found doing such things is subject to the penalty of death.

The nomadic background of the taboo on wine is confirmed by he votive inscription of a Nabataean horseman at Palmyra. This man dedicated his gift to Šay^{c} al-Qaum, 'the good and bountiful god, who does not drink wine' (*ʾlh ṭbʾ wškrʾ dy lʾ štʾ ḥmr*).[37] It may be assumed that the characteristics of this Arab god reflect those, ideally, of his worshippers.[38]

Viewed against this background, there can be little doubt about the prima facie significance of the Rechabite Rule. The combination of abstinence, a life in tents, and a rejection of agriculture singled out the Rechabites as nomads. This is the way they apparently wished to present themselves to their contemporaries. Does it follow that they were nomads indeed? No—the Rechabites were nomads in the sense that they acted as nomads, but they did so for reasons most nomads would not recognize. The very fact that the lifestyle of the Rechabites was a rule and not a custom demonstrates its artificial character. There was no objective need for the Rechabites to behave in the way they did; it was a lifestyle designed to cope with a life in the desert. Transposed to a different context, it was like an anachronism. Yet the Rechabite code of behaviour was not meaningless. What for real nomads is an economic strategy became a social strategy for the Rechabites. The observance of their Rule demonstrated and protected their identity as a religious minority group.

Indeed, the Rule of the Rechabites had a religious inspiration. The only reason to think that the Rechabites had nomadic origins is furnished by the genealogical notices in the First Book of Chronicles. These are devoid of historical value. The Rechabites themselves observed their lifestyle on the authority of their ancestor Jehonadab. It is quite uncertain, however, whether Jehonadab was the author of the rule. The tradition may have been a later invention that was projected back upon the past in order to endow it with a lustre of antiquity. Yet whether or not Jehonadab had laid down the Rechabite code of conduct, his role in Jehu's reform does shed a light on its

---

37 *CIS* II/3, 3973:4-5, cf. Teixidor 1979:85-86.

38 It is true, of course, that the description of classical authors needs to be used with circumspection. Note, for instance, the rather different picture of the Nabataeans given by Strabo, *Geographica* XVI.i.21. Yet the votive inscription from Palmyra seems to confirm the observations of Diodorus Siculus. Compare also the reports about Amorite nomads in Mesopotamian texts: they dwell in tents, not in houses, eat uncooked food, and do not enjoy the blessings of city life, see Kramer 1990:20, lines 129-139, cf. p. 27 commentary to line 133 (by Jacob Klein).

significance. In the literary tradition, Jehonadab was presented as a zealot for Yahweh; as such, he was associated with the early prophetic orders in the Northern Kingdom. We know the importance which these orders attached to the exodus theology; they were the partisans and transmitters of the Mosaic tradition. Since the Rechabites were one of the groups to have inherited this tradition, their behaviour is best explained as an attempt to preserve and preach the memory of the exodus and the journey through the desert.[39]

The solution here proposed is very similar to the one defended by Budde a century ago. It is therefore open to the same criticisms, the principal one being that there was no 'nomadic ideal' in early Israel.[40] Two major arguments are usually advanced to substantiate the objection. The first consists of a rebuttal of the assumption that Israel had once been a nomadic society. It is argued that modern archaeological and socio-historical research have rendered that idea untenable.[41] The second argument concerns the alleged glorification of the desert by the prophets. It is clear, as various scholars insist, that the biblical evaluation of the forty years in the wilderness is not exactly positive (what was to be a brief transition turned into forty years of wandering owing to the unbelief and ingratitude of the Israelites).[42] Nor can it be maintained that the eschatological ideal of the prophets is nomadic; they rather picture the Messianic future as one in which every peasant sits peacefully under his vine and his fig tree (Micah 4:4, cf. 1 Kings 5:5[4:25]).

The opponents of Budde's interpretation of the Rechabites are right only in part, though. Very few scholars would still maintain that the exodus and the journey through the desert were pan-Israelite experiences, in the sense that all Ephraimites and Judahites had forebears who were part of the group that escaped from Egypt under Moses. Nor will the fact that the early Israelite culture was semi-nomadic at most, and more probably sedentary, be questioned. Yet the issue at stake does not concern the historical reality of Israel's desert experience, but the reality of the identification with the tradition. Since the exodus tradition functioned as the national charter myth in Israel, it must be assumed that major segments of the population gave it credit. To them the tradition was real enough, whatever the historian might find against it.

The flat denial of the presence of a nomadic or desert ideal in the prophetic writings cannot be substantiated. It is true that there was no such thing as a 'nomadic ideal' in Judah. In Israel, however, there was a spiritual

---

39 Cf. Mulder 1990:29.
40 See Talmon 1966; 1984:682-685.
41 Talmon 1966:34-36; 1984:683-684.
42 See Talmon 1966:36-37, 46-49.

current since the days of the early prophets which idealized the period of the wilderness as one of undiluted devotion to Yahweh. To prove the point, it suffices to cite a few texts from the books of Hosea, Amos and Jeremiah—all prophets with Ephraimite connections.[43]

> Therefore, behold, I will convince her to go to the desert (*midbār*) and I will speak to her heart. (...) And there she shall answer as in the days of her youth, as at the time when she came out of the land of Egypt.
>
> Hosea 2:16-17[14-15]

> I am Yahweh your god ever since the land of Egypt: I will again make you dwell in tents, as in the days of the assembly (in the desert).
>
> Hosea 12:10[9]

> I remember the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness, in a land not sown.
>
> Jeremiah 2:2[44]

> Did you bring to me sacrifices and offerings the forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel?
>
> Amos 5:25

> For in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, I did not speak to your fathers or command them concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices.
>
> Jeremiah 7:22

The characterization of the desert as 'a land of drought and deep darkness, where none passes through and where no man dwells' (Jeremiah 2:6) shows that the desert is not blindly idealized in these prophetic utterances. Yet there can be no doubt about their reading of Israel's past: the time of the desert was the time of Israel's youth. Israel's love of Yahweh was still strong and did not need sumptuous offerings to make up for the lack of true devotion.

---

[43] On Hosea and Amos see 'The Exodus as National Charter Myth' in Chapter Twelve. The Ephraimite connection of Jeremiah will be discussed below.

[44] Fox tries to show that the traditional interpretation of the verse is based on a misunderstanding: the *ḥesed* of which the text speaks is the favour shown to Israel by Yahweh (Fox 1973:443-446). It should be translated 'I have maintained for you the kindness of the time of your youth' (Fox 1973:445). Yet even in Fox's interpretation, the time of the Exodus remains the period of the courtship between Yahweh and Israel. Also Talmon concedes that this verse seems to support the theory of the desert ideal (Talmon 1966:53). To say, as Fox does, that the phrase according to which Israel went after Yahweh in the desert 'is simply another way of saying that Yahweh went before Israel, i.e. led her in the desert' (Fox 1973:446) is definitely wrong. The emphasis does lie on the willingness with which Israel followed her divine husband.

Such a reading of the journey through the desert can only be understood from the perspective of the exodus tradition as it was known in the Northern Kingdom.[45] The Rechabites stood in this—specifically Ephraimite—tradition; as migrants from the former Northern Kingdom they used it as a focus of their identity in the South.

Subcultures such as certain youth groups furnish us with a parallel to the Rechabites. Sociological research among such groups shows that they too often practise rites of style that are meant to mark their distance from the dominant culture; they signal their separate identity. Their behaviour, consisting of a code of dress, speech, and social manners, is a form of non-political—in fact, ritual—resistance.[46] What links such youth cultures to the Rechabites is their minority position. They act the way they do because they are not in a position of power. That is why the need for self-assertion is strong, and the chances to exercise political influence are small. In the case of such youth subcultures, the dissent is often social as well as ideological. The resemblance with the Rechabites is striking. There is no way of telling whether or not the forebears of Jehonadab ben Rechab had participated in the historical exodus experience. Centuries later, at any rate, the Rechabites cultivated the exodus myth in pursuit of an identity that would hold them together as a group in a society that was otherwise liable to assimilate them.

In the transmission of Jehonadab's rule, religion and lifestyle combined to create and maintain the group identity. Group beliefs and group behaviour were closely interwoven. It was nearly impossible to abolish one element without damaging the other. The austere code of conduct was not without consequences for the nature of the Rechabites as a group. Its identity was no longer founded on common descent, but on the collective observation of a specific ritualized behaviour. Considering the small number of Rechabites in Jeremiah's days (assuming the indications in Jeremiah 35 may be relied upon), there must have been people of Rechabite descent who no longer belonged to the Rechabite community. When Rechabite lifestyle came to determine Rechabite identity, those who rejected the lifestyle lost the identity. There may have been others, however, though not being from a Rechabite lineage, who joined the group by submitting to its discipline. The relations between members of the community were still described in terms of kinship: the Rechabites were a 'house' with a 'father' (Jeremiah 35:1-11). Yet the terminology cannot obscure the fact that the society of the Rechabites had

---

[45] It may be noted in passing that the positive evaluation of the wilderness is also found in Deuteronomy 8, which pleads in favour of the thesis which says that Deuteronomy has Northern roots, cf. McCurley 1974:302 and see below.

[46] See Hall & Jefferson 1976:47; Hebdige 1979:17-19, 133.

taken on the characteristics of a religious community—or a religious sect, to use a much-abused term.[47]

The Deuteronomists

The impact on Judahite—and later Jewish—religion of the second group of Ephraimite refugees to be discussed here was far greater than that of the Rechabites. This group, known as the Deuteronomic movement,[48] owes its name to the Book of Deuteronomy which is presumed to have originated in its midst. Yet the Deuteronomists not only bequeathed the Book of Deuteronomy to later generations; they were also responsible for the edition of the Deuteronomistic History, which runs from Deuteronomy to the Second Book of Kings. The movement was active for a considerable length of time, from 700 to 550 and probably after that as well. In the context of the present study, the focus of the investigation will lie on the Deuteronomists as they manifested themselves in the Book of Deuteronomy—which itself reflects various phases in the development of the Deuteronomic movement. By nearly common consent, the core of the Book of Deuteronomy is late pre-exilic. It must have existed in a somewhat different form than the one it has today by the end of the seventh century BC.[49]

The idea of the Ephraimite origin of the Book of Deuteronomy was not seriously considered in biblical scholarship until the 1920s. The ruling opinion of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries saw the book as

---

[47] Thus, e.g., Montgomery & Gehman 1951:411. It is as a religious group, it seems, that the Rechabites surface again in sources dealing with the Period of the Second Temple. The prime witness for this development is, once again, to be found in Jeremiah 35. The promise to the Rechabites in Jeremiah 35:18-19 is most likely post-exilic (Cornill 1905:386-387; Abramsky 1967; 1971; McKane 1988). It refers to the religious prerogatives of the Rechabites in the post-exilic priestly state. The specific capacity in which they were active is in doubt: Abramsky regards them as sect similar to the later Essenes (Abramsky 1967); Kittel believes they were scribes (Kittel 1905:482); and McKane thinks they were a group of priests (McKane 1988). *Targum Jonathan* interprets the promise as a reference to sacerdotal service (Sperber 1992[2]:220 *l' ypswq gbr lywndb br rykb mšmyš qdmy kl ywmy'*), and Jewish tradition has it that the Rechabites came to be connected with the temple by connubial ties with priestly families. The specific reference to the Rechabites in the Greek version of Psalm 70 (LXX Psalm 71) probably means that post-exilic tradition situated the Rechabites in circles of the Levite temple singers. Rechabite cult personnel are also referred to in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (II.23.17). Though the scattered data are not unanimous, they do suggest that the Rechabites survived as a religious community. For a survey of late and post-biblical references see Pope 1962:16; Abramsky 1967.

[48] So, e.g., Moshe Weinfeld in a study about 'the emergence of the Deuteronomic movement' (Weinfeld 1985). The term 'movement' is to be preferred over 'school' and 'current', the one being associated with intellectualism, the other implying the absence of any organization.

[49] On the date of Deuteronomy and its original form see Loersch 1967; McCurley 1974:295-297; Preuss 1982:26-45.

the product of priests from Jerusalem; they were the brains behind the Reform of Josiah in 622 BC. Following a hypothesis first formulated by De Wette,[50] and adopted and elaborated by Graf[51] and Wellhausen,[52] most scholars believed that the Deuteronomic law (Deuteronomy 5-26, 28) was identical with 'the book of the law' allegedly 'found', but actually written, under the reign of King Josiah (2 Kings 22:1-20). The principal reason for the identification is the cult centralization which Deuteronomy propagated and Josiah carried out. Since Josiah's reform can be dated in 622, the Book of Deuteronomy (or rather its core) must have been composed shortly before. Its authors were sought among the clergy of the Jerusalem temple on the principle of *cui bono*: they seemed to be the principal ones who stood to gain from the reform. In its own days, this classical tenet of critical scholarship was quite revolutionary, since it assumed that the Mosaic paternity of the book was a fraud—however pious the intentions of its authors.

Since the 1920s, however, an increasing number of authors have argued, on the basis of the content of Deuteronomy, that the book has Northern roots.[53] The arguments which the proponents of the Ephraimite interpretation offer in support of their thesis are quite diverse. They point to the religious importance attached to Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim (Deuteronomy 11:26-32; 27; cf. Joshua 8:30-35),[54] and identify the underlying tradition as stemming from the Northern Kingdom.[55] They observe that the ideas and terminology of Deuteronomy betray affinity with those of the Ephraimite Book of Hosea.[56] They draw attention to the homiletic tone of Deuteronomy, which they interpret as the written reflection of the preaching of groups of Levites.[57] These, as various scholars have argued, were Levites from the North.[58] Several authors detect congeniality between the Deuteronomic ideal of kingship (Deuteronomy 17:14-20) and the Northern theocratic ideology.[59]

---

50 de Wette 1806. On possible influences on de Wette see Paul, M. J. 1985.

51 Graf 1866:1-2 and passim.

52 Wellhausen 1889^{2}:189-210; 1905^{6}:32-34.

53 First suggested by Burney 1918:xlvi note. Accepted and elaborated by Welch 1924; Hempel 1930:139; Albright 1946^{2}:241; Danell 1946:52-58; von Rad 1947:47; Cazelles 1951; Galling 1951; Alt 1953; Cazelles 1966:820-821; 1966^{3}:13-14; Loersch 1967:88-94; Nicholson 1967:58-82; Lindblom 1971:50-54; Weinfeld 1972:366-370; Ginsberg 1982:19-24; Weinfeld 1985; 1991:44-57. For a survey of the question see McCurley 1974.

54 Thus, e.g., Nielsen 1978:82-83; Weinfeld 1985:76-83.

55 See, e.g., Weinfeld 1991:10-11.44, who points to Shechem as the seat of the tradition. Note also the positive appreciation of the 'altar of Yahweh' at Shechem elsewhere in the Hexateuch (Joshua 24:26; Genesis 35:4); see also McCurley 1974:302-303.

56 See e.g. Alt 1953:267-273; Nicholson 1967:70; Weinfeld 1972:366-370; McCurley 1974:298-302; Ginsberg 1982:19-24.

57 See von Rad 1947:46-47.

58 Wolff 1956:93; Gunneweg 1965:70-71 and n. 5; Lindblom 1971:19-20.

59 Galling 1951; Alt 1953:266-267; García López 1985:291-293. Contrast Caquot

And in the train of these arguments, scholars have adduced a multitude of minor considerations all pointing to the North as the place of origin of the Deuteronomic ideology.[60]

Not all of these arguments are equally convincing; some of them, however, bear considerable weight. The special mention of Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim does not fit a Judahite origin; nor can the resemblance of ideas and terminology between Deuteronomy and Hosea be easily brushed aside. When the one observation is added to the other, the sum-total of arguments in favour of a Northern origin of Deuteronomy amounts to compelling evidence.[61] It is supported by the absence of some typically Judahite tenets, such as the role of the Davidic dynasty and the dogma of Zion's inviolability.[62] In fact, the entire design of the book bears the mark of an Ephraimite ideology. The book is in large measure a pseudepigraph, since it presents itself as a valedictory address by Moses spoken on the eve of the entry into the Promised Land. The ideological framework of the book, then, depends on the Ephraimite Moses tradition. The presence of the exodus motif, coupled with the notion of Israel's election (familiar from the Book of Hosea), is another indication to the effect that Deuteronomy had its roots in the Northern Kingdom.

The fact remains, however, that there is a close connection between Deuteronomy and Josiah's reform.[63] Though the thesis of a complete identity between Deuteronomy and Josiah's book of the law has lost the general plausibility it once seemed to have,[64] no one denies the Deuteronomic spirit of Josiah's reform or the Josianic spirit of the Deuteronomic programme: the book and the reform reflect a similar focus on Jerusalem as the place 'which Yahweh will choose' as the one centre of legitimate worship. The special role reserved for Jerusalem would seem to invalidate the claim that Deutero-

---

1959:33; Lindblom 1971:50-52.

60 Thus, e.g., some of the historical perspectives and geographical horizons noted by Nielsen 1978; the demythologizing of the ark, for which see Lindblom 1971:52-53 (with relevant literature mentioned in n. 63). Weinfeld 1985:83-84 points to the condemnation of astral worship and the polemics against angel worship. Various authors observe similarities in outlook and phraseology between Deuteronomy and the Elohistic strata in the Pentateuch, e.g., Hempel 1930:139.

61 *Pace* Bächli 1962:181-206, esp. 203-206, who makes a case for the ideological and topographical origin of Deuteronomy in Judah.

62 See Lindblom 1971:52-53.

63 On the relationship between the two see Robinson, D. W. B. 1951; Lohfink 1963; Rowley 1963a:161; Clements 1968:18-25; Lindblom 1971; Lundblom 1976; Dietrich, W. 1977; Preuss 1982:1-12.

64 An obvious example concerns the position of the Levites in the Jerusalem cult. According to Deuteronomy 18:6-8 Levites were free to go to Jerusalem and serve in the temple; in the report of Josiah's reform, however, Levites were compelled to go to Jerusalem and had no right of priesthood (2 Kings 23:8-9).

nomy originated in the North. Why should Ephraimites preach a religious programme from which the Judahite clergy stood to benefit in the first place? To suggest that Deuteronomy 12:1-7 is an 'addition to the original code' because it seems to contradict the hypothesis of Deuteronomy's Northern origin merely proves that partiality to a hypothesis is a peril to the faculty of sound judgment.[65] In view of its emphasis on cult centralization, the Book of Deuteronomy was in all likelihood conceived and written in Jerusalem. Also judging by its language, 'the origin of Deuteronomy was more likely in Jerusalem than in the country.'[66]

It has become clear in the course of this chapter, however, that Deuteronomy's Northern roots are not incompatible with its being conceived and written in Jerusalem. The apparent conflict between the two postulated origins of Deuteronomy dissolves once the book's intellectual authors are identified as descendants of the refugees from the North.[67] They were migrants, of the second or third generation perhaps, but still aware of their Northern roots. Like the Rechabites, they had to find an identity amidst a religious culture that was both like and unlike their own. The Book of Deuteronomy can be viewed as their attempt to provide the later generations of Ephraimite exiles with a new identity. Rooted in the spiritual milieu of the Levites and the prophets,[68] the Deuteronomists sought to transform the traditional patterns of Israelite family religion into a personal devotion to Yahweh as the national god. They promoted the written law as the focus of a national identity. The new national identity which they preached was to take the place of the local and genealogical identities which many Israelites had held onto until then.

The milieu in which Deuteronomy was written and transmitted can be circumscribed and defined with greater precision on the basis of an analysis of some of the book's central sections and leading ideas. The composition and structure of the book are a first lead; they show that the authors saw themselves as standing in the Mosaic tradition. By presenting their work as a

---

65 *Pace* Welch 1924:194.

66 Lohfink 1976:229.

67 So Cazelles 1966:821; Nicholson 1967:94 ('... Deuteronomy originated among a northern circle who fled south to Judah after the destruction of the northern kingdom in 721 B.C. and there formulated their old traditions into a programme of reform and revival which they intended to be carried out by the Judaean authorities'); Clements 1968:22-23; Nebeling 1970 (for which see Preuss 1982:40); McCurley 1974:312.

68 So Weippert, H. 1981:92 n. 40, who stresses the involvement of prophets *and* Levites. Many other authors mention just one of these two groups, cf., e.g., Nicholson 1967:76, according to whom Deuteronomy derives ultimately from 'the teaching of the prophetic party in northern Israel'. The distinction between Ephraimite Levites and Ephraimite prophets was never very sharp, though. See on their connection Chapter Twelve.

farewell address of Moses they claimed Mosaic authority; he was their founding father. The link between the Deuteronomic movement and Moses is dealt with, somewhat covertly, in a crucial passage about the authority of prophets (Deuteronomy 18:15-22).[69] Having set out the dangers of fortune-telling and necromancy, the Deuteronomists give a characterization of the true prophet:

> Yahweh your god will raise up a prophet from your midst,
> from among your brothers, one like me;
> To him you shall listen.
> Just as you asked of Yahweh your god,
> at Horeb on the day of the assembly:
> 'I cannot bear to listen to the voice of Yahweh my god,
> nor continue to see this great fire, lest I die.'
> And Yahweh said to me: 'They are right in what they say;
> I shall raise up for them a prophet from among their brothers, one like you.
> And I shall give my words in his mouth,
> and he shall speak to them all that I command him.'
>
> Deuteronomy 18:15-18

Though later traditions have understood these verses as a Messianic prophecy, their original meaning is iterative. They have Moses predict that God will periodically raise up a prophet 'like him', that is, a prophet whose behaviour and functions are like those of Moses.[70] This is not one Messianic figure, but a series of prophets, holding the Mosaic authority, who will continue and complement Moses' work.[71]

Formulated as a *vaticinium*, the text about the Mosaic prophets is in fact a self-reference of the authors of Deuteronomy designed to legitimize their work: because they were prophets 'like Moses', they were entitled to speak and write in Moses' name. This is a case of a literary work producing its own credentials. A similar phenomenon is found in the Gospel of John, whose author has Jesus announce the coming of the Holy Spirit who will bring to remembrance all that Jesus once said (John 14:26). The implicit claim is that every word the author put into Jesus' mouth was brought to his

---

[69] See Seitz 1971:306. Seitz ascribes Deuteronomy 18:9-16 to the hand of the Deuteronomic compiler of the earliest collections of laws who was active around 700 BC, and had his roots in the prophetic orders of the Northern Kingdom (Seitz 1971:306-308). Others have qualified Deuteronomy 18:15-22 as secondary, see, e.g., Eissfeldt 1976[4]:300; McCurley 1974:305; Fohrer 1979[12]:189. It should not be overlooked, however, that Deuteronomy 18:9-22 closes a larger unit running from 16:18 to 18:22; it is arbitrary to single out one portion as secondary on account of the special value attached to Moses. In fact, the role of Moses as father of the prophets is well attested in the Ephraimite tradition. For a fuller discussion see Wilson 1980:157-166.

[70] Wilson 1980:162.

[71] Nicholson 1967:77; Perlitt 1971:597.

memory by the Spirit. In both cases, the problem concerns the authority of human words; having no such authority in themselves, they must win the acceptance of the community of believers by a reference to an undisputed authority as their ultimate author. In the vision of the Deuteronomic movement, Moses was invested with such undisputed authority. By their appeal to him as spiritual ancestor, they pretended a connection that might be illusory from a historical point of view, but which they certainly perceived as real.

The Deuteronomic movement produced a law code as a focus of identity. By tracing its origins back to Moses, they continued and transformed a tradition of centuries. One of the first defenders of the Northern origin of Deuteronomy wrote that 'the Deuteronomic code is the outcome and one expression of that religious and national movement which rose in Benjamin and Ephraim, and which in its beginning is associated with the personality of Samuel.'[72] The religious traditions in the North were more diversified than this quotation suggests. By their appeal to the Mosaic tradition, including their use of the exodus motif, the Deuteronomists betrayed their affinity with the Levitical orders. This affinity explains, too, why they displayed such special interest in the right of the Levites to serve as priests at the central shrine (Deuteronomy 18:6-8). On the other hand, the qualification of Moses as a prophet is evidence of their connection with the prophetic orders led by such men as Elisha. In a previous chapter the close links between these prophetic orders and the Levitical orders has been pointed out.[73] The Deuteronomists were indeed the heirs of these Israelite orders. The Cycle of Elijah narratives, written and transmitted in these very circles, shows that literary activity was part of their tradition. It is this aspect in particular which the Deuteronomists continued to cultivate.

The promotion of the law of Moses as a focus of identity is coupled in Deuteronomy with a strong and systematic opposition against the traditional forms of Israelite family religion. The cult of the ancestors is combated by the prohibition to offer sacrifices to the dead (Deuteronomy 26:14) or to participate in funerary rites of mourning (Deuteronomy 14:1; 26:14). Indirectly, the ban on necromancy (Deuteronomy 18:10-11) is also directed against the veneration of the dead. In a situation where the inheritance of the fathers has become inaccessible, Deuteronomy attempts to eradicate the cult of the ancestors altogether. In the Deuteronomic version of the law concerning the

---

72 Welch 1924:206.

73 See Chapter Twelve. It is hardly correct to say that Deuteronomy cannot stem from Levitical circles because it goes back, in the final analysis, to the prophetic party (*pace* Nicholson 1967:73-76). In the Israelite tradition, the distinction between Levites and prophets was never very sharp: such figures as Samuel and Elijah were both priests ('Levites') and prophets.

manumitted slave who wishes to stay with his master, the statues of the ancestors ('the gods', Exodus 21:6) have disappeared from the homes of the Israelites (Deuteronomy 15:17). The place of the 'memorial' (*zikkārôn*) for the dead 'behind the door and the doorpost' (Isaiah 57:8) has been taken by portions of the law written on the doorposts of the house (Deuteronomy 11:20).

The second aspect of Israelite family religion, viz. the devotion to a local patron god, is combated by the implicit designation of Jerusalem as the single legitimate place of worship (Deuteronomy 12) and by the absolute prohibition of divine images (e.g., Deuteronomy 4:16-18. 23. 25; 7:25-26). The promotion of one sanctuary at the expense of all others stigmatized all expressions of family religion at cult centres of the clan. It is based on a mono-Yahwism of which Moses is presented as the prophet. In due course it led to the imposition of a national religion as the only admitted form of religious involvement. The ban on divine statues led to a situation in which the ancient rites and symbols of family religion, once openly tolerated, were increasingly condemned to secrecy (cf. Deuteronomy 27:15).

In more than one regard, the message of Deuteronomy is one of demythologization and secularization.[74] By enlarging the realm of the profane, the Deuteronomists sought to rob family religion of its rationale. A case in point is the consumption of meat. The Succession Narrative intimates that the early Israelites were wont to celebrate an annual sacrificial meal for the lineage group in its town of origin (1 Samuel 20:6, 28-29). Deuteronomy displays familiarity with such locally celebrated family feasts. Yet it rules that the occasion does not require one to be ritually clean ('the unclean and the clean alike may eat of it', Deuteronomy 12:15.22). Animal meat is declared profane; it can be enjoyed without having been dedicated to God. Another example of secularization is the abolition of sacral courts, counterbalanced by the appointment of state judges in every city (Deuteronomy 16:18-20).[75] As Weinfeld observes, 'guilt and innocence were no longer established through sacral media but by human magistrates.'[76] In the wake of these measures the local sanctuaries, so the Deuteronomists hoped, would lose their function and eventually become obsolete.

The Deuteronomic crusade against family religion was not limited to the condemnation of the ancestor cult and the worship of 'alien gods'. In order to eradicate family religion and its attendant polytheism, a new social climate had to be created. One way in which the Deuteronomic movement sought to

---

74 See Weinfeld 1972:190-243.
75 Weinfeld 1972:233-236.
76 Weinfeld 1972:234.

attain this objective was by emphasizing the principle of individual responsibility. Over and against the widespread view that the *mišpāḥâ* had a joint responsibility in matters moral and religious (cf. Leviticus 20:5; Joshua 7:14. 24), Deuteronomy stresses that every man is accountable for his own sin (Deuteronomy 24:16) and that the demand for loyalty to Yahweh outweighs the call for solidarity with one's kin group and associates (Deuteronomy 13:6). This break with the traditional values of the expanded family eroded the very foundations of family religion. The Deuteronomic type of religiosity was geared to the needs of the nuclear family.

The social ideals of the Deuteronomists had important consequences for the religious position of women. Whereas the participation in religious celebrations had been limited to men (1 Samuel 9:22; cf. Exodus 23:17), Deuteronomy pictures the visit to the temple as an event involving the women of the family as well as the men ('Together with your households, you shall feast before Yahweh', 'And you shall rejoice before Yahweh your god with your sons and daughters and with your male and female slaves ...', Deuteronomy 12:7.12). The Deuteronomistic description of Elkanah's annual visit to Shiloh reflects the ideal of its authors: Elkanah makes the pilgrimage to the sanctuary in the company of his wives and children; Hannah and Peninnah receive portions of meat on the occasion (1 Samuel 1:4-5).[77] Owing to the new religious climate women had greater opportunities for personal devotion than before. Whereas formerly the man would visit the sanctuary to intercede on behalf of his childless wife (Genesis 25:21), women were now free to pray for offspring themselves (1 Samuel 1:9-18).

Later in the history of the Deuteronomic movement, issues of authority and legitimacy became an increasing concern; hence the vigorous emphasis on the authority of the written law in the sections that were secondarily added to Deuteronomy. The fact that a later Deuteronomic editor refers to Moses as a prophet whose like has never since arisen (Deuteronomy 34:10) is immediately related to his activity as a law-giver: Moses is celebrated as the greatest prophet because he was 'the lawgiver par excellence'.[78] Owing to the law there was no longer any room for scepticism about God's commandment. Playing upon a proverbial expression about human ignorance and divine caprice, the later Deuteronomists insisted that God's command was neither in heaven nor beyond the sea. Due to its codification, it was

---

[77] The notion of Shiloh as the forerunner to Jerusalem is a classic in the Deuteronomistic ideology, see Chapter 10, n. 39.

[78] Weinfeld 1972:151. In the terminology of the Deuteronomists, the 'prophet' was no longer a dispenser of oracles but a teacher and interpreter of the law, see Perlitt 1971:598. Nicholson 1967:79 fails to take the semantic shift of the term into account.

within the reach of every Israelite (Deuteronomy 30:11-14).[79] The written law has divine authority; in this respect, the Deuteronomic narrative of the revelation of the Decalogue is a paradigm of the canonical status of the entire Book of Deuteronomy, which in a sense was the first canonical book of the Bible.[80]

The canonical value which the Deuteronomic movement attached to the written law must be understood against the background of the experience of the exile—of the Ephraimites first and the Judahites later. The Israelite refugees were a people which had lost its traditional foci of identity. The earlier symbols of identification—the homestead, the local Bamah, ancestral graves, local shrines, and national sanctuaries—were inaccessible; the refugees looked for new symbols. The Rechabites found such a symbol of identity in their code of behaviour; the Deuteronomists found it in a code of law. This was a symbol which could easily be multiplied; in the form of Tephillim, it was literally portable and transportable. Whatever the circumstances, the faithful would not be without God's words. These words could be committed to memory, to be pondered and savoured at all times and in all places. The canon could serve as a symbol of religious identity for a people in diaspora.[81]

The Deuteronomic conception of the law was not a complete innovation; the Northern Kingdom had a tradition of written laws that were attributed to Yahweh (Hosea 8:12).[82] The genius of the later Deuteronomists consisted in the combination of this tradition with the theme of the divine presence. In their vision, God himself had become accessible, not by means of an image or a holy place, but under the form of written words. Nourished by the Levitical anti-iconic tradition, the Deuteronomists made the law take the place of the icon. According to Deuteronomy 10:1-5, Moses had to put the tablets of God's law in the ark. Weinfeld interprets this passage as a reduction of the religious significance of the ark, saying that 'the holiest vessel of the Israelite cult performs, in the Deuteronomic view, nothing more than an educational function: it houses the tablets upon which the words of God are engraved ...'.[83] It is tempting to reverse Weinfeld's line of reasoning. The

---

79 See Greenspahn 1994, esp. p. 35.

80 See Clements 1968:23-25, 89-105.

81 The role of the canon in providing an identity to the community of its readers has been particularly emphasized in the work of James A. Sanders, see Sanders 1972; 1984; 1987.

82 One should note, in this connection, the correspondences between Deuteronomy and the Covenant Code, see Holzinger 1893:302-303; von Rad 1964:8-9; McCurley 1974:303. Lindblom 1971:54 interprets the connection between Deuteronomy and the Covenant Code as evidence of Deuteronomy's Northern roots.

83 Weinfeld 1991:39 (which reproduces Weinfeld 1972:208).

ark owed its holiness to the fact that it fulfilled the same function for the Israelites as the divine image for the nations.[84] When it became a shrine for the revealed Word of God, its new function did not diminish its holiness; the written law had in effect taken the place of the image.[85]

The promulgation of a book as an identity symbol also had implications for the identity of the Deuteronomists themselves. If the image of the Israelites painted in Deuteronomy bears any resemblance to its authors, the latter must have liked to think of themselves as scholars ('wise men' and 'scribes' in the jargon of those days).[86] Scholarship being a form of devotion, it could be seen as the proper form of worship when God becomes accessible in a book. And when that book is a book of law, the ideal scholar is a lawyer. The Deuteronomic portrait of the ideal king is significant in this connection. Though the text echoes some of the traditional Northern tenets about kingship,[87] the portrait of the king as a legal scholar is new:[88]

> And when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, he shall write for himself in a book a copy of this law (...); and it shall be with him, and he shall read in it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear Yahweh his god, by keeping all the words of this law and these statutes, and by doing them.
>
> Deuteronomy 18:18-19

Scholarly activities have been ascribed to kings before: Solomon was famous for his knowledge and wisdom, and Assyrian kings boasted that they had academical training and were as wise as Adapa. Yet the ideal of kingship that is presented here is unprecedented. The ideal king is a law student who does not seem to rule. The Deuteronomists apparently wanted a king who was like themselves, just as Plato wanted a philosopher for king.

The scholarly orientation of Deuteronomy is evident, too, in its emphasis on wisdom and the role of the 'wise men'.[89] A key text, in this connection, is found in the introductory section that was later added to the book. Observance of the law is presented as the highest form of wisdom:

---

84 See van der Toorn & Houtman 1994:216-217 (with further bibliography).

85 There is an unmistakable similarity between the devotion to the Torah in a modern synagogue service (the opening of the shrine, the display of the Torah to the congregation, and the kisses which the faithful bestow on the book) and the devotion to the divine image in both ancient and modern times.

86 Cf. Jeremiah 8:8. There is no fundamental difference between *ḥăkāmîm* and *sōpĕrîm*, see Weinfeld 1972:158 n. 4, *pace* Brekelmans 1990^2:36-37.

87 Cf. Galling 1951. Clements 1968:40-42 notes an anti-Judahite edge in the Deuteronomic law of the king, since it deliberately ignores the royal Davidic ideology.

88 Note that García López 1985:287, 296 attributes *vv.* 18-19 to an exilic or post-exilic redaction of Deuteronomy.

89 See Weinfeld 1972:158-162, 244-319; Frymer-Kensky 1990:280-285.

> For that will be your wisdom and your intelligence in the sight of the peoples, who on hearing all these rules will say: Surely, that is a great nation, and a wise and intelligent people!
>
> Deuteronomy 4:6

The verse reflects the scribal milieu of the Deuteronomic movement, on the one hand; it presents an ideal for the Israelites as a nation, on the other. In the vision of the later Deuteronomists all Israelites are potentially students of the law. The rules and cases are meant for instruction: they are to be copied and studied, and transmitted by the fathers to their children (Deuteronomy 4:9; 6:7, 20; 11:19; 31:12-13). The piety which Deuteronomy promotes is a piety of learning, which means that the school has taken the place of the sanctuary as the true setting of devotion.

Neither the emergence of the Deuteronomic movement nor its development can be properly understood without taking into account the diaspora experience of both Ephraimites and Judahites. Though the religious orders in which the earliest Deuteronomists were rooted had developed a scholarly tradition well before the fall of Samaria (witness, e.g., the Elijah Cycle), the migration to Judah dramatically reinforced their literary orientation. In the period of Hezekiah the proto-Deuteronomists presented themselves as a new class, distinguished from its predecessors by the emphasis they put on writing.[90] The Deuteronomic identity was a scribal identity because the written word was one of the few religious symbols that survived the fall of Samaria. The exiles who wished to remain in touch with their own religious tradition had little else but the verbal reflection of that tradition to hold on to. The Deuteronomic movement made a virtue of necessity by producing a codified tradition which was presented as a Mosaic exegesis of a divine revelation.

The movement owed much of its success, also among the Judahite population, to the fact that it was congenitally adapted to the situation of a religious community in exile. Owing to the physical separation from their inheritance (where their god had his shrine and their ancestors their graves), many Israelites proved receptive to the new paradigm of religious identity that the Deuteronomists proposed. The Ephraimite migration to the South was a precedent for the Judahite exile in Babylonia; the orientation on the codified law as a symbol of identity had been feasible for the Samarian exiles; it would prove to be so for the Judahite exiles too. In fact, the core of the biblical canon was born out of the experience of the exile and the existential need for identity.[91]

---

90 Weinfeld 1972:161.

91 See Sanders 1972:91-98.

Jeremiah

The Rule of the Rechabites and the Law of Deuteronomy were both attempts to create a new focus of identity in a situation where the traditional foci of identity had been lost. Jeremiah was witness to both attempts; he was in sympathy with the former, and had affinity with the latter. Yet the prophet himself was neither a Rechabite nor a member of the Deuteronomic movement. Under the influence of his personal experience, he formulated his own answer to the problem of the Israelite identity.

According to the description of Jeremiah's meeting with representatives of the Rechabites in the temple at Jerusalem, sometime around 600 BC, the prophet admired their stubborn allegiance to ancestral custom. He set the Rechabites as an example for the Judahites and the inhabitants of Jerusalem:

> Will you not accept a correction, and listen to my words?—oracle of Yahweh. The command which Jehonadab ben Rechab gave to his sons, to drink no wine, has been kept; to this very day they do not drink, because they listened to the command of their father. Now I have spoken to you without pause, but you did not listen to me. (...) Really, the sons of Jehonadab ben Rechab have kept the command of their father, which he gave them—but this people has not listened to me.
>
> Jeremiah 35:13-16

Jeremiah's admiration should not be interpreted as an endorsement of the Rechabite identity. He used the observance of the Rechabites as an example: if the Rechabites kept the command of their human father (i.e., ancestor), why could not the Judahites and the inhabitants of Jerusalem keep the commands of Yahweh whose word was far superior to that of any human father? Nothing is implied about the intrinsic value of Jehonadab's rule. Jeremiah was not a Rechabite himself: he owned a field at Anathoth (Jeremiah 32:9), and was opposed to neither house-building nor agriculture (Jeremiah 29:5).

Jeremiah's affinity with the Deuteronomic answer to the problem of the identity of the Ephraimite exiles may be inferred from a series of parallel expressions and ideas in Deuteronomy and the Book of Jeremiah.[92] Note, for instance, their common condemnation of the cult of 'foreign gods' (*ʾelōhîm ʾaḥērîm*, 18 occurrences in Deuteronomy, 19 occurrences in Jeremiah)[93] and their recognition of the need for a 'circumcision of the heart' (Deuteronomy 10:16; 30:6; Jeremiah 4:4; 9:25). Notwithstanding the

---

92 On the relationship between the Book of Jeremiah and Deuteronomy see Cazelles 1951.

93 The expression is also found at Hosea 3:1 and was apparently part of the vocabulary of Ephraimite prophetic-Levitical circles.

correspondences between the Deuteronomic programme and Jeremiah's message, however, the prophet cannot be reckoned a member of the Deuteronomic movement. In fact, he does not hide his disapproval of the Deuteronomic scholars.

> How can you say 'We are wise men, and the Law of Yahweh is with us'?
> —behold, the deceitful pen of the scribes has turned it into a lie.
>
> Jeremiah 8:8

Since the end of the 19th century many commentators have understood this verse as a reference to the book of Deuteronomy.[94] Though it is possible that another law code is referred to, the accusation is certainly addressed to circles that were congenial to, if not identical with, the one that produced the Book of Deuteronomy.[95] Jeremiah was at one with the Deuteronomic movement in emphasizing the importance of obedience to Yahweh's *tôrâ* (Jeremiah 6:19; 9:13; 16:11), but he loathed the self-confidence derived from the mere possession of a *tôrâ* written by human hand and attributed to Yahweh.[96]

Jeremiah's sympathy for the Rechabites and his affinity with the Deuteronomists are rooted in the Northern descent which he had in common with both groups. The superscription of the Book of Jeremiah identifies the prophet as the son of Hilkiah and as a member of one of the priestly families from the town of Anathoth in the territory of Benjamin, on the border between Judah and Israel. Though there had been Israelite priestly families at Anathoth since the days of King Solomon (1 Kings 2:26-27),[97] their number will have increased after the fall of Samaria. The career of Amos, a Judahite prophet who worked for some time at the temple of Bethel, is evidence of the possibility for religious men from Judah to exercise a ministry in the sister nation of Israel. Around the time Israel was defeated, the movement took the inverse direction. Important groups of priests from such Ephraimite sanctuaries as Bethel sought employment in Judahite temples, most notably the one in Jerusalem.

---

[94] See, e.g., Duhm 1901:88-89, who acknowledges Karl Marti as the author of this view, laid down in *Der Prophet Jeremia von Anatot*, published in 1889 (inaccessible to me).

[95] Cf. Kennett 1905:183-184.

[96] Gilbert 1981:110-112 emphasizes that the verse is directed against the people of Judah who glorified in their wisdom because they possessed the written law; the attack would not be against the Deuteronomists, but against a certain reception of their work. The same understanding of the verse underlies the NJPS translation 'Assuredly, for naught has the pen labored, for naught the scribes!' The interpretation is far from certain in view of the reference to the 'deceitful pen of the scribes' (*ʿēṭ šeqer sōpĕrîm*). If accepted, it would nevertheless imply that the prophet dissociates himself of the effects of the work of the Deuteronomists. On the interpretation of Jeremiah 8:8 see also Weinfeld 1972:158-161.

[97] Cf. Jepsen 1981:321.

An important indication of the historical impact of the priestly refugees from the North on the Judahite clergy is the fact that the post-exilic texts of Ezra (7:1-5) and the First Book of Chronicles (5:30-34; 6:35-38; 24:3.6.31) trace the ancestry of Zadok through the Aaronites. Zadok is the eponymous ancestor of the Jerusalem priesthood. Historically, there was no connection between the Zadokites and Aaron. The Zadokite priesthood had its roots in the Jebusite clergy which served in Jerusalem before the city was turned into the capital of the Kingdom of Judah.[98] Aaron, on the other hand, was the official ancestor (whether real or fictitious) of the Bethel priesthood.[99] The secondary transformation of the Zadokites into Aaronites was necessitated by the transfer of the clergy from Bethel and its affiliated sanctuaries to Jerusalem after the Assyrian invasion. Jeremiah was a descendant of these migrated priests from the former Northern Kingdom; his prophecies display knowledge of the Ephraimite traditions and a special interest for the fate of the Northern exiles (notably in the Book of Consolation, Jeremiah 30-31).[100]

The history of ancient Near Eastern religions offers various instances of migrated groups of priests. Such examples can serve as a paradigm in the light of which the migration of the Ephraimite priesthood gains a certain historical relief. Take the case of the priests from Uruk.[101] Around 1700 BC they fled to Kiš, where they continued their own traditions. They served such gods from Uruk as Ištar, Nanaya and Kanisurra. In spite of their religious orientation, they were welcomed as colleagues by the native priests from Kiš; the two groups of priests lived in the same city quarter.[102] If the Ephraimite priests met with a comparable reception in Judah, Anathoth must have been a likely place for them to settle; situated in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, it was a traditional place of residence for priests who worked in the Yahweh temple.[103] It may be surmised that Jeremiah and his family were descendants, not of Abiathar, but of Ephraimite priests who had come to Judah after 720 BC.[104] In later tradition, Anathoth is known as a Levitical

---

98 Cf. Rowley 1939:123 'we should recognize in Zadok the pre-Davidic priest of the Jebusite shrine in Jerusalem.' See also Mowinckel 1916:109; Bentzen 1933; Gunneweg 1965:104.

99 See Cross 1973:198-200.

100 The salvation the prophets announces concerns the Ephraimites that have repented after the fall of Samaria (see Scharbert 1981:52, with extensive bibliographical references). The oracles of the Book of Consolation were introduced and concluded by an editor who applied them to Judah (Lust 1981:131). Note also Cazelles 1981:29 '... il paraît certain qu'après sa vocation Jérémie s'adresse en priorité à l'Israël du Nord ...'

101 See 'Religious Identity in Situations of Diaspora' in Chapter Six.

102 Charpin 1986:403-415.

103 Contrast Cazelles 1981:27 'Jérémie naît dans une famille sacerdotale desservant le sanctuaire local d'une ville de Benjamin ...'

104 Though the Ephraimite connections of Jeremiah are widely acknowledged, they are

city. Its inhabitants are thereby qualified as Levites, i.e., religious personnel standing in the Mosaic tradition, the spirit of which is exemplified in the message of Elijah and Elisha.

Though Jeremiah has affinities with the Rechabites and the Deuteronomists, then, his message distinguishes him from both groups. To assess his position on the issue of religious identity we must turn to the written record of his prophecies. The book that bears his name is not a literary unit. According to the widely accepted theory of Mowinckel, the Book of Jeremiah can be divided over three sources.[105] Source A, containing the actual words of the prophet, is roughly identical with chapters 1 through 25; source B contains narratives about the prophet, perhaps written by his secretary Baruch;[106] source C consists of prose reflecting speeches of Jeremiah.[107] Though a case has been made for Jeremiah as the redactor of C[108] (in contrast to the prevailing opinion which regards C as essentially Deuteronomistic), a reconstruction of the message of prophet is best based primarily on the A sections in Jeremiah 1-25.[109] As a rule, the Septuagint of these chapters reflects an earlier stage of the book than the Masoretic text.[110]

The perusal of Jeremiah's prophecies confirms the hypothesis concerning his Ephraimite origins. Scattered through source A there are repeated references to such specifically Israelite themes and topics as the exodus and the wanderings in the wilderness. The prophet addresses his audience in the name of Yahweh who 'brought his people up (LXX ὁ ἀναγαγὼν, MT עלה hip^{c}il) from the land of Egypt' (Jeremiah 2:6; 11:7 [missing in the LXX]; 16:14; 23:7, 8).[111] As in Hosea, the period of the journey through the desert is presented as the time of Israel's innocence and devotion (Jeremiah 2:2).

---

usually explained by the fact that the territory of Benjamin (in which Anathoth was situated) was spiritually orientated toward the North, or by Jeremiah's links with the descendants of Abiathar (see, e.g., Cazelles 1981:27). Jeremiah's affinities with the Rechabites and the Deuteronomists strongly suggest that the prophet came from a family that had migrated to Judah shortly after the fall of Samaria.

105 See Mowinckel 1914.

106 Source B is found mostly in Jeremiah 26-29, 36-44. Though often ascribed to Baruch the scribe, the authorship of B is uncertain (Mowinckel 1914:30; but cf. 1946:61-62). For the seal of 'Baruch the scribe' see Avigad 1978. For a different view on the authorship of chapters 37-44 see Wanke 1971:91-133.

107 The passages ascribed to C by Mowinckel 1914:31-45 are Jeremiah 3:6-13; 7:1-8:3; 11:1-5, 9-14; 18:1-12; 21:1-10; 22:1-5; 25:1-11; 27; 29:1-23; 32:1-2, 6-16, 24-44; 34:1-22; 35:1-19; 39:15-18; 44:1-14; 45.

108 Notably by Weippert, H. 1973. See also Jepsen 1981:322.

109 The C sections in these chapters were most likely composed by Jeremiah's followers; they contain the message of Jeremiah as perceived and elaborated by his disciples (cf. Wilson 1980:233).

110 See Janzen 1973; Tov 1976; 1981.

111 On the northern background of the formula see Wijngaards 1965.

Also in consonance with Hosea, Jeremiah opposes all political solutions to the crisis of his days, whether the pact be with Assyria or with Egypt (Jeremiah 2:18). The most telling indication of Jeremiah's Northern background is his reference to Moses and Samuel as intercessors (Jeremiah 15:1). Since intercession was one of his prophetic duties, too (cf. Jeremiah 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 37:3; 42:2, 4, 20), Jeremiah apparently thought of himself as standing in the tradition of which Moses and Samuel were the main figure-heads. There is good reason, therefore, to classify him as a prophet from the 'Ephraimite tradition'.[112]

Jeremiah's attitude toward the traditional symbols of identity offered by the various forms of family religion as they were still known by his audience is one of complete rejection. He observes that the number of gods, i.e. images of gods, matches the number of Judah's towns (Jeremiah 2:28; 11:13), and that Jerusalem has as many altars as it has streets (Jeremiah 2:28 LXX; 11:13). The idols, made of wood and stone (Jeremiah 2:27; 3:9), were addressed by Jeremiah's contemporaries as 'father' and 'mother' (Jeremiah 2:27). They apparently represented local gods believed to be the creators and protectors of their worshippers, in accordance with the time-honoured tenets of family religion. The cult of these local gods was inherited by the one generation from the other; fathers taught their sons to 'go after the Baals' (LXX 'idols', Jeremiah 9:13[14]). Devotion to such gods demanded the participation of the entire household: for the performance of the cult of the Queen-of-Heaven 'the children gathered wood, the fathers kindled fire, and the women kneaded dough' (Jeremiah 7:18[113]; cf. 44:18-25).[114]

Jeremiah combined his critique of traditional family religion with a confiscation of its terminology and concepts, to apply them exclusively to the worship of Yahweh. Yahweh is celebrated as the creator of the individual, having formed the human person in the womb (Jeremiah 1:5); under his protection, there is no cause for fear (Jeremiah 1:17, 19). Yahweh rules as *ba*ᶜ*al* over the Israelites (Jeremiah 3:14), giving them the rain in its season and keeping for them the weeks appointed for the harvest (Jeremiah 5:24; cf. Hosea 2:10[8]). All the blessings traditionally ascribed to the Baals are in reality from Yahweh. He is a 'strong warrior' (*gibbôr* ᶜ*ārîṣ*, LXX μαχητὴς

112 Wilson 1980.

113 Note that Mowinckel 1914 attributes Jeremiah 7:18 to source C. It should ne noted, however, that the indictment of the Zion theology as a source of false comfort (Jeremiah 7:1-15; 26:1-15) is in entire agreement with Jeremiah's message (cf. Jeremiah 4:10; 5:1; 6:6-8, 19; 11:15). The relevant chapters probably echo the authentic voice of Jeremiah.

114 The Queen-of-Heaven, probably an epithet of Anat (see van der Toorn 1992:97), was presumably worshipped as the consort of Baal. Note that the cult of Baal could be performed on rooftops, too (Jeremiah 32:29).

ἰσχύων, Jeremiah 20:11) more powerful than any human enemy. It is particularly Jeremiah's personal laments (also referred to by scholars as his *Confessiones*) which show that the intimate relationship between the individual and his family god could also obtain between the individual and Yahweh. The prophet implied that devotion to Yahweh was to take the place of the religious pluralism which had always been a consequence of the practice of family religion.

Both the criticism of traditional family religion and the confiscation of its theology for the worship of Yahweh are familiar from the Book of Deuteronomy. A point of contrast between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, however, concerns their respective position towards Jerusalem. In the vision of the Deuteronomic movement, Jerusalem is the unspoken place which Yahweh has chosen to make his name dwell there; there is no trace of criticism against the city. Jeremiah, on the other hand, takes a strong stance against the idle hopes that focused on the city. The so-called Zion theology, which preached the inviolability of the temple mountain and the lasting dynasty of David, had received unexpected support from the Deuteronomic doctrine of Jerusalem's election. Jeremiah never speaks of this election. On the contrary, he insists on the fact that Jerusalem's safety depends on her conversion. The temple sermon, faithfully recorded by Jeremiah's disciples (Jeremiah 7:1-15; 26:1-15),[115] at once captures and combats the deceptive sense of security of the inhabitants of the capital. According to Jeremiah, the Zion theology had inspired the population with unfounded confidence; death and desolation would not pass Jerusalem by (Jeremiah 4:10).

A comparison between Deuteronomy and Jeremiah reveals a distinct difference in tenor. The Book of Deuteronomy is animated by a spirit of patriotism. Israel is promised exaltation above all nations of the earth (Deuteronomy 26:19), and to be always at the top and never at the bottom (Deuteronomy 28:13); it will rule many nations but never be ruled by them (Deuteronomy 15:6). The fictional frame of the book supports this optimistic message: Israel is soon going to enter the Promised Land where it will live as one nation under one God. The tone which pervades the message of Jeremiah presents a stark contrast to such a mood. The prophet has been instructed 'to eradicate and to demolish, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant' (Jeremiah 1:10).[116] Reconstruction (i.e., 'building' and 'planting') will

---

115 The fact that the temple sermon is found in source C presumably means that it was spoken during a later phase of Jeremiah's career as a prophet. It may reflect Jeremiah's increasing pessimism under the reign of Jehoiakim (cf. Wilson 1980:245).

116 The LXX has only three verbs of deconstruction (ἐκριζοῦν, κατασκάπτειν, ἀπολλύειν).

only come after collapse and deconstruction; a thorough crisis will precede the renaissance—if there will be one. Jeremiah does not foresee happy prospects: the country will be laid waste by the enemy 'from the north' (i.e., Babylonia), and the population will suffer dispersion.

Jeremiah's vision allows no salvation for Israel or Judah (or the two combined) as a nation. In so far as there is a salvation to be seen on the horizon, it will be for individual members of the nation.

> Return, O faithless children—oracle of Yahweh—
> for I myself am your lord (*bāʿaltî bākem*);
> and I will take you, one from every town and two from every family,
> and I will bring you to Zion.
>
> Jeremiah 3:14

Though the verb 'to take' (לקח) has affinity with the vocabulary of election,[117] its use here presupposes a situation of diaspora. It is Jeremiah's conviction that Judah will experience the same fate as Israel. the Fall of Samaria and the dispersion of the Israelites foreshadow the divine judgment that will be inflicted on Judah. After the crisis that Judah will have to go through, Zion will re-emerge as a place of peace, yet only for those whom Yahweh has taken and brought there.

Jeremiah's estimate that the spiritual élite will consist of 'one from every town and two from every family' is, in more than one way, significant. The parallelism between 'town' (*ʿîr*) and 'family' or 'clan' (*mišpāḥâ*) shows the virtual identity of the two notions; family religion is localist as a matter of course. By his suggestion that only one or two individuals out of every community and local kin group will be brought to Zion (which name serves here as a cipher of salvation), Jeremiah intimates the failure of family religion. If there is hope for one or two individuals only, the solidarity of the local kin group has lost its sense. Elsewhere in source A, too, the perspective of the prophet is focused on the individual. Yahweh 'searches the heart' (חקר לב) and 'tries the kidneys' (בחן כליות) in order 'to give to every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings' (Jeremiah 17:10; cf. 32:19). Individualism and subjectivity coalesce in this saying. Indeed, a circumcised heart (Jeremiah 4:4) and circumcised ears (Jeremiah 6:10), metaphors of a mental disposition, are primarily qualities of the individual.

Jeremiah's focus on the individual must be understood in the light of his personal experience. The warning that one should beware of one's neighbour and put no trust in any brother (note, once again, the combination of kinship and co-residence, Jeremiah 9:4) reflects the feelings of Jeremiah in

---

117 See Seebass 1984:593.

response to the opposition he was faced with from his own kin group. He complains that his brothers (*ʾaḥîm*) and his family (*bêt ʾāb*) have deceived him; their friendliness in his presence hides enmity in his absence (Jeremiah 12:6). He suspects all his friends (*kol ʾĕnôš šĕlômî*) to be intent on his ruin (Jeremiah 20:10). A self-imposed celibacy (Jeremiah 16:2) may have heightened his sense of solitude. Jeremiah's enemies are identified in Jeremiah 11:21-23 as 'the men of Anathoth', which is consonant with their designation as members of the prophet's kin group. The reason for their enmity concerns the prophetic activities of their 'brother': they warn him by threats of death to keep from prophesying. Jeremiah's mission has turned him into an outcast (Jeremiah 15:17).

Owing to the biographical data scattered through the Book of Jeremiah, it is possible to reconstruct the contours of the conflicts which the prophet experienced in his family circle.[118] In view of the names of his relatives, Jeremiah must have been closely connected with the men behind the reform of Josiah. It is probable that Hilkiah the father of Jeremiah is identical with Hilkiah the high priest who, according to 2 Kings 22:8, 'found' the book of the law (*sēper hattôrâ*) which was used to legitimize Josiah's religious politics. Jeremiah's uncle Shallum (Jeremiah 32:7) may have been the Shallum to whom the prophetess Huldah was married (2 Kings 22:14). This Huldah, who lived in the Second Quarter (the Mishneh, 2 Kings 22:14), was consulted by Josiah in connection with his reform. The fact that the Second Quarter was built to accommodate refugees from the North,[119] supports the thesis of the Ephraimite roots of Deuteronomy—and of Josiah's reform as a matter of consequence.[120] Jeremiah's nephew Maaseiah (the son of Shallum) had a high position at the court of Jehoiakim (Jeremiah 35:4). One of his sons (and Jeremiah's cousins) was the priest Zephaniah (Jeremiah 21:1; 29:25-26; 37:3), the other was the prophet Zedekiah (Jeremiah 29:21).

Jeremiah's relatives in the temple administration and at the court were in favour of, if not actively involved in, the reform of Josiah. They belonged to the Deuteronomic movement. There is no reason to be surprised, therefore, by the evident affinities of Jeremiah's message with the programme of Deuteronomy; it is quite possible, as many authors suggest, that Jeremiah was initially a supporter of Josiah's reform along the lines of the Deuteronomic

---

118 See Wilson 1980:233-235, who refers to an unpublished paper by S. Dean McBride (234 n. 151).

119 Cf. Cazelles 1981:30.

120 Hoffmann's contention that Huldah's oracle is a post-exilic construct since the Mishneh did not exist in the time of Josiah (Hoffmann 1980:190 n. 30) is adequately refuted by Lohfink 1985:28.

programme.[121] But just as the affinity between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy can be explained in the light of the prophet's family connections, so the opposition from his family should be explained in the light of Jeremiah's rejection of the optimism of the Deuteronomic programme. It was especially Jeremiah's announcement of impending disaster for Jerusalem and its temple (Jeremiah 7:1-15; 26; 38:2-3) which must have caused his relatives to dissociate themselves from him. Since some of these 'men of Anathoth' occupied high positions in the Jerusalem establishment, their dissociation from Jeremiah reduced the prophet to the margins of society; he was eventually imprisoned (Jeremiah 37:11-16). In spite of incidental support from adherents of the Deuteronomic programme (Jeremiah 26:24, cf. 2 Kings 22:3-14), Jeremiah's rupture with the movement (and, it may be added in the same breath, his family) was definitive.

The career of Jeremiah epitomizes his message: the test of loyalty to Yahweh involves the individual; family ties are of little avail. Nor can one rely on the support of the nation as a whole. The Deuteronomic ideal of a national devotion to Yahweh alone seemed a chimera to Jeremiah. His contemporaries were far from being one in their religious commitment. Faced with the failure of family religion and national religion alike, therefore, Jeremiah posited the demand for personal obedience and righteousness. The religion he preached separated the individual from his surroundings; it was addressed to a spiritual élite amidst a *massa perditionis*—one out of every town, two out of every family. At first sight, this religion solves the problem of identity by an expansion of the personal identity of its followers at the expense of their social identity. One is defined, ultimately, on the basis of an interior disposition. As the canonization of Jeremiah's message shows, however, the austere religion of the prophet was able to create its own community—its members being related, not by blood and co-residence, but by a common commitment.

From Inheritance to Commitment

The religious impact of the Samarian diaspora in Judah is clear from the three examples studied in this chapter: the face of Judaism would have been entirely different had there not been the influx of exiles from the North in the century that preceded the destruction of the temple of Solomon. The religious heritage of Israel was incorporated in the Judahite tradition that was to give birth to the Hebrew Bible. Major elements of the Jewish faith, such as the

---

121 So, e.g., Scharbert 1981.

notion of the exodus and the role of Moses as law-giver, are ultimately Ephraimite in origin.

Rechabites, Deuteronomists, and Jeremiah all grappled to formulate their own answer to the identity crisis which their compatriots (i.e., the descendants of the Northern refugees) were facing. Though they perceived sharp differences between one another, the modern observer is struck by the common presupposition of their answers. The different identities proposed by the Rechabites, the Deuteronomic movement, and Jeremiah, share the underlying conviction that, under the circumstances, religious identity can only be constructed on the basis of personal commitment. Identity was no longer to be acquired simply by inheritance. One could be born from Rechabite parents, but in order to be a member of the Rechabites one had to subscribe to their rule. The Deuteronomic movement insisted that God had not spoken to earlier generations only, but spoke to each generation anew: it was up to each man and his house to choose which god he would serve ('Not with our fathers did Yahweh make this covenant, but with us ...', Deuteronomy 5:3). Devotion was not automatically part of the family inheritance. Just how precarious an identity based on family ties could be, finally, is exemplified in the life of Jeremiah. The prophet discovered himself alone before God; his moral solitude might be seen as paradigmatic of the experience of those who identified with his message.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

EPILOGUE

It would be unsatisfactory to close this study without an attempt to draw some general conclusions concerning family religion and its role in the ancient Near East. The following must be regarded as a succinct statement of the principal observations that emerge from the preceding chapters. Though they apply primarily to the civilizations that have been investigated, some of them have a wider validity.

Prior to any other conclusion, we have to acknowledge the prominent place of family religion in the day-to-day experience of the people of the ancient Near East. Our sketch of the Old Babylonian family religion was based on letters, cylinder seals, records of inheritance and the like, most of them being evidence of what would be called nowadays the private life of the Babylonians. They show that alongside the public cult sponsored by the state, there was a religious life in the circle of the family which the traditional religious literature would not lead us to suspect. The vitality of religious beliefs and customs in the context of the family belies Oppenheim's assessment that 'the influence of religion on the individual, as well as on the community as a whole, was unimportant in Mesopotamia.'[1] Though the state cult may not have elicited much enthusiasm from the general population, the cult of the ancestors and the worship of local patron deities were major concerns. The absence of these themes in such an influential monograph as Kraus's study of the Old Babylonian civilization promotes a myopic vision of the Old Babylonian reality.[2]

The failure to recognize family religion as a major facet of the experience of the Babylonians entails a neglect for the social effects of that religion as well. Yet it is impossible to attain a real understanding of the Babylonians without taking into account what their religion did to them. Its effects have been analyzed in this study in terms of the construction and sacralization of identity. Through the cult of the ancestors the Babylonians did in a sense create their historical identity, just as the worship of their local gods inspired them with a sense of belonging to a specific place. To say that solidarity with the ancestors and the neighbourhood preceded its ritual celebration is not

---

1 Oppenheim 1977[2]:176.

2 Against Kraus 1973:135, who dismisses the theme of religion in a few phrases.

quite true. The sentiment of such solidarity does not fully exist until it takes shape in certain symbols.[3] Family religion can be seen as the complex of symbols (a term that covers beliefs and values as well as certain practices) which give substance to the identity and mutual affinity of its followers.

The practices of Old Babylonian family religion, such as the participation in local festivals and the devotion to local patron gods, occur in the popular religion of many civilizations. Processions, pageants, and assorted acts of devotion—vows, votive gifts, and demonstrations of obeisance—cater to the need for a sense of personal involvement. Such celebrations reinforce local pride and identity.[4] Also in the modern world, it is precisely such local festivals—in honour of a patron saint or in memory of a miracle—whose celebration migrants tend to continue long after they have left their native soil.[5] In consonance with this tenacity of popular tradition, it may be observed that Babylonian migrants, too, tended to remain loyal to the gods of their place of origin. In view of the role of religion in processes of identity construction, it can be said that the attachment to the religion of one's ancestors manifests the wish to preserve one's cultural identity.

The identity which Babylonian family religion was to create and maintain was primarily collective. Whereas modern individuals tend to conceive of identity in terms of distinction (one has an identity in the measure in which one differs from others), the Babylonians (like the people from Ugarit and Israel) were concerned with their identity as members of a group, be it their family, their neighbourhood, or their class. The notion of a strictly individual identity had little significance for them. The rites they performed were an assertion of the fact that they rightfully belonged to a kin group rooted in the past and extending its protection to all its members; their devotion to their god defined them as members of their local community; and their endorsement of the beliefs and values of family religion was a way of validating the beliefs and values of the social class to which they belonged. There was, in a sense, no identity outside the group, just as there was no religion outside the community. Left to himself man would be a non-entity, and his religion a private delusion.

The delicate interaction between social realities and the forms of religious life—the ones nourishing the others and vice versa—implies that transformations in society will inevitably lead to changes in religion. If religion

---

[3] Cf. Jay 1992:6-7 '... participation in alimentary sacrifice both signifies and causes membership in the group with rights to participate.' On kinship ties as a consequence of sacrificing together see also Jay 1992:41-60.

[4] Cf. Christian, W. A. 1972:61-78.

[5] See, e.g. Kenna 1977.

endorses, sacralizes and preserves the social reality, it must be attuned to that reality. Should the reality change, for whatever reason, religion will have to follow or suffer extinction—no matter how lofty or true it be. Since the reverse may equally occur (a conversion can lead to a different lifestyle), the prudent way to define the correlation is to say that there is always a correspondence between the forms of religious life and the social reality. The ultimate direction of the dependence can be decided only on philosophical grounds; a historical study such as the one here undertaken can never provide an answer to that question.

The case of early Israel is an instance in which we can follow the historical development of family religion in response to changing circumstances. In the beginning of the process, Israelite family religion was still like family religion in Babylonia and Ugarit: consisting of the cult of the ancestors and the devotion to a patron deity, it had a strongly localist orientation. The continuity between Syro-Mesopotamian and early Israelite family religion is such that one may speak of the prolongation of a Bronze Age phenomenon into the Iron Age. It is important to recognize this continuity, because it allows us to appreciate the subsequent changes of Israelite family religion. The historical development between 1200-500 BC may be summarily characterized with the phrase 'from family religion to personal devotion'. At the end of the development family religion had lost the independent status it once possessed, as it had been integrated in what might be called a national religion.

The event that initiated the process of change was the formation of the state. With the emergence of the Israelite state, the inhabitants of the Palestinian hill country were faced with a phenomenon that would have a far-reaching impact on their lives. Until the time of Saul, the religion of the local kin group had been the only religion they knew. They had no identity beyond their identity as members of the kin group. The promotion of a state religion under Saul introduced the possibility of an identification with the supra-local collectivity of the nation. As long as the nation was a dim reality, family religion continued to reign supreme. Yet as the state gradually strengthened its hold on the citizens, there arose a kind of competition between state religion and family religion, the former validating a national identity, the latter a local identity.

Most of the changes in the balance of power between state religion and family religion were prompted by the authorities. Two major moves on the part of the state may be distinguished. The first consisted of the creation of a charter myth that might mobilize a sense of national identity among the population. To this end, the priesthood of the state religion, later known under the

names of prophets and Levites, used the exodus narrative and turned it into a story of national liberation. In so doing, they transformed what may have been their private past into a national past, since some of the clergy may well have consisted of the descendants of the small group of Western Asiatics that had participated in the exodus under the leadership of Moses. Groups among the state clergy regarded themselves as Moses' successors, drawing their sense of identity and self-esteem from a historical experience that developed a growing number of mythical traits. Through the transformation of the exodus into a national myth, annually celebrated in the royal temples, the state religion offered the population a new focus of identity. The zealous propaganda of this charter myth by the Levites and the prophets proved quite effective.

The second move on the part of the state religion was an attempt at integrating family religion in the religion of state. To reach this goal the clergy followed a politics of theological identification and, under the Omrides, of cultic incorporation. By means of the identification of El with Yahweh, at an iconographical as well as a mythological level, the religion of those who worshipped El as their family god was drawn into the orbit of the state religion. Half a century later, those who had Baal as their family deity were granted a comparable recognition, not through the identification of Yahweh-El with Baal, but through the admission of Baal into the state cult. Under the Omrides, Yahweh and Baal both received a state-sponsored cult in the national temples (though Yahweh remained the patron god of the nation). The situation of religious parity was condemned by some groups among the Yahwistic clergy, but never wholly abolished in the course of the existence of Israel as an independent state.

Unlike the situation in Mesopotamia and Syria, the coexistence of family religion and state religion in Israel was never harmonious. The two were in constant competition, and it seemed only one of them would eventually survive. The difference with the Mesopotamian model is related to the presence of a climate of sophisticated polytheism in Babylonia and the absence of such a climate in Israel. The Babylonians had a tradition of integrating different gods into one pantheon in which each had his or her proper place and station reflecting the relative importance of his or her city. It must be remembered, too, that kingship was a long-standing and familiar phenomenon in the Mesopotamian civilization. In Israel, the state was a novelty, and the anti-royalist pieces of the Bible show that it took people considerable time to adjust to the new realities. In fact, the opposition against the central government never wholly subsided. Feelings of local independence could not be

eradicated; nor could family religion, which was in many ways the symbolic expression of local pride and independence.

In the end, neither state religion nor family religion could claim complete victory, because both gave way, in the aftermath of the Fall of Samaria, to a national religion that might be seen as a synthesis of the two. The genesis of this new religion was elicited by the Omride politics. The official recognition then granted to the worship of Baal provoked a strongly negative reaction from certain factions of the state clergy whose allegiance to the god of the state and to the exodus tradition was more than mere politics. Drawn from the ranks of the Levites and the prophets, the members of the incipient Yahweh-alone movement became the zealots of a strict monolatry of Yahweh, whom they worshipped as the liberator of the Israelites from the Egyptian oppression. These people became as critical of the state religion as of the various forms of local religion. The only form of family religion they wished to tolerate was family devotion in the spirit of the Mosaic tradition that they propagated.

Both the success of the Yahweh-alone movement and the triumph of national religion would have been inconceivable without the historical reality of the Ephraimite diaspora. For those who had left the former Northern Kingdom to find refuge in Judah, state religion had become a hollow phrase since the Samarian state was no longer in existence, just as family religion had become problematic since the ties with the ancestral estate (where the ancestors lay buried and the family god was worshipped) had been severed. As larger kin groups had been dispersed, the notion of family was increasingly interpreted in the sense of the nuclear family. Having lost the network of their clan or kin group, many Ephraimite expatriates began to orientate themselves to the interpretation of Israelite religion as offered by the Yahweh-alone movement. Their new identity was an identity by commitment, constructed from the debris of both the state religion and their family religion. Such men as Jeremiah, and such groups as the Rechabites, illustrate the tendencies toward sectarianism and personal choice that were alive among the Ephraimites in diaspora.

The presentation of this evidence in the form of a historical sequence could create the impression of a uniform development in the religion of Israel. The mere fact that the Rechabites, the Deuteronomists, and Jeremiah represent three different ways of dealing with the problem of religious identity is one indication to the contrary. It must be added that they do not represent all the Ephraimites in diaspora. There were also those who continued to worship their traditional family gods while in exile in Judah or Egypt; they celebrated the cult of the Queen of Heaven on the rooftops of

their private homes, or directed their devotion to such gods as Baal, Bethel and Anat-Bethel.[6] Nor can we be certain that the cult of the ancestors was collectively abandoned. The decision not to highlight those who preserved their local traditions from Ephraim on Judahite soil follows from the nature of the biblical evidence and—in immediate connection with this—the tremendous impact of the answer to the problem of identity given by the Deuteronomists. One may regret the oblivion to which much Ephraimite family religion abroad has been reduced, but one should rejoice over the understanding of the Deuteronomists which a study of the competition between family religion and state religion produces.

Did the experience of the diaspora lead to the gradual disappearance of family religion among the Israelites? If by family religion we mean the cult of the ancestors in combination with the veneration of a local deity, the answer must be affirmative. If our concept of family religion is broader than that, we should speak of a metamorphosis of that religion rather than of its disappearance. Oswald Loretz has argued that the commandment to 'honour thy father and thy mother' is an offshoot and an echo of the ancestor cult, since it links the care of the elderly with the promise of the possession of the land.[7] Approached from a comparable angle, the service at the local synagogue could be seen as a substitute for the devotion to the family god at the local 'high place', as Weinfeld suggests.[8] The substitution of the annual 'sacrificial meal for the entire clan' by the Passover dinner illustrates the fact that the family continued to be regarded as a ritual community. In the perspective of the Deuteronomists, however, the family rituals were no longer independent or locally diverse.

The transformation of the traditional family religion was profound. For those who stayed within the boundaries set by the Deuteronomists, family religion became family devotion as an expression of personal involvement in the national religion. Offerings to the dead and the worship of local gods—formerly the central elements of family religion—were classified as superstition. Owing to the new religious climate, the terms and concepts of family religion received a new interpretation. In the Second Temple Period the 'daughter of a foreign god' (*bat ʾēl nēkār*, Malachi 2:11) was no longer a girl from a different clan, but a non-Israelite. The process by which the concepts of family religion were reinterpreted and transposed to the realm of the national religion was as old as the notion of a national religion itself, but

---

[6] On the Ephraimite background of the cult of the Queen of Heaven, Bethel and Anat-Bethel see van der Toorn 1992.

[7] Loretz 1990:137.

[8] Weinfeld 1991:80.

it did not reach its conclusion until the traditional forms of family religion had disappeared.

The age between the Fall of Samaria and the Fall of Jerusalem was, in more than one respect, axial. Closing three centuries of competition between two types of religion (family religion and state religion), it is the period in which a new religion emerged. Though the crucial role in this development was played by the Deuteronomists, it must be recognized that they were the exponents of a much wider trend. To characterize the new religious climate, we may say that it emphasized the importance of a personal appropriation of the national Yahwistic tradition. The religion preached by the Deuteronomists presented this tradition as the written revelation of Yahweh, thus offering a verbal icon to a community without cult images. The Israelite identity—or the Jewish identity, for that matter—came to be canonized as the people of the book. This religion of the book was designed to take the place of both family religion and state religion, since the father in the family was to read the Torah to his son, just as the king in his palace would read the Torah to himself. From now on there would be an official religion, and all forms of religious life departing from its doctrine would be unofficial—and be referred to in later times as popular religion.

PART FOUR

ABBREVIATIONS, BIBLIOGRAPHY & INDICES

A.	tablets from Mari in the collections of the Aleppo Museum
AA	*American Anthropologist*
AA(A)S	*Annales archéologiques (arabes) syriennes* (Damascus)
AAR	American Academy of Religion
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung (Leiden)
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ABL	Harper 1892-1914
ABRT	Craig 1895, 1897
ActAnt	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AEM	Archives Epistolaires de Mari
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AIR	*Ancient Israelite Religion*. FS F. M. Cross, eds. P. D. Miller *et alii* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987)
Akk	*Akkadica*
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syriens-Palästinas
AlT	Wiseman 1953
ANET	Pritchard 1969[3]
Annuaire	*Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IVe section* (Paris: Sorbonne)
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AO	Antiquités orientales (tablet numbers in the Louvre, Paris)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARES	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Studi
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi
ARM(T)	Archives Royales de Mari (Textes)
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
AS	Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
ASJ	*Acta Sumerologica*
ASOR	The American Schools of Oriental Research
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem*
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
Atra-ḫasīs	Lambert & Millard 1969
AulaOr	*Aula Orientalis*
b	*Babylonian Talmud*, followed by abbreviated name of tractate
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BagM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAM	F. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BBR	Zimmern 1896, 1901
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania

Beih.	Beiheft
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
Bibl	*Biblica*
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BK	Biblischer Kommentar
BM	tablets in the British Museum
BMS	King 1896
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London)
Bu.	Budge (tablet numbers in the British Museum)
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BWL	Lambert 1960
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beiheft *ZAW*
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CamB	The Cambridge Bible commentary on the New English Bible
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBS	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
CCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum
CḪ	Codex Ḫammurabi (cited according to Driver & Miles 1952, 1955)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris)
CNWS	Centre of Non-Western Studies (Leiden)
ConB OT	Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series
CRRAI	Compte rendu Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTM	Calwer theologische Monographien
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament*
DDD	*The Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden)
DissSer	Dissertation Series
DN	divine name
Dreams	Oppenheim 1956
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets (cited according to Knudtzon 1915 and Rainey 1970)
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem)
EncMiqr	*Entsiclopedia Miqraʾit* (Jerusalem)
EPHE	Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris)
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
ERC	Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations (Paris)
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel*
Erra	Erra epic (cited according to Cagni 1969)
ESE	*Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
fc.	forthcoming
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FS	Festschrift
Ges[18]	18th edition of Gesenius' *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (eds. R. Meyer & H. Donner)
Gilg	Gilgameš epic (cited according to Thompson 1930)

HAL[3]	W. Baumgartner *et alii*, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament (ed. O. Eissfeldt)
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HKAT	Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HKL	R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* (3 vols.)
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IDBSup	Supplementary volume to *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IM	tablets in the Iraqi Museum
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JANES(CU)	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies (of Columbia University)*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEN	Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi
JEOL	*Jaarbericht 'Ex Oriente Lux'*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
Joüon/Muraoka	*A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome, 1991)
JPS	The Jewish Publication Society (Philadelphia)
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAH	L. Messerschmidt (vol. 1), O. Schroeder (vol. 2), *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*
KAI	H. Donner & W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschrifte* (3 vols.)
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KAV	O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*
KHAT	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
Ki	tablets excavated at Kish, in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
KS	*Kleine Schriften*
kt	tablets from Kültepe (Turkey)
KTK	Jankowska 1968
KTS	Lewy 1926
KTU	Dietrich, Loretz & Sanmartín 1976
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LAS 1 & 2	Parpola 1970, 1983
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
LIH	King 1898-1900

LKA	E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*
LXX	Septuagint
MAH	(tablets in the) Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève
MANE	Monographs on the Ancient Near East
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig)
Maqlû	The incantation series *Maqlû* based on the editions of Meier, G. 1937 & 1966
MARI	*Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin)
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse (Paris)
MEE	Materiali epigrafici di Ebla
MHEM	Mesopotamian History and Environment, Memoirs
MHET	Mesopotamian History and Environment, Texts
MonSer	Monograph Series
MSL	Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
NCBC	The New Century Bible Commentary
NEAEHL	*The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. E. Stern (Jerusalem 1993)
NINO	Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
NJPS	The New JPS Translation of the Hebrew Bible
n(n).	note(s)
NTT	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*
OB Gilg. M	Old Babylonian Gilgameš 'Meissner tablet'
OB Gilg. P	Old Babylonian Gilgameš 'Pennsylvania tablet'
OB Gilg. Y	Old Babylonian Gilgameš 'Yale tablet'
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OBRT	Dalley, Walker & Hawkins 1976
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Tetxs
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia*
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OrSu	*Orientalia Suecana*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PJB	*Palästinajahrbuch* (des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes, Jerusalem)
PN	personal name
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* (eds. C. F. A. Schaeffer & J. Nougayrol, Paris)
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
r.	reverse (of the tablet)
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité* (Brussels)
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
RivSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*

RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
Rm	Rassam, tablets in the Brititsh Museum
RS	tablets from Ras Shamra
RSOu	Ras Shamra-Ougarit
RSR	*Recherches de Science Religieuse*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RT	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki)
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SB	La Sainte Bible
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SbTU	*Spätbabylonische Texten aus Uruk*
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
SD	Studia et documenta ad iura Antiqui pertinentia
SDB	*Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
SEL	*Studi epigrafici e linguistici*
Sem	*Semitica*
Sh.	tablets from Shemshara
SH(C)ANE	Studies in the History (and Culture) of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SLB	Studia ad tabulas cuneiformes collectas a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl pertinentia
SLTN	Kramer 1944
SMS	Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
SP	Gordon 1959
SS	Supplement Series
StB	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
STC	King 1902
StOr	*Studia Orientalia*
StPsm	Studia Pohl, Series Maior
StSem	Studi Semitici
STT	O. R. Gurney & J. J. Finkelstein (vol. 1), O. R. Gurney & P. Hulin (vol. 2), *Sultantepe Tablets*
Šurpu	the incantation series *Šurpu* (cited after Reiner 1958)
SVT	Supplements to *VT*
TA	*Tel Aviv*
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TC	Textes cappadociens
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TDP	Labat 1951
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
TLB	Tabulae cuneiformes a F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl collectae
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (ed. O. Kaiser)
TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Ug.	*Ugaritica*

VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WdM	Haussig 1983[2]
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	*Zeitschrift der Assyriologie*
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, Félix Marie
1967[3] (1933), *Géographie de la Palestine*, vols. 1-2 (Paris: Lecoffre).

Aberbach, Moses & Smolar, Leivy
1967, Aaron, Jeroboam, and the Golden Calves, *JBL* 86:129-140.

Abou-Assaf, Ali, Bordreuil, Pierre & Millard, Alan R.
1982, *La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne* (Paris: ERC).

Abrams, Dominic & Hogg, Michael A.
1990 (eds.), *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances* (New York: Harverster Wheatsheaf).

Abramsky, Samuel
1967, The House of Rechab, *ErIsr* 8 (E. L. Sukenik Memorial Volume; Jerusalem):255-264, 76*.
1971, Rechabites, *EncJud* 13:1611-1612.

Abusch, I. Tzvi
1974, Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature: Texts and Studies. Part I: The Nature of *Maqlû*: Its Character, Divisions, and Calendrical Setting, *JNES* 33:251-262.
1985, Dismissal by Authorities: *šuškunu* and Related Matters, *JCS* 37: 91-100.
1987, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars Press).
1992, Ritual and Incantation: Interpretation and Textual History of *Maqlû* VII:58-105 and IX:152-59, *Sha³arei Talmon. Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (eds. M. Fishbane & E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):367-380.
1993a, Gilgamesh's Request and Siduri's Denial. Part I. The Meaning of the Dialogue and its Implications for the History of the Epic, *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (eds. M. E. Cohen *et alii*; Bethesda: CDL Press):1-14.
1993b, Gilgamesh's Request and Siduri's Denial. Part II: An Analysis and Interpretation of an Old Babylonian Fragment about Mourning and Celebration, *JANES* 22 [FS Yohanan Muffs]:3-17.

Ackerman, James Stokes
1974, The Literary Context of the Moses Birth Story (Exodus 1-2), *Literary Interpretations of Biblical Narratives* (eds. K. R. R. Gros Louis *et alii*; Nashville: Abingdon):74-119.

Ackerman, Susan
1992, *Under Every Green Tree: Popular Religion in Sixth-Century Judah* (HSM 46; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Ackroyd, Peter R.
1963, Hosea and Jacob, *VT* 13:245-259.
1971, *The First Book of Samuel* (CamB 9; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Adams, Robert McCormick
1966, *The Evolution of Urban Society: Early Mesopotamia and Prehistoric Mexico* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company).
1969, Conclusion, *Middle Eastern Cities* (ed. I. M. Lapidus; Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press):188-196.
1981, *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the*

Central Floodplain of the Euphrates (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press).

Aggoula, Basile
1985, *Inscriptions et graffites araméens d'Assour* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale).

Aharoni, Yohanan
1979, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (tr. A. F. Rainey; Revised and enlarged edition; Philadelphia: Westminster Press).
1982, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel: From the Prehistoric Beginnings to the End of the First Temple Period* (ed. M. Aharoni; London: SCM Press; tr. A. F. Rainey, Hebrew original 1978).

Aharoni, Yohanan & Shiloh, Yigal
1993, Megiddo, *NEAEHL* 3:1003-1024.

Aḥituv, Shmuel
1984, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press).
1992, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (The Biblical Encyclopaedia Library VII; Jerusalem: Bialik).

Ahlström, Gösta W.
1963, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion* (Lund: Gleerup).
1977a, Judges 5:20f. and History, *JNES* 36:287-288.
1977b, King Jehu—A Prophet's Mistake, *Scripture in History and Theology. Essays in Honor of J. C. Rylaarsdam* (eds. A. L. Merrill & T. W. Overholt; Pittsburg: The Pickwick Press):47-70.
1982a, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine* (Leiden: Brill).
1982b, Where Did the Israelites Live?, *JNES* 41:133-138.
1984, An Archaeological Picture of Iron Age Religions in Ancient Palestine, *StOr* 56:117-145.
1986, *Who Were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).
1993, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest* (JSOT SS 146; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

Ahlström, Gösta W. & Edelman, Diana
1985, Merneptah's Israel, *JNES* 44:59-61.

Al-A'dami, Khalid Ahmad
1967, Old Babylonian Letters from ed-Der, *Sumer* 23:151-165 & Pls. 1-17.

Albertz, Rainer
1978, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion* (CTM 9; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag).
1980 (ed.), *Werden und Wirken des Alten Testaments. Festschrift Claus Westermann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1981, Der sozialgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Hiobbuches und der 'Babylonische Theodizee', *Die Botschaft und die Boten* (FS H. W. Wolff; eds. J. Jeremias & L. Perlitt; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag):349-372.
1992, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit*, vols. 1-2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Albright, William Foxwell
1923, *Excavations and Results at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah of Saul)*, (AASOR 4; New Haven: ASOR).
1933, A New Campaign of Excavation at Gibeah of Saul, *BASOR* 52:6-12.
1942, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press).
1946[2] (1940), *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press).

1957, The High Place in Ancient Palestine, *Volume du congrès Strasbourg 1956* (SVT 4; Leiden: Brill):242-258.
1968, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London: The Athlone Press).

Ali, Fadhil Abdulwahid
1964, *Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania).

Alster, Bendt
1974, *The Instructions of Suruppak. A Sumerian Proverb Collection* (Mesopotamia 2; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag).
1991, Incantation to Utu, *ASJ* 13:27-96.

Alt, Albrecht
1929, *Der Gott der Väter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), reprinted in *KS* 1 (München: C. H. Beck, 1953):1-78.
1940, Zum 'Gott der Väter', *PJB* 36:100-103.
1951, Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Juda, *VT* 1:2-22, reprinted in *KS* 2 (München: C. H. Beck, 1953):116-134.
1953, Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums, *KS* 2 (München: C. H. Beck):250-275.
1954, *Der Stadtstaat Samaria* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag), reprinted in *KS* 3 (München: C. H. Beck, 1959):258-302.

Al-Zeebari, Akram
1964, *Old Babylonian Letters* (TIM 1; Baghdad: The Directorate General of Antiquities).

Amit, Yairah
1990, Hidden Polemic in the Conquest of Dan: Judges XVII-XVIII, *VT* 40:4-20.

Ammar, Hamed
1970, The Social Organization of the Community, *Readings in Arab Middle Eastern Societies and Cultures* (eds. A. M. Luftiyya & C. W. Church; The Hague: Mouton):109-134.

Anbar, Moshe
1991, *Les tribus amurrites de Mari* (OBO 108; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Andersen, Francis I.
1969, Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure, *The Bible Translator* 20:29-39.

Andersen, Francis I. & Freedman, David Noel
1980, *Hosea* (AB 24; Garden City: Doubleday).
1989, *Amos* (AB 24A; Garden City: Doubleday).

Ap-Thomas, D. R.
1961, Saul's Uncle, *VT* 11:241-245.

Archi, Alfonso
1977, I poteri della dea Ištar hurrita-hittita, *OrAnt* 17:297-311.
1979, The Epigraphic Evidence from Ebla and the Old Testament, *Bibl* 60:556-566.
1988, Cult of the Ancestors and Tutelary God at Ebla, *Fucus: A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 58; ed. Y. L. Arbeitman; Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company):103-112.

Arnaud, Daniel
1986, *Emar VI.3 Textes sumériens et accadiens* (Paris: ERC).
1987, La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé, *AulaOr* 5:211-241.
1991, *Textes Syriens de l'âge du Bronze récent* (*AulaOr* Suppl. 1; Barcelona: Editorial AUSA).

Arnold, Patrick M.
1992a, Gibeah, *ABD* 2:1007-1009.
1992b, Ramah, *ABD* 5:613-614.
Ashkenazy, Touvia
1949, La tribu arabe: ses éléments, *Anthropos* 41-44:657-672.
Assmann, Jan
1984, *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).
Astour, Michael C.
1971, 841 BC: The First Assyrian Invasion of Israel, *JAOS* 91:383-389.
1978, *The Rabbaeans: A Tribal Society on the Euphrates from Jaḫdun-Lim to Julius Caesar* (SMS 2/1; Malibu: Undena).
1979, Yahweh in Egyptian Topographic Lists, *Festschrift Elmer Edel: 12. März 1979* (eds. M. Görg & E. Pusch; Bamberg):17-33.
Auerbach, Elias
1953, *Moses* (Amsterdam: G. J. A. Ruys).
Auld, A. Graeme
1986, *Amos* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).
1989, Gideon: Hacking at the Heart of the Old Testament, *VT* 39:257-267.
Avigad, Nahman
1978, Baruch the Scribe and Jerahmeel the King's Son, *IEJ* 28:52-56, also published in *BA* 42 (1979):114-118.
1984, *Discovering Jerusalem* (tr. from the Hebrew [1980]; Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
Axelsson, Lars Eric
1987, *The Lord Rose up from Seir. Studies in the History and Traditions of the Negev and Southern Judah* (ConB OT 25; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell).
1988, God Still Dwells in the Desert. A Conception Characteristic for North-Israelite Yahwism, *"Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden". IOSOT Congress Jerusalem 1986* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang):17-20.
Bach, Robert
1952, *Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste* (Bonn; unpublished dissertation).
Badone, Ellen
1990 (ed.), *Religious Orthodoxy & Popular Faith in European Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
Bächli, Otto
1962, *Israel und die Völker: eine Studie zum Deuteronomium* (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 41; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag).
Balkan, Kemal
1967, Contributions to the Understanding of the Idiom of the Old Assyrian Merchants of Kanish, *Or* 36:393-415.
Barnes, W. Emery
1929, Teraphim, *JTS* 30:177-179.
Barnett, Richard David
1964, The Gods of Zinjirli, *Compte rendu de l'onzième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten): 59-87.
Barré, Michael L.
1983, *The God-List in the Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press).
Barrelet, Marie-Thérèse
1968, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique, vol. 1: Potiers, termes de métier, procédés de fabrication et production* (Parus: Geuthner).

1974, La 'figure du roi' dans l'iconographie et dans les textes depuis Ur-Nanše jusqu'à la fin de la 1re dynastie de Babylone, Garelli 1974:27-138.
1978, Review of Woolley 1976, *BiOr* 35:266-281.
1980, Les pratiques funéraires de l'Iraq ancien et l'archéologie, *Akk* 16:2-27.

Barrick, W. Boyd
1975, The Funerary Character of 'High-Places' in Ancient Palestine: A Reassessment, *VT* 25:564-595.
1980, What Do We Really Know About 'High-Places', *SEÅ* 45:50-57.

Barstad, Hans M.
1984, *The Religious Polemics of Amos* (SVT 34; Leiden: Brill).

Bartlett, John R.
1989, *Edom and the Edomites* (*JSOT* SS 77; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

Bayliss, Miranda
1973, The Cult of Dead Kin in Assyria and Babylonia, *Iraq* 35:115-125.

Bechmann, Ulrike
1989, *Das Deboralied zwischen Geschichte und Fiktion. Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu Richter 5* (Sankt Ottilien: EOS Verlag).

Beck, Pirhiya
1990, A Note on the 'Schematic Statues' from the Stelae Temple at Hazor, *TA* 17:91-95.

Becking, Bob
1985, *De ondergang van Samaria* (Meppel: Krisp repro).
1992, *The Fall of Samaria: An Historical and Archaeological Study* (SHANE 2; Leiden: Brill).
1993, Baalis, the King of the Ammonites, *JSS* 38:15-24.

Beltz, Walter
1974, *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im Alten Testament* (BWANT 5/18; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).

Benedict, Ruth
1954 (1946), *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Rutland & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle).

Ben-Tor, Amnon
1979, Tell Qiri: A Look at Village Life, *BA* 42:105-113.

Bentzen, Aage
1933, Zur Geschichte der Ṣadoḳiden, *ZAW* 51:171-176.

Berthier, André & Charlier, René
1955, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine* (Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques).

Bertholet, Alfred
1899, *Deuteronomium* (KHC; Freiburg i. B., Leipzig & Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr).

Beyer, Klaus
1988, Akkadisches līmu and aramäisches לאם, "Eponymat", *Or* 57:82-83.

Bimson, John J.
1991, Merenptah's Israel and Recent Theories of Israelite Origins, *JSOT* 49:3-29.

Biran, Avraham
1981, 'The God Who Is in Dan', *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times. Proceedings of the Colloquium in Honor of the Centennial of Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, Jerusalem, 14-16 March 1977* (ed. A. Biran; Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology): 142-151.

Birot, Maurice
1980, Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *kispum*, *Death in Mesopotamia*

(CRRAI 26; Mesopotamia 8; ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag):139-150.

Black, Jeremy A.
1981, The New Year Ceremonies in Ancient Babylon: 'Taking Bel By the Hand' and a Cultic Picnic, *Religion* 11:39-59.

Blau, Joshua
1980, Short Philological Notes on the Inscription of Meša^{c}, *Maarav* 2:143-157.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph
1972, *Gibeon and Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
1974, Did Saul Make Gibeon His Capital?, *VT* 24:1-7.

Blum, Erhard
1984, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Bogaert, Raymond
1966, *Les origines antiques de la banque de dépôt. Une mise au point accompagnée d'une esquisse des opérations de banque en Mésopotamie* (Leiden: Brill).

Bohlen, Reinhold
1978, *Der Fall Nabot: Form, Hintergrund und Werdegang einer alttestamentlichen Erzählung (1 Kön 21)* (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag).

Boling, Robert G.
1975, *Judges* (AB 6A; Garden City: Doubleday).

Bonechi, Marco & Catagnoti, Amalia
1994, Compléments à la correspondance de Yaqqim-Addu, gouverneur de Saggarâtum, *Florilegium Marianum, II: Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (Mémoires NABU 3; eds. D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand; Paris: Société pour l'Etude du Proche-Orient Ancien):55-82.

Bordreuil, Pierre
1981, Production - pouvoir - parenté dans le royaume d'Ougarit, *Production, pouvoir et parenté dans le monde méditerranéen de Sumer à nos jours* (Actes du colloque organisé par l'E.R.A 357 CNRS/EHESS, Paris, décembre 1976; eds. C.-H. Breteau *et alii*; Paris: Geuthner):117-131.

Bordreuil, Pierre & Caquot, André
1979, Les textes en écriture cunéiforme découverts à Ibn Hani, *Syria* 56:293-315.

Bordreuil, Pierre & Pardee, Dennis
1991, Les textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques, *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville* (RSOu 7; ed. P. Bordreuil; Paris: ERC):139-168.
1992, Textes ougaritiques oubliés et "transfuges", *Sem* 41-42:23-58.

Borée, Wilhelm
1930, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (Leipzig; reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968).

Borger, Rykle
1956, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (*AfO* Beih. 9; Graz: E. Weidner).
1971a, Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten: Zwei prophetische Texte, *BiOr* 28:3-24.
1971b, Gottesbrief, *RLA* 3:575-576.
1991, *Ein Brief Sîn-iddinams von Larsa an den Sonnengott sowie Bemerkungen über 'Joins' und das 'Joinen'* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Bornkamm, Günther
1959, Die 'Ältesten' in der israelitisch-jüdischen Verfassungsgeschichte, *TWNT* 6:655-661.

Bottéro, Jean
1949, Les inventaires de Qatna, *RA* 43:1-40.
1971, Antiquités Assyro-Babyloniennes, *Annuaire 1970-1971*:87-129.
1972, Antiquités Assyro-Babyloniennes, *Annuaire 1971-1972*:79-116.
1973, Le pouvoir royal et ses limitations d'après les textes divinatoires, *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie* (ed. A. Finet; Bruxelles: Institut des hautes études de Belgique):119-165.
1980a, Entre nomades et sédentaires: les Ḫabiru, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 6:201-213.
1980b, La mythologie de la mort en Mésopotamie ancienne, *Death in Mesopotamia* (CRRAI 26; Mesopotamia 8; ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag):25-52.
1983, Küche, *RLA* 6:277-298
1985, *Mythes et rites de Babylone* (Paris: Honoré Champion).
1992, *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods* (tr. Z. Bahrani & M. Van de Mieroop; Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press).
Bottéro, Jean & Kramer, Samuel Noah
1983, *Le mariage sacré* (Paris: Berg).
Braun-Holzinger, Eva A.
1981, Terrakotte eines knieenden Mannes aus Isin, Hrouda 1981:62-65 & Pls. 25, 27.
Brekelmans, Christian
1990[2] (1979), Wisdom Influence in Deuteronomy, *La sagesse de l'Ancien Testament* (BETL 51; ed. M. Gilbert; Leuven: Peeters):28-38.
Brentjes, Burchard
1968, Zum Verhältnis von Dorf und Stadt in Altvorderasien, *WZ der Universität Halle* 17, G, H. 6:9-41.
Brettell, Caroline B.
1990, The Priest and His People: The Contractual Basis for Religious Practice in Rural Portugal, Badone 1990:55-73.
Brettler, Marc
1989, The Book of Judges: Literature as Politics, *JBL* 108:395-418.
Brinkman, John A.
1970, The Akītu Inscription of Bēl-ibni and Nabû-zēra-ušabši, *WO* 5:39-50.
1989, A Legal Text from the Reign of Erība-Marduk (c. 775 B.C.), *DUMU-E_2-DUB-BA-A. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (eds. H. Behrens, D. Loding & M. T. Roth; Philadelphia: The University Museum):37-47.
Briquel-Chatonnet, Françoise
1992, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda* (OLA 46; Leuven: Peeters).
Broshi, Magen
1974, The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh, *IEJ* 24:21-26.
Bruno, Arvid
1923, *Gibeon* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, Erlangen: W. Scholl).
Buccellati, Giorgio
1966, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Napels: Istituto Orientale di Napoli).
1977, *ʿApirū* and *Munnabtūtu*—The Stateless of the First Cosmopolitan Age, *JNES* 36:145-147.
Budde, Karl
1895, The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament, *The New World* 4:726-745 (appeared in 1896 in a German version under the title 'Das nomadische Ideal im Alten Testament' in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* 85:57-79).
1922, *Des Segen Mose's: Deut. 33 erläutert und übersetzt* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr).

Burch, Thomas K.
1972, Some Demographic Determinants of Average Household Size: An Analytic Approach, *Household and Family in Past Time* (eds. P. Laslett & R. Wall; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press):91-102.
Burkert, Walter
1993, Lescha-Liškah: Sakrale Gastlichkeit zwischen Palästina und Griechenland, *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (OBO 129; eds. B. Janowski, K. Koch & G. Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht):19-38.
Burney, Charles Fox
1903, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
1918, *The Book of Judges* (London: Rivingtons).
Burrows, Millar
1938, *The Basis of Israelite Marriage* (AOS 15; New Haven: American Oriental Society).
Byrne, Peter
1989, *Natural Religion and the Nature of Religion: The Legacy of Deism* (London: Routledge).
Cagni, Luigi
1969, *L'epopea di Erra* (StSem 34; Rome: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente).
Callaway, Joseph A.
1985, A New Perspective on the Hill Country Settlement of Canaan in Iron Age I, *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Papers in Honour of Olga Tufnell* (ed. J. N. Tubb; London: Institute of Archaeology):31-49.
Callaway, Joseph A. & Cooley, Robert E.
1971, A Salvage Excavation at Raddana, in Bireh, *BASOR* 201:9-19.
Campbell, Anthony F.
1986, *Of Prophets and Kings. A Late Ninth-Century Document (1 Samuel 1 - 2 Kings 10)* (CBQ MonSer 17; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America).
Campbell, Edward F.
1993, Shechem - Tell Balâtah, *NEAEHL* 4:1345-1354.
Canby, Jeanny Vosys
1974, *The Ancient Near East in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery).
Caquot, André
1959, Remarques sur la 'loi royale' du *Deutéronome* (17/14-20), *Sem* 9:21-33.
1960, Remarques sur la fête de la 'néoménie' dans l'ancien Israël, *RHR* 158:1-18.
1961, Aḥiyya de Silo et Jéroboam Ier, *Sem* 11:17-27.
1969, Nouveaux documents ougaritiens, *Syria* 46:241-265.
1987, Notes philologiques sur la légende ougaritique de Danel et d'Aqhat, I, *Sem* 37:5-16.
Caquot, André & Sznycer, Maurice
1974, *Textes ougaritiques, 1: Mythes et légendes* (LAPO 7; Paris: Editions du Cerf).
1980, *Ugaritic Religion* (Iconography of Religions XV, 8; Leiden: Brill).
Caquot, André, de Tarragon, Jean-Michel & Cunchillos, Jesús-Luis
1989, *Textes ougaritiques, 2: Textes religieux et rituels, correspondance* (LAPO 14; Paris: Editions du Cerf).
Carlson, R. A.
1969, Elie à l'Horeb, *VT* 19:431-439.
1970, Elisée—le successeur d'Elie, *VT* 20:385-405.

Carrithers, Michael, Collins, Steven & Lukes, Steven
1985 (eds.), *The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
Carroll, Robert P.
1969, The Elijah - Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel, *VT* 19:408-414.
1977, Rebellion and Dissent in Ancient Israelite Society, *ZAW* 89:176-204.
Carter, Charles W.
1962, *Hittite Cult-Inventories* (Ph.D. diss.; Chicago: University of Chicago).
Caskel, Werner
1958, Die alten semitischen Gottheiten in Arabien, *Le antiche divinità semitiche* (StSem 1; ed. S. Moscati; Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici):95-117.
Cassin, Elena
1968, *La splendeur divine: Introduction à l'étude de la mentalité mésopotamienne* (Paris: Mouton).
Causse, Antonin
1937, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse: le problème sociologique de la religion d'Israël* (Paris: Félix Alcan).
Cavigneaux, Antoine
1979, Texte und Fragmente aus Warka, *BagM* 10:111-142.
Cavigneaux, Antoine & Al-Rawi, Farouk N. H.
1994, Charmes de Sippar et de Nippur, *Cinquante-deux réflections sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommage à Léon de Meyer* (eds. H. Gasche *et alii*; Leuven: Peeters):73-89.
Cazelles, Henri
1951, Jérémie et le Deutéronome, *RSR* 38:5-36.
1966[3] (1950), *Le Deutéronome* (SB; Paris: Editions du Cerf).
1966, Pentateuque, IV: Le nouveau "status quaestionis", *SDB* 7:736-858.
1967, Mari et l'Ancien Testament, *La civilisation de Mari* (CRRAI 15; ed. J.-R. Kupper; Paris: Société d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres'):82-86.
1981, La vie de Jérémie dans son contexte national et international, *Le livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (BETL 54; ed. P.-M. Bogaert; Leuven: Peeters):21-39.
1982, Le nom de Shear Yashub, fils d'Isaïe, concerne-t-il tout Israël ou seulement le royaume du Nord, *Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: The World Union of Jewish Studies):47-50.
Chamberlayne, John H.
1963, Kinship Relationships among the Early Hebrews, *Numen* 10:153-164.
Chambon, Alain
1993, Far^{c}ah, Tell el- (North), Late Bronze Age to the Roman Period, *NEAEHL* 2:439-440.
Charles, Robert Henry
1963[2] (1899), *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Schocken Books; reprint of the second edition of 1913).
Charpin, Dominique
1980, *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne: étude des documents de 'Tell Sifr'* (Geneva: Droz).
1981, La Babylonie de Samsu-iluna à la lumière de nouveaux documents, *BiOr* 38:517-547.
1982, Marchands du palais et marchands du temple à la fin de la Ire dynastie de Babylon, *JA* 270:25-65
1984, Inscriptions votives d'époque assyrienne, *MARI* 3:41-81.
1986, *Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi* (Geneva & Paris: Droz).
1987, Le rôle économique du palais en Babylonie sous Hammurabi et ses

successeurs, *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 19-22 juin 1985* (ed. E. Lévy; Leiden: Brill):111-126.

1989, Un quartier de Nippur et le problème des écoles, *RA* 83:97-112.

1990a, Les divinités familiales des Babyloniens d'après les légendes de leurs sceaux-cylindres, *De la Babylonie à la Syrie en passant par Mari. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur J.-R. Kupper à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* (ed. Ö. Tuncan; Liège: Université de Liège):59-78.

1990b, Un quartier de Nippur et le problème des écoles à l'époque paléo-babylonienne, *RA* 84:1-16.

1992a, Les légendes de Sceaux de Mari: Nouvelles Données, *Mari in Retrospect* (ed. G. D. Young; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):59-76.

1992b, Les malheurs d'un scribe, *Nippur at the Centennial* (CRRAI 35; ed. M. deJong Ellis; Philadelphia: University Museum):7-27.

1992c, Immigrés, réfugiés et déportés en Babylonie sous Hammu-rabi et ses successeurs, *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (CRRAI 38; eds. D. Charpin & F. Joannès; Peris: ERC):207-218.

1993, Un souverain éphémère en Ida-maraṣ: Išme-Addu d'Ašnakkum, *MARI* 7:165-191.

Charpin, Dominique & Durand, Jean-Marie

1985, La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim, *MARI* 4:293-343.

1986, 'Fils de Sim^{2}al': Les origines tribales des rois de Mari, *RA* 80:141-183.

Cheyne, Thomas Kelly

1901, Kenites, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 2 (eds. T. K. Cheyne & J. Sutherland Black; New York: Macmillan):2657-2659.

1902, Nob, *Encyclopedia Biblica* 3 (eds. T. K. Cheyne & J. Sutherland Black; New York: Macmillan):3429-3430.

Childs, Brevard Springs

1967, Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions, *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (SVT 16; Leiden: Brill):30-39.

Christensen, Duane L.

1984, Two Stanzas of a Hymn in Deuteronomy 33, *Bibl* 65:382-389.

Christian, James B.

1969, *Some Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters at the University of Chicago* (M.A. diss.; Chicago: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations).

Christian, William A.

1972, *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (New York & London: Seminar Press).

Çiğ, Muazzez & Kramer, Samuel Noah

1976, The Ideal Mother: A Sumerian Portrait, *Belleten* 159:413-421.

Civil, Miguel

1967, Šū-Sîn's Historical Inscriptions: Collection B, *JCS* 21:24-38

1977, Enlil and Namzitarra, *AfO* 25:65-71.

1983, The 10th Tablet of úru àm-ma-ir-ra-bi, *AulaOr* 1:45-54.

Clements, Ronald Ernest

1968, *God's Chosen People: A Theological Interpretation of the Book of Deuteronomy* (London: SCM Press).

Coats, George Wesley

1988, *Moses. Heroic Man, Man of God* (JSOT SS 57; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

Cogan, Mordechai & Tadmor, Haim

1988, *II Kings* (AB 11; Garden City: Doubleday).

Cohen, Jonathan
1993, *The Origins and Evolution of the Moses Nativity Story* (Leiden: Brill).
Cohen, Martin A.
1965, The Role of the Shilonite Priesthood in the United Monarchy of Ancient Israel, *HUCA* 36:59-98.
1971, The Rebellions During the Reign of David: An Inquiry into Social Dynamics in Ancient Israel, *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature in Honor of I. Edward Kiew* (ed. C. Berlin; New York: Ktav Publishing House):91-112.
Cohen, Mark E.
1977, Another Utu Hymn, *ZA* 67:1-19.
1993, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda: CDL Press).
Collon, Dominique
1987, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (London: British Museum Publications).
Conrad, Joachim
1980, Welche Bedeutung hatte die Familie für die Religion Altisraels?, *ThLZ* 105:481-488.
Cook, Stanley Arthur
1907, *Critical Notes on Old Testament History. The Traditions of Saul and David* (London & New York:Macmillan & Co.)
Cooper, Alan & Goldstein, Bernard F.
1992, Exodus and *Maṣṣôt* in History and Tradition, *Maarav* 8:15-37.
Cooper, Jerrold S.
1983, *The Curse of Agade* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press).
Coote, Robert B.
1971, Hosea XII, *VT* 21:389-402.
1980, *Amos among the Prophets: Composition and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
1990, *Early Israel: A New Horizon* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
Cornfeld, Gaalyahu
1961 (ed.), *Adam to Daniel: An Illustrated Guide to the Old Testament & Its Background* (New York: Macmillan).
Cornill, Carl Heinrich
1905, *Das Buch Jeremia* (Leipzig: Tauchitz).
Craghan, John F.
1977, The Elohist in Recent Literature, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 7:23-35.
Craig, James Alexander
1895, 1897, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, vols. 1-2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs).
Cross, Frank Moore
1962, Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs, *HTR* 55:225-259.
1973, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).
1976, The 'Olden Gods' in Ancient Near Eastern Creation Myths, *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke & P. D. Miller, Jr.; Garden City: Doubleday):329-338.
1988, Reuben, First-Born of Jacob, *ZAW* 100 Suppl.:46-65.
Crüsemann, Frank
1978, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum* (WMANT 49; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag).
Cummings, J. T.
1979, The House of the Sons of the Prophets and the Tents of the Rechabites,

Studia Biblica 1978, I: Papers on Old Testament and Related Themes (ed. E. A. Livingstone; JSOT SS 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press):119-126.

Cunnison, Ian
1957, History and Genealogies in a Conquest State, *AA* 59:20-31.

Curtis, Edward Lewis & Madsen, Alonzo
1910, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Chronicles* (ICC 11; Edinburgh: Clark).

Dahood, Mitchell
1966, *Psalms*, I (AB 16; Garden City: Doubleday).
1981, The God Yā at Ebla?, *JBL* 100:607-608.

Daiches, Samuel
1929, The Meaning of am ha-aretz in the Old Testament, *JTS* 30:245-249.

Dalley, Stephanie
1973, Old Babylonian Greetings Formulae and the Iltani Archive from Rimah, *JCS* 25:79-88.
1989, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press).
1990, Yahweh in Hamath in the 8th Century BC: Cuneiform Material and Historical Deductions, *VT* 40:21-32.

Dalley, Stephanie & Walker, Christopher B. F. & Hawkins, J. David
1976, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq).

Danell, Gustaf Adolf
1946, *Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament* (Uppsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri-aktieboltag).

Darga, A. Muhibbe
1969, Über das Wesen des *ḫuwaši*-Steines nach hethitischen Kult-inventare, *RHA* 27/84-85:5-20.

Davies, Eryl W.
1981, Inheritance Rights and the Levirate Marriage, Part 2, *VT* 31:257-268.

Davies, Graham I.
1991, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Day, John
1980, The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel, *VT* 30:174-184.
1985, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Dearman, J. Andrew
1989 (ed.), *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Debus, Jörg
1967, *Die Sünde Jerobeams: Studien zur Darstellung Jerobeams und der Geschichte des Nordreichs in der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung* (FRLANT 93; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Delitzsch, Franz
1894[5] (1859), *Biblischer Kommentar über die Psalmen* (ed. Friedrich Delitzsch; Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke).

Deller, Karlheinz
1981, Die Hausgötter der Familie Šukrija S. Ḫuja, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman* (SCCNH 1; eds. M. A. Morrison & D. I. Owen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):47-76.
1985, Köche und Küche des Aššur-Tempels, *BaġM* 16:347-376 & Taf. 31-32.

Demarée, Robert Johannes
1983, *The 3ḫ ỉḳr n Rᶜ-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: NINO).
Demsky, Aaron
1973, Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon—An Historico-Geographic Riddle, *BASOR* 212:26-31.
Dever, William G.
1983, Material Remains and the Cult in Ancient Israel: An Essay in Archaeological Systematics, *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (eds. C. L. Meyers & M. O'Connor; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):571-587.
1987, The Contribution of Archaeology to the Study of Canaanite and Early Israelite Religion, *AIR*:209-247.
Diakonoff, Igor M.
1969, The Rise of the Despotic State in Ancient Mesopotamia, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Socio-Economic History, a Collection of Studies by Soviet Scholars* (ed. I. M. Diakonoff; Moscow: 'Nauka' Publishing House):173-203.
1971, On the Structure of Babylonian Society, *Beiträge zur sozialen Struktur des alten Vorderasien* (ed. H. Klengel; Berlin: Akademieverlag):15-31.
1972, Socio-Economic Classes in Babylonia and the Babylonian Concept of Social Stratification, *Gesellschaftsklassen im alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten* (CRRAI 18; ed. D. O. Edzard; München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften):41-52.
1975, The Rural Community in the Ancient Near East, *JESHO* 18:121-133.
1981, Evidence on the Ethnic Division of the Ḫurrians, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman* (SCCNH 1; eds. M. A. Morrison & D. I. Owen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):77-89.
1982, The Structure of Near Eastern Society before the Middle of the 2nd Millennium B. C., *Oikumene* 3:7-100.
1985, Extended Families in Old Babylonian Ur, *ZA* 75:47-65.
Diebner, Bernd Jörg
1975, Die Götter des Vaters, *DBAT* 9:21-51.
Diedrich, Friedrich
1977, *Die Anspielungen auf die Jakob-Tradition in Hosea 12,1-13,3. Ein literaturwissenschaftlicher Beitrag zur Exegese früher Prophetentexte* (Forschungen zur Bibel 27; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag).
Dietrich, Manfred & Loretz, Oswald
1981a, Neue Studien zu den Ritualtexten aus Ugarit (I), *UF* 13:63-100.
1981b, Die Inschrift der Statue des Königs Idrimi von Alalaḫ, *UF* 13:201-269.
1991, Zum Debatte über 'Funerary Rituals and Beatific Afterlife in Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible', *UF* 23:85-90.
Dietrich, Manfred, Loretz, Oswald & Mayer, Walter
1989, *Sikkanum* 'Betyle', *UF* 21:133-139.
Dietrich, Manfred, Loretz, Oswald & Sanmartín (Ascaso), Joaquín
1973, Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VII), *UF* 5:79-104.
1974, Ugaritisch *ILIB* und Hebräisch *ʾ(W)B*, 'Totengeist', *UF* 6:450-451.
1976, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (AOAT 24; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
Dietrich, Walter
1977, Josia und das Gesetzbuch (2 Reg. XXII), *VT* 27:13-35.
1979, *Israel und Kanaan. Vom Ringen zwei Gesellschaftssysteme* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk).
van Dijk, Johannes
1953, *La sagesse suméro-accadienne* (Leiden: Brill).

Dillmann, August
1886[2], *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (KHAT 13; Leipzig: S. Hirzel).
DiVito, Robert Anthony
1993, *Studies in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names: The Designation and Conception of the Personal God* (StPsm 16; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico).
Donbaz, Veysel
1989, *Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul* (FAOS Beih. 2; Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag-Wiesbaden).
Donbaz, Veysel & Veenhof, Klaas R.
1985, New Evidence for Some Old Assyrian Terms, *Anatolica* 12:131-155.
Donbaz, Veysel & Yoffee, Norman
1986, *Old Babylonian Texts from Kish Conserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums* (BiMes 17; Malibu: Undena).
Donner, Herbert
1964, *Israel unter den Völkern: Die Stellung der klassischen Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zur Aussenpolitik der Könige von Israel und Juda* (VTS 11; Leiden: Brill).
1973, Hier sind deine Götter, Israel!, *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift für Karl Elliger zum 70. Geburtstag* (AOAT 18; eds. H. Gese & H. P. Rüger; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag):45-50.
1976, *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
1977, The Separate States of Israel and Judah, *Israelite & Judaean History* (eds. J. H. Hayes & J. M. Miller; London: SCM Press, Philadelphia: Trinity Press):381-434.
1986, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. Teil 2: Von der Königszeit bis zu Alexander dem Grossen* (ATD Ergänzungsreihe 4/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1990, Ophra in Manasse: Der Heimatort des Richters Gideon und des Königs Abimelech, *Die hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte* (FS R. Rendtorff; eds. E. Blum, C. Macholz & W. Stegemann; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag):193-206.
Dossin, Georges
1948, Une révélation du dieu Dagan à Terqa, *RA* 42:125-134.
1956, Une lettre de Iarîm-Lim, roi d'Alep, à Iašûb-iaḫad, roi de Dîr, *Syria* 33:63-69.
Dostal, Walter
1956, Die Ṣulubba und ihre Bedeutung für die Kulturgeschichte Arabiens, *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 11:15-42.
Draffkorn(-Kilmer), Anne E.
1957, Ilāni/Elohim, *JBL* 76:216-224.
Drijvers, Han J. W.
1986, Dea Syria, *LIMC* 3:355-358.
Driver, Godfrey Rolles & Miles, John C.
1935, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
1952, 1955, *The Babylonian Laws*, vols. 1-2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Driver, Samuel R.
1913[2] (1890), *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
Duhm, Bernhard
1901, *Das Buch Jeremia* (KHAT 9; Tübingen & Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr).

Durand, Jean-Marie
1984, Trois études sur Mari, *MARI* 3:127-180.
1985a, Le culte des bétyles en Syrie, *Miscellanea Babyloniaca. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (eds. J.-M. Durand & J. R. Kupper; Paris: ERC):79-84.
1985b, Les dames du palais de Mari à l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie, *MARI* 4:385-436.
1987, L'organisation de l'espace dans le palais de Mari: le témoignage des textes, *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 19-22 juin 1985* (ed. E. Lévy; Leiden: Brill):39-110.
1989a, Review of Arnaud 1986, *RA* 83:163-191.
1989b, Tombes familiales et culte des Ancêtres à Emâr, *NABU* 1989, no. 112.
1991, Précurseurs syriens aux protocoles néo-assyriens, *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs* (FS P. Garelli; eds. D. Charpin & F. Joannès; Paris: ERC):13-71.

Dus, Jan
1960, Die 'Ältesten Israels', *Communio Viatorum* 3:232-242.

Ebeling, Erich
1951, Ein babylonisches Beispiel schwarzer Magie, *Or* 20:167-170.
1953, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie 'Handerhebung'* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag).

Edelman, Diana V.
1986, *The Rise of the Israelite State under Saul* (Ph. D. diss.; Chicago: University of Chicago).
1988, Saul's Journey through Mt. Ephraim and Samuel's Ramah (1 Sam. 9:4-5; 10:2-5), *ZDPV* 104:44-58.
1991 (ed.), *Toward a Consensus on the Emergence of Israel in Canaan. Papers Read at the SBL/ASOR Hebrew Bible, History and Archaeology Section, AAR/SBL Annual Meeting, New Orleans 18th November 1990* (SJOT 2/1991; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press).
1992, Saul, *ABD* 5:989-999.

Edzard, Dietz Otto
1960, Sumerer und Semiten in der frühen Geschichte Mesopotamiens, *Genava* 8:241-258.
1968, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausend aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur* (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).
1970, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).
1993, Private Frömmigkeit in Sumer, *Official Cult and Popular Religion* (ed. E. Matsushima; Heidelberg: Carl Winter):195-208.

Edzard, Dietz Otto & Lambert, Wilfred G.
1975, Ḫaniš, Šullat und., *RLA* 4:107-108.

Eerdmans, Bernardus Dirk
1947, *Religion of Israel* (Leiden: Universitaire pers).

Eidem, Jesper
1989, Some Remarks on the Iltani Archive from Tell Al Rimah, *Iraq* 51:67-78.

Eissfeldt, Otto
1951, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 98/4; Berlin: Akademie Verlag).
1955, Religionshistorie und Religionspolemik im Alten Testament, *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (SVT 3; FS H. H. Rowley; Leiden: Brill):94-102, reprinted in *KS* 3 (1966):359-366.

1956, El and Yahweh, *JSS* 1:25-37.
1968a, Der kanaanäische El als Geber der den israelitischen Erzväter geltenden Nachkommenschaft- und Landbesitzverheissungen, *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann* (ed. M. Fleischhammer; *WZ* Halle-Wittenberg 17/2-3):45-53.
1968b, Jahwe, der Gott der Väter, *KS* 4:79-91.
1969, Kultvereine in Ugarit, *Ug.* 6:187-195.
1976[4] (repr. of 1964[3]), *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr).

Elliger, Karl
1955, Das Gesetz Leviticus 18, *ZAW* 67:1-25, reprinted in *KS* (1966):232-259.
1966, *Leviticus* (HAT 1/4; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr).

Ellis, Maria deJong
1974, Taxation in Ancient Mesopotamia: The History of the Term *miksu*, *JCS* 26:211-250.
1987, The Goddess Kititum Speaks to King Ibalpiel: Oracle Texts from Ishchali, *MARI* 5:235-266.

Emerson, Grace I.
1984, *Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judean Perspective* (JSOT SS 28; Sheffield: JSOT Press).

Emerton, John Adney
1976, Gideon and Jerubbaal, *JTS* 27:289-312.
1982, New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud, *ZAW* 94:2-20.

Engel, Helmut
1979, Die Siegesstele des Merneptah: Kritischer Überblick über die verschiedenen Versuche historischer Auswertung des Schlussabschnitts, *Bibl* 60:373-399.
1983, Abschied von den frühisraelitische Nomaden und der Jahweamphiktyonie, *Bibel und Kirche* 38:43-46.

Ephʿal, Israel
1978, The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.: Maintenance and Cohesion, *Or* 47:74-90.

Erikson, Erik H.
1968, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (London: Faber & Faber).

Evans, William E.
1983, An Historical Reconstruction of the Emergence of Israelite Kingship and the Reign of Saul, *Scripture in Context, II: More Essays on the Comparative Method* (eds. W. W. Hallo, J. C. Moyer & L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):61-77.

Ewald, Heinrich
1853[2], *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, vol. 3 (Göttingen: in der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung).

Fadhil, Abdulilah
1990, Die Grabinschrift der Mulissu-mukannišat-Ninua aus Nimrud/Kalḫu und andere in ihrem Grab gefundene Schriftträger, *BagM* 21:471-482.

Fairman, Herbert Walter
1939, Preliminary Report on the Excavations at ʿAmārah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1938-9, *JEA* 25:139-144.

Falkenstein, Adam
1950, Review of Kramer 1944, *ZA* 49:324-328.
1956, *Die neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden*, vol. 2 (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).
1959, a k i t i-Fest und a k i t i-Festhaus, *FS. J. Friedrich* (eds. R. von Kienle *et alii*; Heidelberg: Carl Winter):147-182.

1963, Zu den Inschrifturkunden der Grabung in Uruk-Warka 1960-1961, *BagM* 2:1-82.
1974, *The Sumerian Temple City* (MANE 1/1; Los Angeles: Undena).

Falkowitz, Robert
1980, *Sumerian Rhetorical Collections* (Ph. D. dissertation; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania).

Farber, Walter
1981, Zur älteren akkadischen Beschwörungsliteratur, *ZA* 71:51-72.
1984, Early Akkadian Incantations: Addenda and Subtrahenda, *JNES* 43:69-71.
1989, *Schalf, Kindchen, Schlaf! Mesopotamische Baby-Beschwörungen und -Rituale* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).
1990, Magic at the Cradle: Babylonian and Assyrian Lullabies, *Anthropos* 85:139-148.

Fecht, Gerhard
1983, Die Israelstele, Gestalt und Aussage, *Fontes atque pontes* (FS Helmut Brunner; ed. M. Görg; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz):106-138.

Feigin, Samuel I.
1979, *Legal and Administrative Texts of the Reign of Samsu-Iluna* (YOS 12; New Haven & London: Yale University Press), with introduction and indices by A. Leo Oppenheim.

Finet, André
1964, Iawi-Ilâ, roi de Talḫayûm, *Syria* 41:117-122.
1973a (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie* (Bruxelles: Institut des Hautes Études Belges).
1973b, Ḫammu-rapi et l'épouse vertueuse, *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl dedicatae* (eds. M. A. Beek *et alii*; Leiden: Brill):137-143.
1978, Réflexions sur l'onomastique de Mari et le dieu des Hébreux, *Mélanges Armand Abel*, vol. 3 (ed. A. Destrée; Leiden: Brill):64-78.
1993, Le sacrifice de l'âne en Mésopotamie, Quaegebeur 1993:135-142.

Finkelstein, Israel
1985, Excavations at Shiloh 1981-1984, Preliminary Report, *TA* 12:123-180.
1988, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
1989, The Emergence of the Monarchy in Israel: The Environmental and Socio-Economic Aspects, *JSOT* 44:43-74.
1990, The Emergence of Early Israel: Anthropology, Environment and Archaeology, *JAOS* 110:677-686.
1991, The Central Hill Country in the Intermediate Bronze Age, *IEJ* 41:19-45.
1993 (ed.), *Shiloh: The Archaeology of a Biblical Site* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University).

Finkelstein, Jacob Joel
1966, The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty, *JCS* 20:95-118.
1969, The Edict of Ammiṣaduqa: A New Text, *RA* 63:45-64.
1976, Cutting the *sissiktu* in Divorce Proceedings, *WO* 8:236-240.

Fisher, Loren R.
1969, An Ugaritic Ritual and Genesis I, 1-5, *Ug*. 6:197-205.

Fleming, Daniel E.
1992, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar* (HSM 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Flight, John W.
1923, The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament, *JBL* 42:158-226.

Fohrer, Georg
1968, *Elia* (2. überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag).

1969, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter).
1979[12] (1965[10]), *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer), first edition by E. Sellin in 1910.

Fortes, Meyer
1987, *Religion, Morality and the Person. Essays on Tallensi Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Foster, Benjamin
1981, A New Look at the Sumerian Temple State, *JESHO* 24:225-241.
1989, Another Sargonic Water Ordeal?, *NABU* 1989:56 no. 82
1993, *Before the Muses*, vols. 1-2 (Bethesda: CDL Press).

Fowler, Jeaneane D.
1988, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Comparative Study* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).

Fowler, Mervyn D.
1981, Cultic Continuity at Tirzah? A Re-Examination of the Archaeological Evidence, *PEQ* 113:27-31.
1982, The Israelite bāmâ, *ZAW* 94:203-213.
1983, A Closer Look at the 'Temple of El-Berith' at Shechem, *PEQ* 115:49-53.

Fox, Michael V.
1973, Jeremiah 2:2 and the 'Desert Ideal', *CBQ* 35:441-450.

Frankena, Rintje
1978, *Kommentar zu den altbabylonischen Briefen aus Lagaba und anderen Orten* (Leiden: NINO).

Frayne, Douglas
1990, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)* (RIME 4; Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto).

Freilich, Donna
1986, Is There an Ugaritic Deity *Bbt*?, *JSS* 31:119-130.

Frendo, Anthony J.
1992, Five Recent Books on the Emergence of Ancient Israel: Review Article, *PEQ* 124:144-151.

Frick, Frank S.
1971, The Rechabites Reconsidered, *JBL* 90:279-287.
1977, *The City in Ancient Israel* (SBL DissSer 36; Missoula: Scholars Press).
1985, *The Formation of the State in Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).
1989, Ecology, agriculture and patterns of settlement, *The World of Ancient Israel* (ed. R. E. Clements; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press):67-93.

Fritz, Volkmar
1979, Kadesch Barnea - Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte im Bereich der Quellen von Kadesch und die Kultstätten des Negeb während der Königszeit, *BN* 9:45-49.

Frymer-Kensky, Tikva
1989, The Ideology of Gender in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, *DUMU-E_2-DUB-BA-A. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (eds. H. Behrens *et al.*; Philadelphia: The University Museum):185-191.
1990, The Sage in the Pentateuch: Soundings, *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (eds. J. G. Gammie & L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):275-287.

Gadd, Cyril John
1926, Tablets from Kirkuk, *RA* 23:49-161.

Gal, Zvi
1992, *Lower Galilee During the Iron Age* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).

von Gall, August
1898, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten* (BZAW 3; Giessen: J. Ricker).

Gallerey, Maureen
1980, The Office of *šatammu* in the Old Babylonian Period, *AfO* 27:1-36.
Galling, Kurt
1951, Das Königsgesetz im Deuteronomium, *ThLZ* 76:133-138.
1956, Der Ehrenname Elisas und die Entrückung Elias, *ZThK* 53:129-148.
Gamberoni, Johann
1984, מצבה *maṣṣēbāh*, *TWAT* 4:1064-1074.
Garbini, Giovanni
1983, Note sui testi rituali Ugaritici, *OrAnt* 22:53-60.
1988, *History & Ideology in Ancient Israel* (New York: Crossroad).
García López, Félix
1985, Le roi d'Israël: Dt 17,14-20, *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (BETL 68; ed. N. Lohfink; Leuven: Peeters):277-297.
Garelli, Paul
1962, La religion assyrienne d'après un ouvrage récent, *RA* 56:191-210.
1974 (ed.), *Le Palais et la Royauté* (CRRAI 19; Paris: Geuthner).
Gasche, Hermann
1989, *La Babylonie au 17e siècle avant notre ère: approche archéologique, problèmes et perspectives* (MHEM 1; Ghent: University of Ghent).
Gaster, Theodore H.
1947, An Ancient Eulogy of Israel, Dt 33,3-5, 26-29, *JBL* 66:53-62.
Gautier, Joseph-Etienne
1908, *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat au temps de la première dynastie de Babylone* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale).
Gautier, Lucien
1927, A propos des Récabites: un chapitre de l'histoire religieuse d'Israël avant l'exil, *Etudes sur la religion d'Israël* (Lausanne: La Concorde):104-129.
Gelb, Ignace J.
1950, Shullat and Hanish, *ArOr* 18:189-198.
1961, The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples, *JCS* 15:27-47.
1968, An Old Babylonian List of Amorites, *JAOS* 88:39-46.
1972, The Arua Institution, *RA* 66:1-32.
1977, Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions, Gibson & Biggs 1977: 107-126.
1979, Household and the Family in Early Mesopotamia, Lipinski 1979.1:1-97.
1984, *šîbût kušurrā'im*, 'Witnesses of the Indemnity', *JNES* 43:263-276.
1992, Mari and the Kish Civilization, *Mari in Retrospect* (ed. G. D. Young; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):121-202.
Geller, Markham J.
1985, *Forerunners to Udug-hul: Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations* (FAOS 12; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner).
1989, A New Piece of Witchcraft, *DUMU-E_2-DUB-BA-A. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg* (eds. H. Behrens *et alii*; Philadelphia: The University Museum):193-205.
Gelston, Anthony
1973, Kingship in the Book of Hosea, *Language and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Language and Biblical Exegesis* (OTS 19; ed. A. S. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill):71-85.
Gemser, Berend
1968, Questions concerning the Religion of the Patriarchs, *Adhuc loquitur. Collected Essays of Dr. B. Gemser* (eds. A. van Selms & A. S. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill):30-61.
George, Andrew R.
1993, Review of Farber 1989, *JNES* 52:298-300.
Gerstenberger, Erhard S.

1980, *Der bittende Mensch: Bittritual und Klagelied des Einzelnen im Alten Testament* (WMANT 51; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Gertner, M.

1960, The Masorah and the Levites, Appendix: An Attempt at an Interpretation of Hosea XII, *VT* 10:272-284.

Gese, Hartmut

1986, Jacob und Mose: Hosea 12:3-14 als einheitlicher Text, *Tradition and Re-interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C. H. Lebram* (Studia Post-Biblica 36; eds. J. W. van Henten *et alii*; Leiden: Brill):38-47.

Gese, Hartmut, Höfner, Maria & Rudolf, Kurt

1970, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).

de Geus, Cornelis H. J.

1966, De richteren van Israël, *NTT* 20:81-100.

1975, The Importance of Archaeological Research into the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces, with an Excursus on the Hebrew Word gbī, *PEQ* 107:65-74.

1976, *The Tribes of Israel* (Assen & Amsterdam: Van Gorcum).

1983, Agrarian Communities in Biblical Times: 12th to 10th Centuries B.C.E., *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 41/2:207-237.

1984, *De Israëlitische stad* (Kampen: Kok).

1989, The Individual in Relation to Authority in Ancient Israel, *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 46:53-71.

1995, The City of Women: Women's Places in Ancient Israelite Cities, *Congress Volume Paris 1992* (SVT 61; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill):75-86.

Gibson, John C. L.

1975, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, 2: Aramaic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

1978[2] (1956), *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (originally edited by G. R. Driver; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).

Gibson, McGuire & Biggs, Robert D.

1977 (eds.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East* (BiMes 6; Malibu: Undena).

Gilbert, Maurice

1981, Jérémie en conflit avec les sages?, *Le livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (BETL 54; ed. P.-M. Bogaert; Leuven: Peeters):105-118.

Gillischewski, Eva

1922, Der Ausdruck עם הארץ im AT, *ZAW* 40:137-142.

Gilula, Mordechai

1978, To Yahweh Shomron and His Asherah, *Shnaton* 3:129-137 (Hebrew).

Ginsberg, Harold Louis

1961, Hosea's Ephraim, More Fool Than Knave, *JBL* 80:339-347.

1982, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary).

Giveon, Raphael

1964, 'The Cities of Our God' (II Samuel 10:12), *JBL* 83:415-416.

1971, *Les bédouins Shosu des documents égyptiens* (Leiden: Brill).

1976, Hapiru, *LÄ* 2:952-955.

1984, Schasu, *LÄ* 5:533-535.

Glassner, Jean-Jacques

1986, De Sumer à Babylone: familles pour gérer, familles pour régner, *Histoire de la famille*, vol. 1 (eds. A. Burguiere *et alii*; Paris: Armand Colin):127-174.

Goetze, Albrecht
1950, Sin-iddinam of Larsa: New Tablets from His Reign, *JCS* 4:83-118.
1955, An Incantation Against Diseases, *JCS* 9:8-18.
1958, Fifty Old-Babylonian Letters from Ḫarmal, *Sumer* 14:3-78 & Pls. 1-24.
1968, An Old Babylonian Prayer of the Divination Priest, *JCS* 22:25-29.
Golka, Friedeman W.
1978, Schwierigkeiten bei der Datierung des Fremdgötterverbots, *VT* 28:352-354.
Gonen, Rivka
1981, Tell el-ᶜAjjul in the Late Bronze Age—City or Cemetery?, *ErIsr* 15 (Y. Aharoni Memorial Volume; ed. B. Mazar; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society):69-78 (Hebrew).
1984, Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period, *BASOR* 253:61-73.
Good, Edwin M.
1966, Hosea and the Jacob Tradition, *VT* 16:137-151.
Gordon, Cyrus H.
1940, Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets, *BA* 3:1-12.
1962, Teraphim, *IDB* 4:574.
Gordon, Edmund I.
1959, *Sumerian Proverbs* (Philadelphia: The University Museum).
Gordon, Robert P.
1986, *1 & 2 Samuel. A Commentary* (Exeter: Paternoster Press).
Gottwald, Norman Karol
1979, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E.* (New York: Orbis).
Graf, Karl Heinrich
1866, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testament: Zwei historisch-kritische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig: Weigel).
Grant, Elihu
1918, *Cuneiform Documents in the Smith College Library* (Haverford: Haverford College)
Gray, John
1978, Canaanite Religion and Old Testament Study in the Light of New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra, *Ug.* 7:79-108.
1986, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Basingstoke: Marshall, Morgan & Scott).
Grayson, A. Kirk
1987, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (RIMA 1; Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto).
Greenberg, Moshe
1955, *The Ḫab/piru* (AOS 39; New Haven: American Oriental Society).
1962, Another Look at Rachel's Theft of the Teraphim, *JBL* 81:239-248.
Greenfield, Jonas C.
1969, Some Glosses on the Keret Epic, *ErIsr* 9 (W. F. Albright Volume; ed. A. Malamat; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society):60-65.
1973, Un rite araméen et ses parallèles, *RB* 80:46-52.
1987, Aspects of Aramean Religion, *AIR* 67-78.
1990, Two Proverbs of Aḥiqar, *Lingering over Words. FS William L. Moran* (HSS 37; eds. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard & P. Steinkeller; Atlanta: Scholars Press):195-201.
Greenfield, Jonas C. & Shaffer, Aaron
1983, Notes on the Akkadian-Aramaic Bilingual Statue from Tell Fekherye, *Iraq* 45:109-116.
1985, Notes on the Curse Formulae of the Tell Fekherye Inscription, *RB* 92:47-59.

Greengus, Samuel
1966, Old Babylonian Marriage Ceremonies and Rites, *JCS* 20:55-72.
1969, The Old Babylonian Marriage Contract, *JAOS* 89:505-532.
1970, A Textbook Case of Adultery in Ancient Mesopotamia, *HUCA* 40-41:33-44.
1979, *Old Babylonian Texts from Ishchali and Vicinity* (Leiden: NINO).
1986, *Studies in Ishchali Documents* (BiMes19; Malibu: Undena).
Greenspahn, Frederick E.
1994, A Mesopotamian Proverb and Its Biblical Reverberations, *JAOS* 114:33-38.
Griffiths, John Gwyn
1953, The Egyptian Derivation of the Name of Moses, *JNES* 12:225-231.
Grimme, Herbert
1924, Der südarabische Levitismus und sein Verhältnis zum Levitismus in Israel, *Muséon* 37:169-199.
Groneberg, Brigitte
1986, Eine Einführungsszene in der altbabylonischen Literatur: Bemerkungen zum persönlichen Gott, *Keilschriftliche Literaturen* (CRRAI 32; eds. K. Hecker & W. Sommerfeld; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer):93-108.
1989, Dimtu, *NABU* 1989, 73.
Grosz, Katarzyna
1988, *The Archive of the Wullu Family* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press).
Gruffydd, W. J.
1928, Moses in the Light of comparative Folklore, *ZAW* 46:260-270.
Güterbock, Hans Gustav
1946, *Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (Zürich & New York: Europa Verlag).
Gunneweg, Anton Hermann Joseph
1959, *Mündliche und schriftliche Tradition der vorexilischen Prophetenbücher als Problem der neueren Prophetenforschung* (FRLANT 73; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1964, Mose in Midian, *ZThK* 60:1-9.
1965, *Leviten und Priester. Hauptlinien der Traditionsbildung und Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultpersonals* (FRLANT 89; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
Gurney, Oliver R.
1977, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (The Schweich Lectures 1976; Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Haas, Volkert
1992 (ed.), *Aussenseiter und Randgruppen: Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz).
Haas, Volkert & Wilhelm, Gernot
1974, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna* (AOAT 3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker).
Hackett, Jo Ann
1984, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAllā* (HSM 31; Chico: Scholars Press).
Hall, Stuart & Jefferson, Tony
1976, *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (London: Hutchinson & Co.).
Hallo, William W.
1966, The Coronation of Ur-Nammu, *JCS* 20:133-141.
1968, Individual Prayer in Sumerian: The Continuity of a Tradition, *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser* (AOS 53 = *JAOS* 88; ed. W. W. Hallo; New Haven: American Oriental Society):71-89.

1970, Antediluvian Cities, *JCS* 23:57-67.
1976, The Royal Correspondence of Larsa: I. A Sumerian Prototype for the Prayer of Hezekiah?, *Kramer Anniversary Volume* (AOAT 25; eds. B. L. Eichler *et alii*; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag):209-224.
1981, Letters, Prayers and Letter-Prayers, *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem 1977) [1:] Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem: The World Union of Jewish Studies): 17-27.
1982, The Royal Correspondence of Larsa, II: The Appeal to Utu, *Zikir šumim. FS F. R. Kraus* (eds. G. van Driel *et alii*; Leiden: Brill):95-109.
1985, Back to the Big House: Colloquial Sumerian, Continued, *Or* 54:56-64.
1988, Texts, Statues and the Cult of the Divine King, *Jerusalem Congress Volume* (SVT 40; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill):54-66.
1991, The Royal Correspondence of Larsa, III: The Princess and the Plea, *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Etudes sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli* (eds. D. Charpin & F. Joannès; Paris: ERC):377-388.

Halpern, Baruch
1981, *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel* (HSM 25; Chico: Scholars Press).
1983, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (SBL MonSer 29; Chico: Scholars Press).
1992, Kenites, *ABD* 4:17-22.

Halpern, Baruch & Huehnergard, John
1982, El-Amarna Letter 252, *Or* 51:227-230.

Hamilton, Jeffries M.
1992, Paran, *ABD* 5:162.

Hammershaimb, Erling
1970, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).

Handy, Lowell K.
1994, *Among the Host of Heaven: The Syro-Palestinian Pantheon as Bureaucracy* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).

Harper, Robert Francis
1892-1914, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (London, Chicago: Luzac & Co.).

Harris, Rivkah
1960, Old Baylonian Temple Loans, *JCS* 14:126-137.
1963, Review of Weitmeyer, Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers in the Sippar Region at the Time of Hammurabi, *JAOS* 83:251-252.
1964, The Naditu Woman, *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago):106-135.
1965, The Journey of the Divine Weapon, *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger* (AS 16; Chicago: University of Chicago Press):217-224.
1975, *Ancient Sippar. A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City (1894-1595 B.C.)* (Leiden & Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul).
1990, Images of Women in the Gilgamesh Epic, *Lingering over Words. FS Moran* (HSS 37; eds. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard & P. Steinkeller; Atlanta: Scholars):219-230.

Harrison, Peter
1990, *'Religion' and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Hasel, George F.
1992, Sabbath, *ABD* 5:849-856.

Haussig, Hans W.
1983[2], *Wörterbuch der Mythologie, I/1: Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta).
Healey, John F.
1977, The Underworld Character of the God Dagan, *JNSL* 5:43-51.
1984, Ancient Agriculture and the Old Testament (with Special Reference to Isaiah XXVIII 23-29), *Prophets, Worship and Theodicy* (OTS 23; ed. A. S. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill):108-119.
1985, The Akkadian 'Pantheon' List from Ugarit, *SEL* 2:115-125.
1988, The 'Pantheon' of Ugarit: Further Notes, *SEL* 5:103-112.
1995, Ilib, *DDD*: 836-840.
Hebdige, Dick
1979, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen).
Heinrich, Ernst
1975, Haus. B. Archäologisch, *RLA* 4:176-220.
1983, Kulthaus, *RLA* 6:319-323.
Heinrich, Ernst & Seidl, Ursula
1982, *Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im alten Mesopotamien. Typologie, Morphologie und Geschichte*, vols. 1-2 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
Held, Moshe
1961, A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue, *JCS* 15:1-26.
Heltzer, Michael L.
1979, *Dimtu-gt-pyrgos*: An Essay about the Non-Etymological Sense of These Terms, *JNSL* 7:31-35.
Hempel, Johannes
1930, *Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben* (Wildpark & Potsdam: Athenaion).
Henninger, Joseph
1943, Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der ursprünglichen Familienform der Semiten, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 42:1-188 & 1 fig.
1959, La religion bédouine pré-islamique, *L'Antica società beduina* (StSem 2; ed. F. Gabrieli; Rome: Istituto di Studi Orientali):115-140, reprinted in *Arabia Sacra* (OBO 40; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981):11-33.
1968, Zum Erstgeborenenrecht bei den Semiten, *FS Werner Caskel* (ed. E. Gräf; Leiden: Brill):162-183.
Hentschel, Georg
1985, Elia und der Kult des Baal, *Gott, der einzige: Zur Entstehung des Monotheismus in Israel* (ed. E. Haag; Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder): 54-90.
Herdner, Andrée
1978, Nouveaux textes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra - XXIVe campagne, 1961, *Ug.* 7:1-74.
Herrmann, Siegfried
1967, Der Name Jhw in den Inschriften von Soleb, *Papers of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* vol. 1 (ed. S. Shaked; Jerusalem: The World Union of Jewish Studies): 213-216.
1980[2] (1973), *Geschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit* (München: Chr. Kaiser).
Herrmann, Wolfgang
1974, ʿttrt-ḫr, *WO* 7:135-136.
Hertzberg, Hans Wilhelm
1929, Mizpah, *ZAW* 47:161-196.
1956, *Die Samuelbücher* (ATD 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Hess, Richard S.
1991, The Divine Name Yahweh in Late Bronze Age Sources?, *UF* 23:181-188.
1993, Smitten Ant Bites Back: Rhetorical Forms in the Amarna Correspondence from Shechem, *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (AOAT 42; eds. J. C. de Moor & W. G. E. Watson; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag):95-111.
Hiebert, Theodore
1986, *God of my Victory: The Ancient Hymn in Habakkuk 3* (HSM 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
Hill, Harold D. & Jacobsen, Thorkild
1990, *Old Babylonian Public Buildings in the Diyala Region. Part One: Excavations at Ishchali* (OIP 98; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
Hillers, Delbert R.
1972, PAḤAD YIṢḤAQ, *JBL* 91:90-92.
Hirsch, Hans
1966, Gott der Väter, *AfO* 21:56-58.
1972, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (*AfO* Beih. 13/14; Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag).
1975, Handelskolonien, *RLA* 4:90-97.
1977, Aššur und der Gott deines Vaters, *AfO* 25:64.
Hoffman, Yair
1989, A North Israelite Typological Myth and a Judaean Historical Tradition: The Exodus in Hosea and Amos, *VT* 39:169-182.
Hoffmann, Georg & Gressmann, Hugo
1922, Teraphim, Masken und Winkorakel in Ägypten und Vorderasien, *ZAW* 40:75-137.
Hoffmann, Hans-Detlef
1980, *Reform und Reformen. Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag).
Hoffner, Harry A.
1967, The Linguistic Origins of Teraphim, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 124:230-238.
1968, Hittite Tarpiš and Hebrew Terāphîm, *JNES* 27:61-68.
Hoftijzer, Jacob
1956, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* (Leiden: Brill).
1968, *Religio aramaica: Godsdienstige verschijnselen in Aramese teksten* (Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux).
1970, David and the Tekoite Woman, *VT* 20:419-444.
Holladay, John S.
1987, Religion in Israel and Judah Under the Monarchy: An Explicitly Archaeological Approach, *AIR*:249-299.
Holzinger, Heinrich
1893, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (Freiburg i. B., Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr).
1898, *Genesis erklärt* (KHC 1; Freiburg i. B., Leipzig, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr).
Hopkins, David C.
1985, *The Highlands of Canaan* (Sheffield: Almond).
Hornung, Erik
1983, Die Israelstele des Merenptah, *Fontes atque pontes* (FS Helmut Brunner; ed. M. Görg; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz):224-233.
Hrouda, Barthel
1971, Grab II: Syrien und Palästina, *RLA* 3:593-603.
1981, *Isin - Išān Baḥrīyāt II. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1975-1978* (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften).

Huehnergard, John
1983, Five Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar, *RA* 77:11-43.
1985, Biblical Notes on Some New Akkadian Texts from Emar (Syria), *CBQ* 47:428-434.
Huffmon, Herbert Bardwell
1965, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press).
1971, Yahweh and Mari, *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. H. Goedicke; Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins Press):283-289.
Humbert, Paul
1921, Osée, le prophète bédouin, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 1:97-118.
1925, La logique de la perspective nomade chez Osée et l'unité d'Osée II 4-22, *Vom alten Testament. Karl Marti zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (BZAW 41; Giessen: Töpelmann):158-166.
Hunger, Hermann
1975, Zur Ordnung der diagnostischen Omenserie, *ZA* 65:63-68.
Hutter, Manfred
1993, Kultstelen und Baityloi: Die Ausstrahlung eines syrischen religiösen Phänomens nach Kleinasien und Israel, *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (OBO 129; eds. B. Janowski, K. Koch & G. Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht):87-108.
Hylander, Ivar
1932, *Der literarische Samuel-Saul-Komplex (I Sam. 1-15) traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell).
Ichisar, Metin
1981, *Les archives cappadociennes du marchand Imdilum* (Paris: Edition Association pour la Diffusion de la Pensée Française).
Ishida, Tomoo
1977, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel* (BZAW 142; Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter).
Isserlin, Benedikt Sigmund Johannis
1957, Israelite and Pre-Israelite Place-Names in Palestine: A Historical and Geographical Sketch, *PEQ* 89:133-144.
Jacob, Edmond
1960, La femme et le prophète: A propos d'Osée 12/13-14, *Maqqél shâqédh: La branche d'amandier. Hommage à Wilhelm Vischer* (Montpellier: Causse, Graille & Castelnau):83-87.
1964, Der Prophet Hosea und die Geschichte, *EvT* 24:281-290.
Jacobsen, Thorkild
1939, *The Sumerian King List* (AS 11; Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
1940, *The 'Gimilsin' Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar* (OIP 43; Chicago: Oriental Institute).
1943, Parerga Sumerologica, *JNES* 2:117-121.
1946, New Sumerian Literary Texts, *BASOR* 102:12-17.
1957, Early Political Development in Mesopotamia, *ZA* 52:91-140, reprinted in Jacobsen 1970:132-156.
1970, *Toward the Image of Tammuz* (HSS 21; ed. W. L. Moran; Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
1976, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press).
1987, *The Harps That Once* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press).
1989, Lugalbanda and Ninsuna, *JCS* 41:69-86.

1993, Notes on the Word lú, *Kinattūtu ša dārâti. Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (ed. A. F. Rainey; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University):69-79.

Jagersma, Hendrik
1975, שתי in 1. Könige XVIII 27, *VT* 25:674-676.

Jankowska, Ninel B.
1968, *Klinopisnye teksty iz Kjul'-Tepe v sobranijach SSSR* (Moscow: Nauk).
1969, Extended Family Commune and Civil Self-Government in Arrapḫa in the Fifteenth-Fourteenth Century B.C., *Ancient Mesopotamia: Socio-Economic History, a Collection of Studies by Soviet Scholars* (ed. I. M. Diakonoff; Moscow: 'Nauka' Publishing House):235-252.

Janzen, John Gerald
1973, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).

Jaroš, Karl
1976, *Sichem: eine archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Jos. 24* (OBO 11; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Jaussen & Savignac
1909, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux).

Jay, Nancy
1992, *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press).

Jean, Charles-François
1931, *Tell Sifr: Textes cunéiformes conservés au British Museum* (Paris: Geuthner).

Jenks, Alan Wilkin
1977, *The Elohist and North Israelite Traditions* (JBL MonSer 22; Missoula: Scholars Press).

Jepsen, Alfred
1934, *Nabi: soziologische Studien zur alttestamentlichen Literatur und Religionsgeschichte* (München: C. H. Beck).
1981, Mose und die Leviten, *VT* 31:318-232.

Jeremias, Joachim
1958, *Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Jeremias, Jörg
1965 (1977^2), *Theophanie. Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung* (WMANT 10; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag).
1983, *Der Prophet Hosea* (ATD 24/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1987, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Joannès, Francis
1982a, La localisation de Ṣurru à l'époque Néo-Babylonienne, *Sem* 32:35-43.
1982b, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente* (Paris: ERC).
1984, Contrats de mariage d'époque récente, *RA* 78:71-81.
1987, Trois textes de Ṣurru à l'époque Néo-Babylonienne, *RA* 81:147-158.

Johnson, Aubrey Rodway
1962^2 (1944), *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

Johnson, Robert Francis
1962, Moses, *IDB* 3:440-450.

de Josselin de Jong, Jan Petrus Benjamin
1977, The Malay Archipelago as a Field of Ethnological Study, *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands* (The Hague: Mouton):166-182.

Kärki, Ilmari
1983, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften der altbabyloni-

schen Zeit. II. Babylon, *StOr* 55:37-94 [i-viii, 1-50].

Kaiser, Otto

1984[5] (1969), *Einleitung in das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung in ihre Ergebnisse und Probleme* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn).

Kamp, Kathryn A. & Yoffee, Norman

1980, Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Prospectives, *BASOR* 237:85-104.

Kaufman, Ivan T.

1982, The Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness to Hebrew Writing, *BA* 45:229-239.

1992, Samaria Ostraca, *ABD* 5:921-926.

Kaufman, Stephen A.

1982, Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual From Tell Fakhariyeh, *Maarav* 3:137-175.

Kearney, Peter J.

1973, The Role of the Gibeonites in the Deuteronomic History, *CBQ* 35:1-19.

Keel, Othmar & Uehlinger, Christoph

1992, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole* (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder).

Kellermann, Diether

1984, לוי lewî, *TWAT* 4:499-521.

Kelly-Buccellati, Marilyn

1986, Sealing Practices at Terqa, *Insight Through Images. Studies in Honor of Edith Porada* (BiMes 21; ed. M. Kelly-Buccellati; Malibu: Undena):133-142.

Kempinski, Aaron

1986, Joshua's Altar—An Iron Age I Watch-tower ?, *BAR* 12:44-49.

Kenk, Allen

1993, Moses and Jesus: The Birth of the Savior, *Judaism* 42:43-49.

Kenna, Margaret

1977, Greek Urban Migrants anf Their Rural Patron Saint, *Ethnic Studies* 1:14-23.

Kennett, Robert Hatch

1905, Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood, *JTS* 6:161-186.

Keukens, Karlheinz

1983, Die rekabitischen Haussklaven in Jeremia 35, *BZ* 27:228-235.

Kienast, Burkhart

1980, Kinderkauf, -verkauf, *RLA* 5:598-600.

Kimbrough, S. T.

1978, *Israelite Religion in Sociological Perspective: The Work of Antonin Causse* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).

Kinet, Dirk

1977, *Baᶜal und Jahwe. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Hoseabuches* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Theologie 87; Frankfurt, Bern: Peter Lang).

King, Leonard William

1896, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (London: Luzac).

1898-1900, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi, King of Babylon* (vol. 1, 1898; vols. 2-3, 1900; London: Luzac).

1902, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (London: Luzac).

Kingsbury, Edwin C.

1967, The Theophany *Topos* and the Mountain of God, *JBL* 86:205-210.

Kippenberg, Hans G.

1982[2], *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Kitchen, Kenneth A.
1992, Exodus, The, *ABD* 2:700-708.
Kittel, Rudolph
1905, Rechabiter, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 16 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs):480-482.
Klein, Hans
1977, Ort und Zeit des Elohisten, *EvT* 37:247-260.
Klein, Jacob
1981, *The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame* (TAPS 71/7; Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society).
1982, 'Personal God' and Individual Prayer in Sumerian Religion, CRRAI 28 (*AfO* Beih. 19; Horn: F. Berger & Söhne):295-306.
1990, Šulgi and Išmedagan: Originality and Dependence in Sumerian Royal Hymnology, *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology dedicated to Pinḥas Artzi* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press):65-136.
1993, Additional Notes to 'the Marriage of Martu', *Kinattūtu ša dārâti. Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (ed. A. F. Rainey; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University):93-106.
Klengel, Horst
1959, Benjaminiten und Ḫanäer, *WZ Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* III/2-3:211-226.
1960, Zu den *šībūtum* in altbabylonischer Zeit, *Or* 29:357-375.
1971, Soziale Aspekte der altbabylonische Dienstmiete, *Beiträge zur sozialen Struktur des alten Vorderasien* (ed. H. Klengel; Berlin: Akademie Verlag):39-52.
1972, *Zwischen Zelt und Palast. Die Begegnung von Nomaden und Sesshaften im alten Vorderasien* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelung).
1976a, Untersuchungen zu den sozialen Verhältnissen im altbabylonischen Dilbat, *AoF* 4:63-110.
1976b, Ḫammurapi und seine Nachfolger im altbabylonischen Onomastikon, *JCS* 28:156-160.
1983, Bemerkungen zu den altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden und Wirtschaftstexten aus Babylon (VS 22:1-82), *AoF* 10:5-48.
1989, 'Älteste' in den Texten aus Ebla und Mari, *Reflets des deux fleuves. Mélanges A. Finet* (*Akk* Suppl. 6; eds. M. Lebeau & P. Talon; Leuven: Peeters):61-65.
1991, *König Hammurapi und der Alltag Babylons* (Zürich: Artemis & Winckler).
Klíma, Joseph
1978, Das politische Profil der altmesopotamischen Herrscher im Lichte der Prologe und Epiloge ihrer Gesetze, *FS Lubor Matouš*, vol. 1 (eds. B. Hruška & G. Komoróczy; Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem):209-224.
1986, Le règlement du mariage dans les lois babyloniennes anciennes, *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients. FS Oberhuber* (eds. W. Meid & H. Trenkwalder; Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck):109-121.
Knauf, Ernst Axel
1983, Midianites and Ishmaelites, *Midian, Moab, and Edom* (eds. J. F. A. Sawyer & D. J. A. Clines; Sheffield: JSOT Press):147-162.
1985, Nomadischer Henotheismus?, *ZDMG* Suppl. 6:124-132.
1988, *Midian: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
1991, Eglon and Ophrah: Two Toponymic Notes on the Book of Judges, *JSOT* 51: 25-44.

1992a, Seir, *ABD* 5:1072-1073.
1992b, Teman, *ABD* 6:347-348.
Knauf, Ernst Axel & Lenzen, Chérie J.
1989, review of Aḥituv 1984, *ZDPV* 105:174-177.
Knudtzon, Jörgen Alexander
1915, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (VAB 2; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs).
Koch, Klaus
1967, Die Sohnesverheissung an den ugaritischen Daniel, *ZA* 58:211-221.
1980, paḥad yiṣḥaq—eine Gottesbezeichnung?, *Werden und Wirken des Alten Testaments* (FS C. Westermann; eds. R. Albertz *et alii*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht):107-115.
1988, Die Götter, denen die Väter dienten, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht):9-31.
Kochavi, Moshe
1985, The Israelite Settlement in Canaan in the Light of Archaeological Surveys, *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology Jerusalm, April 1984* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society):54-60.
Köckert, Matthias
1988, *Vätergott und Väterverheissungen: eine Auseinandersetzung mit Albrecht Alt und seinen Erben* (FRLANT 142; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
Köhler, Ludwig
1953, *Der hebräische Mensch* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr).
Kohler, Josef & Ungnad, Arthur
1909, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Pfeiffer).
Koschaker, Paul
1933, Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten, *ZA* 41:1-89.
Koshurnikov, Sergei G. & Yoffee, Norman
1986, Old Babylonian Tablets from Dilbat in the Ashmolean Museum, *Iraq* 48:117-130.
Kozyreva, Nelly V.
1991, The Old Babylonian Period of Mesopotamian History, *Early Antiquity* (ed. I. M. Diakonoff; Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press):98-123.
Krafeld-Daugherty, Maria
1994, *Wohnen im Alten Orient: Eine Untersuchung zur Verwendung von Räumen in altorientalischen Wohnhäusern* (Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients 3; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag).
Kramer, Samuel Noah
1944, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur* (AASOR 23; New Haven: American Oriental Society).
1949, Schooldays: A Sumerian Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe, *JAOS* 69:199-215 & Pls. I-IV.
1963, Cuneiform Studies and the History of Literature: The Sumerian Sacred Marriage Texts, *PAPS* 107:485-527.
1965, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago).
1990, The Marriage of Martu, *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology dedicated to Pinḥas Artzi* (eds. J. Klein & A. Skaist; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press):11-27.
Kraus, Fritz Rudolf
1936, Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform, *ZA* 43:77-113.

1939, *Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik* (*AfO* Beih. 3; Berlin: E. F. Weidner).
1954, Le rôle des temples depuis la troisième dynastie d'Ur jusqu'à la première dynastie de Babylon, *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* 1 (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière):518-545.
1955, Neue Rechtsurkunden der altbabylonischen Zeit, *WO* 2:120-136.
1958, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-ṣaduqa von Babylon* (SD 5; Leiden: Brill).
1964, Briefschreibübungen im altbabylonischen Schulunterricht, *JEOL* 16:16-39.
1965, *Könige, die in Zelten wohnten* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company).
1971, Ein altbabylonischer Privatbrief an eine Gottheit, *RA* 65:27-36.
1973, *Vom mesopotamischen Menschen der altbabylonischen Zeit und seiner Welt* (Amsterdam & London: North-Holland Publishing Company).
1983, Eine neue Probe akkadischer Literatur: Brief eines Bittstellers an eine Gottheit, *JAOS* 103:205-209.
1984, *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit* (SD 11; Leiden: Brill).

Kraus, Fritz Rudolf & Klengel, Horst
1983, Spät-altbabylonische Briefe aus Babylon (VS 22:83-92), *AoF* 10:49-63.

Krausz, Joseph (& Hommel, Fritz)
1911, *Die Götternamen in den babylonischen Siegelcylinderlegenden* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz).

Krebernik, Manfred
1987, Lim, *RLA* 7/1-2:25-27.

Krecher, Joachim
1980a, Insignien, *RLA* 5:109-114.
1980b, Kauf A. I., *RLA* 5:490-498.

Kupper, Jean-Robert
1957, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres').
1982, L'usage de l'argent à Mari, *Zikir šumim. FS F. R. Kraus* (eds. G. van Driel *et al.*; Leiden: Brill):163-172.

Labat, René
1939, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve).
1951, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et de pronostics médicaux* (Leiden: Brill).
1965, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux, des signes et des mois* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion).
1974, *Textes littéraires de Suse* (MDP 57; Paris: Geuthner).

Lacheman, Ernest R.
1976, Tablets from Arraphe and Nuzi in the Iraq Museum, *Sumer* 32:113-148.

Lackenbacher, Sylvie
1985, Une nouvelle attestation d' *Ištar hurri* dans un contrat trouvé à Baniyas (Syrie), *Miscellanea Babyloniaca. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (eds. J.-M. Durand & J. R. Kupper; Paris: ERC):153-160.

Laessøe, Jørgen
1959, *The Shemshara Tablets: A Preliminary Report* (Copenhagen: Minksgaard).

Lafont, Bertrand
1984, Le roi de Mari et les prophètes du dieu Adad, *RA* 78:7-18.
1985, Le ṣâbum du roi de Mari au temps de Yasmah-Addu, *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (eds. J.-M. Durand & J.-R. Kupper; Paris: ERC):161-179.

Lambert, Wilfred G.
1960, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

1969, Another Look at Hammurabi's Ancestors, *JCS* 22:1-2.
1975, The Historical Development of the Mesopotamian Pantheon: A Study in Sophisticated Polytheism, *Unity and Diversity* (eds. H. Goedicke & J. J. M. Roberts; Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press):191-200.
1978, review of *OBRT*, *BSOAS* 41:147-148.
1981, Old Akkadian Ilaba = Ugaritic Ilib?, *UF* 13:299-301.
1983, Lāgamāl, *RLA* 6:418-419.
1985, The Pair Laḫmu-Laḫamu in Cosmology, *Or* 54:189-202.
1987a, Review of Tsukimoto 1985, *Or* 56:403-404.
1987b, A Further Attempt at the Babylonian 'Man and his God', *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies presented to Erica Reiner* (AOS 67; ed. F. Rochberg-Halton; New Haven: American Oriental Society):187-202.
1992, Prostitution, Haas 1992:127-157 & 2 Pls.

Lambert, Wilfred G. & Millard, Alan R.
1969, *Atra-ḫasīs. The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Lanczkowski, Günter
1980, *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).

Landsberger, Benno
1915, Bemerkungen zur altbabylonischen Briefliteratur, *ZDMG* 69:491-528.
1916, Das 'erloschene Herdfeuer', *OLZ* 19:39.
1929, Das 'gute Wort', *MAOG* 4:294-321.
1948, *Sam²al. Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstätte Karatepe* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society).
1955, Remarks on the Archive of the Soldier Ubarum, *JCS* 9:121-131.
1960, Einige unerkannt gebliebene oder verkannte Nomina des Akkadischen, *WZKM* 56:109-129.
1967, *The Date Palm and its By-Products according to the Cuneiform Sources* (*AfO* Beih. 17; Graz: E. Weidner).
1968, Jungfräulichkeit, *Symbolae David*, vol. 2 (eds. J. A. Ankum *et alii*; Leiden: Brill):41-105.

Lang, Berhard
1981 (ed.), *Der einzige Gott: Die Geburt des biblischen Monotheismus* (München: Kösel).

Langdon, Stephen H.
1912, A Cylinder Seal of the Hammurabi Period, *PSBA* 34:158-159.
1919, The Religious Interpretation of Babylonian Seals and a New Prayer of Shamash-shum-ukin, *RA* 16:49-68.
1935, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* (Schweich Lectures 1933; London: The British Academy).

Laroche, Emmanuel
1968, Documents en langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra, *Ug.* 5:447-544.
1976, Glossaire de la langue hourrite, première partie (A-L), *RHA* 34:7-161.

Larsen, Morgen L.
1976, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag).

Leemans, Wilhelmus François
1954, *Legal and Economic Records from the Kingdom of Larsa* (SLB I/2; Leiden: Brill).
1983, Trouve-t-on des 'communautés rurales' dans l'ancienne Mésopotamie?, *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 41/2:43-106.
1986, The Family in the Economic Life of the Old Babylonian Period, *Oikumene* 5:15-22.

Lemaire, André
1973, Asriel, Šr^{3}l, Israël et l'origine de la confédération israélite, *VT* 23:239-243.
1984, Date et origine des inscriptions hébraïques et phéniciennes de Kuntillet ^{c}Ajrud, *SEL* 1:131-143.
1987, Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique (la stèle de Mésha: épigraphie et histoire), *Syria* 64:205-214.
1992, Transjordanian epigraphy, *ABD* 2:561-568.
Lemche, Niels Peter
1985, *Early Israel: Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society Before the Monarchy* (SVT 37; Leiden: Brill).
1988, *Ancient Israel. A New History of Israelite Society* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).
Levenson, Jon Douglas
1976, On the Promise to the Rechabites, *CBQ* 38:508-514.
Levin, Christoph
1995, Das System der Zwölf Stamme Israels, *Congress Volume Paris 1992* (SVT 61; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill):163-178.
Levine, Baruch E.
1983, In Praise of the Israelite *Mišpāḥâ*: Legal Themes in the Book of Ruth, *The Quest for the Kingdom of God* (eds. H. B. Huffmon *et alii*; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):95-106.
Levine, Louis D.
1972, Menahem and Tiglath-Pileser: A New Synchronism, *BASOR* 206:40-42.
Lewis, Brian
1980, The Sargon Legend (Cambridge, Mass.: ASOR).
Lewis, Theodore J.
1989, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* (HSM 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
1991, The Ancestral Estate (*naḥălat ^{3}elōhîm*) in 2 Samuel 14:16, *JBL* 110:597-612.
Lewy, Julius
1926, *Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul: Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarīje* (Istanbul: no publisher indicated).
1934, Les textes paléo-assyriens et l'Ancien Testament, *RHR* 110:29-65.
1946, The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus, *HUCA* 19:405-489.
1950, Studies in Old Assyrian Grammar and Lexicography, *Or* 19:1-36.
Lindblom, Johannes
1962, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
1971, *Erwägungen zur Herkunft der josianischen Tempelurkunde* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup).
Lipinski, Edouard
1967, Juges 5,4-5 et Psaume 68,8-11, *Bibl* 48:185-206.
1973, *SKN* et *SGN* dans le sémitique occidental du nord, *UF* 5:191-207.
1979, *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, vols. 1-2 (OLA 5-6; Leuven: Peeters).
1989, עם, *TWAT* 6:177-194.
Liverani, Mario
1961, Bar-Guš e Bar-Rakib, *RivSO* 36:185-187.
1973, The Amorites, *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (ed. D. J. Wiseman; Oxford: Oxford University Press):100-133.
Livingstone, Alasdair
1986, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Lods, Adolphe
1906, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite*, vols. 1-2 (Paris: Fischbacher).
Loersch, Sigrid
1967, *Das Deuteronomium und seine Deutungen: Ein forschungsgeschichtliche Überblick* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk).
Lohfink, Norbert
1963, Die Bundesurkunde des Königs Josias, *Bibl* 44:261-288.
1971, Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks ʿ*m yhwh*, *Probleme biblischer Theologie* (FS G. von Rad; ed. H. W. Wolff; München: Chr. Kaiser):275-305.
1976, Deuteronomy, *IDBSup*:229-232.
1985, Zur neueren Diskussion über 2 Kön 22-23, *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (BETL 68; ed. N. Lohfink; Leuven: Peeters):24-48.
Longman, Tremper
1991, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).
Loretz, Oswald
1984, *Habiru - Hebräer. Eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums* ʿibrî *vom Appellativum* ḫabiru, (BZAW 160; Berlin & New York: W. de Gruyter).
1990, *Ugarit und die Bibel: Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
1992, Die Teraphim als 'Ahnen-Götter-Figur(in)en' im Lichte der Texte aus Nuzi, Emar und Ugarit, *UF* 24:133-178.
1993, Nekromantie und Totenevokation in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel, *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (OBO 129; eds. B. Janowski, K. Koch & G. Wilhelm; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht):285-318.
Loud, Gordon
1948, *Megiddo II: Seasons of 1935-39, Text* (OIP 62; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).
Luby, Edward M.
1990, *Social Variation in Ancient Mesopotamia: An Architectural and Mortuary Analysis of Ur in the Early Second Millennium B.C.* (Ph. D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook).
Luckenbill, Daniel David
1924, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP 2; Chicago: University of Chicago).
Ludwig, Marie-Christine
1990, *Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
Luftiyya, A. M.
1966, *Baytin, A Jordanian Village: A Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Community* (The Hague: Mouton).
Luke, John Tracy
1965, *Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period: A Re-Examination of the Character and Political Significance of the Major West Semitic Tribal Groups of the Middle Euphrates, ca. 1828-1758 B.C.* (Ph. D. Dissertation; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan).
Lunais, Sophie
1979, *Recherches sur la lune, I: Les auteurs latins* (EPRO 72; Leiden: E. J. Brill).
Lundblom, Jack R.
1976, The Law Book of the Josian Reform, *CBQ* 38:293-302.

Lust, Johan
1981, "Gathering and Return" in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, *Le livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (BETL 54; ed. P.-M. Bogaert; Leuven: Peeters):119-142.
Maag, Victor
1980, Der Hirte Israels (Eine Skizze von Wesen und Bedeutung der Väterreligion), *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion. Gesammelte Studien zur allgemeinen und alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (eds. H. H. Schmid & O. H. Steck; Göttingen & Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht):111-144 (revised version of article published in 1958 in the *Schweizerische Theologische Umschau* 28:1-25).
McCarter, P. Kyle
1980, *I Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 8; Garden City: Doubleday).
1987, Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data, *AIR*:137-155.
McCarthy, Dennis J.
1964, Hosea XII 2: Covenant by Oil, *VT* 14:215-211.
McCurley, Foster R.
1974, The Home of Deuteronomy Revisited: A Methodological Analysis of the Northern Theory, *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers* (eds. H. N. Bream, R. D. Heim & C. A. Moore; Philadelphia: Temple University Press):295-317.
Mace, David Robert
1953, *Hebrew Marriage. A Sociological Study* (New York: Philosophical Library).
McGinnis, John
1987, A Neo-Assyrian Text Describing a Royal Funeral, *SAAB* 1:1-11.
Macholz, G. Christian
1972, Die Stellung des Königs in der israelitischen Gerichtsverfassung, *ZAW* 84:157-182.
McKane, William
1988, Jeremiah and the Rechabites, *ZAW* 100 Suppl.:106-123.
McKenzie, John L.
1959, The Elders in the Old Testament, *Bibl* 40:522-540.
McKenzie, Steven L.
1986, The Jacob Tradition in Hosea xii 4-5, *VT* 36:311-322.
Malamat, Avraham
1962, Mari and the Bible. Some Patterns of Tribal Organisation and Institutions, *JAOS* 82:143-150.
1967, Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel, *La civilisation de Mari* (CRRAI 15; ed. J.-R. Kupper; Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres'):129-138.
1968, King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies, *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser* (AOS 53; ed. W. W. Hallo; New Haven: American Oriental Society):163-173.
1989, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Malul, Meir
1985, More on *paḥad yiṣḥāq* (Genesis xxxi 42, 53) and the Oath by the Thigh, *VT* 35:192-200.
1988, *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism* (AOAT 221; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
Margalit, Baruch
1976, Studia Ugaritica II: Studies in *Krt* and *Aqht*, *UF* 8:137-192.
1989, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT* (BZAW 182; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).

Matouš, Lubor
1969, Die Dorfgemeinde im alten Mesopotamien, *Das Altertum* 15:3-9.
Matthews, Victor M.
1978, *Pastoral Nomadism in the Mari Kingdom* (ca. 1830-1760 B.C.) (ASOR DissSer 3; Cambridge, Mass.: ASOR).
Maul, Stefan M.
1988, *'Herzberuhigungsklagen': Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršaḫunga-Gebete* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
Mauss, Marcel
1989[3] (1950), *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France).
Mauss, Marcel & Hubert, H.
1909, *Mélanges d'histoire des religions* (Paris: Alcan).
May, Herbert G.
1943, The Ten Lost Tribes, *BA* 6:55-60.
Mayer, Werner
1976, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen 'Gebetsbeschwörungen'* (StPsm 5; Rome: Biblical Institute Press).
1978, Review of Vorländer 1975, *UF* 10:492-498.
Mayer-Opificius, see Opificius
Mayes, Andrew David Hastings
1974, *Israel in the Period of the Judges* (London: SCM Press).
1989, Sociology and the Old Testament, *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, anthropological and political perspectives* (ed. R. E. Clements; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press):39-63.
Mays, James Luther
1969a, *Hosea: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, Philadelphia: Fortress).
1969b, *Amos: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, Philadelphia: Fortress).
Mazar, Amihai
1976, Notes and News on Khirbet Marjama (ᶜAin Sâmiya), *IEJ* 26:138-139.
1982a, The 'Bull Site'—An Iron Age I Open Cultic Place, *BASOR* 247:27-42.
1982b, Three Israelite Sites in the Hills of Judah and Ephraim, *BA* 45:167-178.
1985, The Israelite Settlement in Canaan in the Light of Archaeological Excavations, *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology Jerusalem, April 1984* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society):61-71.
1988, On Cult Places and Early Israelites: A Response to Michael Coogan, *BAR* 14/4:45.
1990, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (New York: Doubleday).
1993, Beth-shean: Tel Beth-Shean and the Northern Cemetery, *NEAEHL* 1:214-223.
Mazar, Benjamin
1962, Migdal, *EncMiqr* 4:633-635.
1986, *The Early Biblical Period* (eds. S. Aḥituv & B. E. Levine; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society)
1992, *Biblical Israel: State and People* (ed. S. Aḥituv; Jerusalem: Magnes Press).
Meier, Gerhard
1937, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (*AfO* Beih. 2; Berlin: E. F. Weidner).
1939, Ritual für das Reisen über Land, *AfO* 12:141-144 & Pls. VII-XII.
1944, Die zweite Tafel der Serie *bīt mēseri*, *AfO* 14:139-152.
1966, Studien zur Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû, *AfO* 21:70-81.

Meier, Samuel A.
1988, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World* (HSM 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
Meier, W.
1981, '...Fremdlinge die aus Israel gekommen waren...' Eine Notiz in 2 Chronik 30,24f. aus der Sicht der Ausgrabungen in jüdischen Viertel der Altstadt von Jerusalem, *BN* 15:40-43.
Mendelsohn, Isaac
1948, The Family in the Ancient Near East, *BA*:24-40.
1959, On the Preferential Status of the Eldest Son, *BASOR* 156:38-40.
Mendenhall, George E.
1976, Social Organization in Early Israel, *Magnalia Dei. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke & P. D. Miller, Jr.; Garden City: Doubleday & Co.):132-151.
Meshel, Ze'ev
1978, *Kuntillet ʿAjrûd. A Religious Centre from the Time of the Judaean Monarchy on the Borders of Sinai* (Catalogue no. 175; Jerusalem: The Israel Museum).
1992, Kuntillet ʿAjrud, *ABD* 4:103-109.
Mettinger, Tryggve N. D.
1988, *In Search of God* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
1990, The Elusive Essence. YHWH, El and Baal and the Distinctiveness of Israelite Faith, *Die hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. E. Blum, C. Macholz & E. W. Stegemann; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag): 393-417.
1995, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Near Eastern Context* (ConB OT 42; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell).
Meyer, Eduard
1906, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer).
de Meyer, Léon
1982, Deux prières *ikribu* du temps d'Ammī-ṣaduqa, *Zikir šumim* (FS F. R. Kraus; eds. G. van Driel *et alii*; Leiden: Brill):271-278.
1989, Une lettre d'Ur-Utu galamah à une divinité, *Reflets des deux fleuves. Mélanges offerts à André Finet* (*Akk* Suppl. 6; eds. M. Lebeau & P. Talon; Leuven: Peeters):41-43.
Meyers, Carol
1983, Of Seasons and Soldiers: A Topographical Appraisal of the Pre-Monarchic Tribes of Galilee, *BASOR* 252:47-60.
1988, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press).
Michel, Cécile
1991, *Innāya dans les tablettes paléo-assyriennes*, vols. 1-2 (Paris: ERC).
1994, Une maison sous scellés dans le kârum, *Florilegium Marianum, II: Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (Mémoires NABU 3; eds. D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand; Paris: Société pour l'Etude du Proche-Orient Ancien):285-290.
Michel, Diethelm
1994, Nœpœš als Leichnam?, *ZAH* 7:81-84.
Miller, J. Maxwell
1974, Saul's Rise to Power: Some Observations Concerning 1 Sam ix 1-x 16; x 26-xi 15 and xiii 2-xiv 46, *CBQ* 36:157-174.
1975, Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin, *VT* 25:145-166.
Miller, J. Maxwell & Hayes, John H.
1986, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (London: SCM Press).

Miller, Patrick D.
1967, El the Warior, *HTR* 60:411-431.
1973, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).
Mol, Hans
1976, *Identity and the Sacred. A sketch for a new social-scientific theory of religion* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
Montgomery, James Allan & Gehman, Henry Snyder
1951, *The Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
de Moor, Jacobus C.
1972, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, vols. 1-2 (Kampen: Kok).
1990, *The Rise of Yahwism. The Roots of Israelite Monotheism* (BETL 91; Leuven: Peeters).
Moore, George Foot
1918², *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
Moran, William L.
1987, *Les lettres d'El Amarna* (LAPO 13; Paris: Editions du Cerf).
1992, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
Mowinckel, Sigmund
1914, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiania: Dybwad).
1916, *Ezra den Skriftlaerde: Studier til den jødiske menighets historie og litteratur* (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad).
1946, *Prophecy and Tradition* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad).
Müller, Hans-Peter
1976, Das Wort von den Totengeistern Jes. 8,19f., *WO* 8:65-76.
1980a, Gab es in Ebla einen Gottesnamen Ja?, *ZA* 70:70-92.
1980b, Die Texte aus Ebla, BZ 24:161-179.
1980c, Gott und die Götter in den Anfängen der biblischen Religion: Zur Vorgeschichte des Monotheismus, *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt* (Biblische Beiträge 14; ed. O. Keel; Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk):99-142.
1980d, Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu den Texten von Ebla, *ZDPV* 96:1-19.
1981, Der Jahwename und seine Bedeutung. Ex 3, 14 im Licht der Textpublikationen aus Ebla, *Bibl* 62:305-327.
1992, Kolloquialsprache und Volksreligion in den Inschriften von Kuntillet ʿAǧrūd und Ḫirbet el-Qōm, *ZAH* 5:15-51.
Mulder, Martin Jan
1990, *De Rekabieten in Jeremia 35: Fictie, secte of stroming?* (Kampen: Kok).
Mullen, E. Theodore
1980, *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (HSM 24; Chico: Scholars Press).
Muraoka, Takamitsu
1984, The Tell-Fekherye Bilingual Inscription and Early Aramaic, *Abr-Nahrain* 22:79-117.
Murtonen, A.
1951, *The Appearance of the name YHWH outside Israel* (StOr 16/3; Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica).
Muscarella, Oscar White
1974, *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern).
Mustafa, Mohammed Ali
1949, Soundings at Tell Al Dhibaʿi, *Sumer* 5:173-186 & Pls. 1-6.

Na'aman, Nadav
1980, The Ishtar Temple at Alalakh, *JNES* 39:209-214.
1984, Ephraim, Ephrath, and the Settlement in the Judaean Hill Country, *Zion* 49:325-329 (Hebrew).
1986a, Migdal-Shechem and the House of El-Berith, *Zion* 51:259-280 (Hebrew).
1986b, Ḫabiru and Hebrews: The Transfer of a Social Term to the Literary Sphere, *JNES* 45:271-288.
1987, Beth-aven, Bethel and Early Israelite Sanctuaries, *ZDPV* 103:13-21.
1989, Pirathon and Ophrah, *BN* 50:11-16.
1990, On Gods and Scribal Traditions in the Amarna Letters, *UF* 22:247-255.
Naroll, Raoul
1962, Floor Area and Settlement Population, *American Antiquity* 27:587-589.
Nashef, Khaled
1975, Zur Frage des Schutzgottes der Frau, *WZKM* 67:29-30.
Naumann, Thomas
1991, *Hoseas Erben. Strukturen der Nachinterpretation im Buch Hosea* (BWANT 131; Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln: Kohlhammer).
Nebeling, Gerhard
1970, *Die Schichten des deuteronomischen Gesetzkorpus* (Münster; unpub. dissertation).
Neef, Heinz-Dieter
1987, *Die Heilstraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Hosea* (BZAW 169; Berlin & New York: W. de Gruyter).
Neufeld, Ephraim
1944, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (London, New York, Toronto: Longman, Gree & Co.).
Nicholson, Ernest Wilson
1965, The Meaning of the Expression עם־הארץ in the Old Testament, *JSS* 10:59-66.
1967, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
1973, *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Richmond: John Knox Press).
Niehr, Herbert
1987, Grundzüge der Forschung zur Gerichtsorganisation Israels, *BZ* 31:206-227.
1990, *Der höchste Gott: alttestamentlicher JHWH-Glaube im Kontext syrisch-kanaanäischer Religion des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (BZAW 190; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
1991a, Ein unerkannter Text zur Nekromantie in Israel, *UF* 23:301-306.
1991b, JHWH als Arzt, *BZ* 25:3-17.
1994, Zum Totenkult der Könige von Sam'al im 9. und 8. Jh. v. Chr., *SEL* 11:57-73.
Nielsen, Eduard
1978, Historical Perspectives and Geographical Horizons: On the Question of North-Israelite Elements in Deuteronomy, *ASTI* 11 (FS Gillis Gerleman): 77-89.
Nissen, Hans Jörg
1983, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Frühzeit des vorderen Orients* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
Nissinen, Martti
1991, *Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Hoseabuch. Studien zum Werdegang eines Prophetenbuches im Lichte von Hos 4 und 11* (AOAT 231; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Noth, Martin
1927, Gemeinsemitische Erscheinungen in der israelitischen Namengebung, *ZDMG* 81:1-45.
1928, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).
1932, Eine siedlunsgeographische Liste in 1. Chr. 2 und 4, *ZDPV* 55:97-124.
1948, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).
1962, The Background of Judges 17-18, *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (eds. B. W. Anderson & W. Harrelson; London: SCM Press):68-85.
1968, *Könige*, vol. 1 (BKAT 9/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
Nougayrol, Jean
1968, Panthéon d'Ugarit, *Ug.* 5:42-64.
1971, Nouveaux textes sur le *ziḫḫu* (II), *RA* 65:67-84.
Nyberg, Henrik Samuel
1938, Deuteronomium 33,2-3, *ZDMG* 92:320-344.
Obermann, Julian
1946, *How Daniel Was Blessed With a Son: An Incubation Scene in Ugaritic* (*JAOS* Suppl. 6; Baltimore: American Oriental Society).
Oded, Bustenay
1979, *Mass-Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag).
1995, Observations on the Israelite/Judaean Exiles in Mesopotamia during the Eighth-Sixth Centuries BCE, *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. FS E. Lipinski* (OLA 65; eds. K. Van Lerberghe & A. Schoors; Leuven: Peeters):205-212.
Oelsner, Joachim
1974, Neue Daten zur sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Situation Nippurs in altbabylonischer Zeit, *ActAnt* 22:259-265.
Oeming, Manfred
1986, Naboth, der Jesreeliter. Untersuchungen zu den theologischen Motiven der Überlieferungsgeschichte von I Reg 21, *ZAW* 98:362-382.
Oller, Gary Howard
1977, *The Autobiography of Idrimi: A New Text Edition with Philological and Historical Commentary* (Ph. D. dissertation; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania).
del Olmo Lete, Gregorio
1986, The 'Divine' Names of the Ugaritic Kings, *UF* 18:83-95.
1987, Los nombres 'divinos' de los reyes de Ugarit, *AulaOr* 5:39-69.
1992, *La religión cananea según la litúrgia de Ugarit: estudio textual* (*AulaOr* Supplementa 3; Barcelona: AUSA).
Olyan, Saul M.
1988, *Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel* (SBL MonSer 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
Opificius, Ruth (Mayer-)
1961, *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelief* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
1979, Einige Bemerkungen zum 'Haus mit den Bögen' in Tell Asmar, *MDOG* 111:51-61.
1984, Review of Hrouda 1981, *ZA* 74:143-148.
Oppenheim, A. Leo
1954, The Seafaring Merchants of Ur, *JAOS* 74:6-17.
1956, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society).
1967a, A New Look at the Structure of Mesopotamian Society, *JESHO* 10:1-16.

1967b, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press).

1969, Mesopotamia—Land of Many Cities, *Middle Eastern Cities. A Symposium on Ancient, Islamic, and Contemporary Middle Eastern Urbanism* (ed. I. M. Lapidus; Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press):3-18.

1977[2] (1964), *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (revised edition, completed by E. Reiner; Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press).

von der Osten, Hans Henning

1934, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (OIP 22; Chicago: University of Chicago).

Otto, Eckart

1976, Jakob in Bethel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Jakobüberlieferung, *ZAW* 88:165-190.

1979, *Jakob in Sichem. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche, archäologische und territorialgeschichtliche Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte Israels* (BWANT 110; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).

Ottosson, Magnus

1980, *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell).

Otzen, Benedikt

1978, Israel under the Assyrians: Reflections on Imperial Policy in Palestine, *ASTI* 11 (FS Gillis Gerleman):96-110.

1979, Israel under the Assyrians, *Power and Propaganda* (ed. M. T. Larsen; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag):251-261.

Owen, David I.

1976, Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of Professor Norman Totten, Part II, *Mesopotamia* 10-11:5-29.

Pallis, Svend Aage

1926, *The Babylonian Akîtu Festival* (Copenhagen: Høst & Søn).

Paradise, John

1987, Daughters as 'Sons' at Nuzi, *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 9/1* (SCCNH 2; eds. D. I. Owen & M. A. Morrison; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):203-213.

Pardee, Dennis

1984, The Letter of Puduḫepa: The Text, *AfO* 29-30:321-329.

1988a, An Evaluation of the Proper names from Ebla from a West Semitic Perspective: Pantheon Distribution According to *Genre*, *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving* (ARES 1; ed. A. Archi; Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria):119-151.

1988b, *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24[e] campagne (1961)* (Paris: ERC).

fc., *Marziḫu, Kispu*, and the Ugaritic Funerary Cult: A Minimalist View (paper to be published in the proceedings of the Edingburgh conference on Ugaritic studies held in 1994).

Parker, Simon B.

1989, *The Pre-Biblical Narrative Tradition* (SBL Resources for Biblical Study 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Parpola, Simo

1970, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (AOAT 5/1; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

1983, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Part II: Commentary and Appendices* (AOAT 5/2; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Passoni dell'Acqua, Anna
1981, Ricerche sulla versione dei LXX e i papiri. I: Pastophorion, *Aegyptus* 61:171-211.
Paul, Maarten Jan
1985, Hilkiah and the Law (2 Kings 22) in the 17th and 18th Centuries: Some Influences on W. M. L. de Wette, *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (BETL 68; ed. N. Lohfink; Leuven: Peeters):9-12.
Paul, Shalom M.
1991, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
Pedersen, Johannes
1926, *Israel, Its Life and Culture, I-II* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Copenhagen: Branner og Korch).
Perlitt, Lothar
1971, Mose als Prophet, *EvT* 31:588-608.
Pettinato, Giovanni
1979, Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-sipiš, *OrAnt* 18:85-215 & Pls I-XII.
1980a, Ebla and the Bible, *BA* 43:203-216.
1980b, Polytheismus und Henotheismus in der Religion von Ebla, *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt* (ed. O. Keel; Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk):31-48.
Petzold, H.
1970, Die Bedeutung von Ariel im Alten Testament und auf der Mescha-Stele, verbunden mit einem Beitrag zur altorientalische Feldzeichenkunde, Θεολογία ἐν Ἀθήναις 39:372-415.
Pfeiffer, Robert H,
1955, The Fear of God, *IEJ* 5:41-48.
Piers, Gerhart & Singer, Milton B.
1971[2] (1953), *Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytical and a Cultural Study* (New York: Norton).
Pinches, Theophilus Goldridge
1917, Some Texts of the Relph Collection with Notes on Babylonian Chronology and Genesis XIV, *PSBA* 39:4-15, 55-72, 89-98.
Pitard, Wayne T.
1992, A New Edition of the 'Rāpi'ūma' Texts: *KTU* 1.20-22, *BASOR* 285:33-77.
1994, The 'Libation Installations' of the Tombs at Ugarit, *BA* 57:20-37.
van der Ploeg, Jean
1961, Les anciens dans l'Ancien Testament, *Lex tua veritas: Festschrift für Hubert Junker zur Vollendung des siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 8. August 1961* (eds. H. Gross & F. Mussner; Trier: Paulinus Verlag):175-191.
Polselli, Gianna Coacci
1982, *ILIB, ĠB, ʿB* tra Ugaritico, Fenicio ed Ebraico, *RivSO* 56:21-26.
Pongratz-Leisten, Beate
1994, Ina šulmi īrub: *Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der* akītu-*Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im I. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Baghdader Forschungen 16; Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern).
Pope, Marvin H.
1955, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (SVT 4; Leiden: Brill).
1962, Rechab, *IDB* 4:14-16.
Popko, Maciej
1978, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa uniwersytetu warszawksiego).
Porada, Edith
1950, critical review of the *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North*

American Collections, vol. 1 (eds. E. Porada & B. Buchanan), *JCS* 4:155-162.

Porter, Joshua Rey
1967, *The Extended Family in the Old Testament* (London: Edutext Publications).

Postgate, John Nicholas
1972, The Role of the Temple in the Mesopotamian Secular Community, *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (eds. P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham & G. W. Dimbley; London: G. Duckworth & Co.):811-825.
1988, *The Archive of Urad-Šerūa and his Family. A Middle Assyrian Household in Government Service* (Rome: Roberto Denicola).
1992, *Early Mesopotamia. Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (London & New York: Routledge).
1994, How Many Sumerians per Hectare?—Probing the Anatomy of an Early City, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4:47-65.

Powell, Marvin A.
1986, Economy of the Extended Family According to Sumerian Sources, *Oikumene* 5:9-14.

Prang, E.
1976, Das Archiv des Imgûa, *ZA* 66:1-44.
1977, Das Archiv des Bitûa, *ZA* 67:217-234.

Preuss, Horst Dietrich
1971, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im Alten Testament* (BWANT 92; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).
1982, *Deuteronomium* (Erträge der Forschung 164; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).

Pritchard, James B.
1969[3] (1950), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Propp, William Henry
1987, *Water in the Wilderness* (HSM 40; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Puech, Emile
1984, 'La crainte d'Isaac' en Genèse XXXI 42 et 53, *VT* 34:356-361.
1993, Le vocable d'*ʿAṯtart ḫurri - ʿštrt ḥr* à Ugarit et en Phénicie, *UF* 25:327-330.

de Pury, Albert
1991, Le cycle de Jacob comme légende autonome des origines d'Israël, *Congress Volume Leuven 1989* (SVT 43; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill):78-96.

Quaegebeur, Jan
1993 (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (OLA 55; Leuven: Peeters).

von Rad, Gerhard
1947, *Deuteronomium-Studien* (FRLANT 40; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), reprinted in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, vol. 2 (ed. R. Smend; München: Chr. Kaiser):109-153.
1962[4] (1957), *Theologie des Alten Testaments, Band I: Die Theologie der geschichtlichen Überlieferungen Israels* (München: Chr. Kaiser).
1964, *Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium* (ATD 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Rainey, Anson F.
1967, The Samaria Ostraca in the Light of Fresh Evidence, *PEQ* 99:32-41.
1970, *El-Amarna Tablets 359-379: Supplement to J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln* (AOAT 8; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

1978, The Toponymics of Eretz-Israel, *BASOR* 231:1-17.

Rathjens, Carl

1955, *Sabaeica: Bericht über die archäologische Ergebnisse seiner zweiten, dritten und vierten Reise nach Südarabien, II: die unlokalisierte Funde* (Hamburg: Ludwig Appel).

Read, Kenneth E.

1955, Morality and the Concept of the Person among the Gahuku-Gama, *Oceania* 25/4:233-282.

Redford, Donald B.

1967, The Literary Motif of the Exposed Child, *Numen* 14:209-228.

Redman, Charles L.

1978, *The Rise of Civilization. From Early Farmers to Urban Society in the Ancient Near East* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co.).

Rehm, Merlin D.

1992, Levites and Priests, *ABD* 4:297-310.

Reiner, Erica

1958, *Šurpu. A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations* (*AfO* Beih.11; Graz: E. Weidner).

1982, A Manner of Speaking, *Zikir šumim. FS F. R. Kraus* (eds. G. van Driel *et alii*; Leiden: Brill):282-289.

1987, Magic Figurines, Amulets, and Talismans, *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. FS Edith Porada* (eds. A. E. Farkas *et alii*; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern):27-36.

Reiner, Erica & Güterbock, Hans Gustav

1967, The Great Prayer to Ishtar and its Two Versions from Boğazköy, *JCS* 21:255-266.

Rendsburg, Gary A.

1990, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms* (SBL MonSer 43; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Rendtorff, Rolf

1962, Erwägungen zur Frühgeschichte des Prophetentums in Israel, *ZThK* 59:145-167.

1966, El, Baʿal und Jahwe: Erwägungen zum Verhältnis von kanaanäischer und israelitischer Religion, *ZAW* 78:277-292.

1983, Jakob in Bethel. Beobachtungen zum Aufbau und zur Quellenfrage in Gen. 28:10-22, *Isaac Leo Seeligman Volume*, vol. 3 (eds. A. Rofé & Y. Zakovitch: Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein's Publishing House):115-127.

1994, *ʾEl* als israelitische Gottesbezeichnung, *ZAW* 106:4-21.

Renger, Johannes

1967, Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit. 1. Teil, *ZA* 58:110-188.

1969, Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit. 2. Teil, *ZA* 59:104-230.

1972, Note brève, *RA* 66:190.

1973a, Who Are all Those People?, *Or* 42:259-273.

1973b, *märat ilim*: Exogamie bei den semitischen Nomaden des 2. Jahrtausends, *AfO* 24:103-107.

1977, Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia, Gibson & Biggs 1977:75-88.

Renz, Johannes

1995, *Die althebräische Inschriften. Teil 1: Text und Kommentar* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).

Reviv, Hanoch

1966, The Government of Shechem in the El-Amarna Period and in the Days of Abimelech, *IEJ* 16:252-257.

1989, *The Elders in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press).

Richter, Wolfgang

1966[2] (1963), *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch* (BBB 18; Bonn: Peter Hanstein).

1967, Das Gelübde als theologische Rahmung der Jakobsüberlieferungen, *BZ* 11:21-52.

Roberts, James J. M.

1972, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press).

Robinson, Donald W. B.

1951, *Josiah's Reform and the Book of the Law* (London: The Tyndale Press).

Robinson, Edward

1856, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Years 1838 and 1852*, vols. 1-3 (London: John Murray).

Rodd, Cyril S.

1967, The Family in the Old Testament, *The Bible Translator* 18:19-26.

Röllig, Wolfgang

1970, *Das Bier im alten Mesopotamien* (Berlin: Gesellschaft für die Geschichte und Bibliographie des Brauwesens).

1972, Review of Salonen, E. 1967, *OLZ* 67:44-47.

Römer, Willem Hendrik Philibert

1969, 'Königshymnen' der Isinzeit und Königsinvestitur, *ZDMG* Suppl. 1:130-147.

1978, Review Alster 1974, *BiOr* 35:183-186.

1980, *Das sumerische Kurzepos 'Bilgameš und Akka'* (AOAT 209/1; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Rofé, Alexander

1988, The Vineyard of Naboth: The Origin and Message of the Story, *VT* 38:89-104.

Rogerson, John William

1978, *Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).

Rosen, Baruch

1988, Early Israelite Cultic Centres in the Hill Country, *VT* 38:114-117.

Rosengarten, Yvonne

1960, *Le concept sumérien de la consommation dans la vie économique et religieuse: étude linguistique et sociale d'après les textes présargoniques de Lagaš* (Paris: E. de Boccard).

1971, *Trois aspects de la pensée religieuse sumérienne* (Paris: E. de Boccard).

Rost, Leonhard

1938, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).

1960, Die Gottesverehrung der Patriarchen im Lichte der Pentateuchquellen, *Congress Volume Oxford 1959* (SVT 7; Leiden: Brill):346-359.

Roth, Martha T.

1989, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements 7th - 3rd Centuries B.C.* (AOAT 222; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Rouault, Olivier

1984, *Terqa Final Reports, No. 1: L'Archive de Puzurum* (BiMes 16; Malibu: Undena).

Rouillard, Hedwige

1987, *El Rofê* en Nombres 12,13, *Sem* 37:17-46.

Rouillard, Hedwige & Tropper, Joseph

1987, TRPYM, rituels de guérison et culte des ancêtres d'après 1 Samuel XIX 11-17 et les textes parallèles d'Assur et de Nuzi, *VT* 37:340-361.

Rowe, Alan
1940, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan, Part I: The Temples and Cult Objects* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press).
Rowley, Harold Henry
1939, Zadok and Nehushtan, *JBL* 58:113-141.
1950, *From Joseph to Joshua: Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archaeology* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1948; London: Oxford University Press).
1963a, *Men of God: Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy* (London & New York: Thomas Nelson).
1963b, Moses and Monotheism, *From Moses to Qumran: Studies in the Old Testament* (London: Lutterworth):35-63, published in 1957 in German in *ZAW* 69:1-21.
Rowton, Michael-B.
1976a, Dimorphic Structure and the Problem of the ʿApirû - ʿIbrîm, *JNES* 35:13-20.
1976b, Dimorphic Structure and Topology, *OrAnt* 15:17-31.
1977, Dimorphic Structure and the Parasocial Element, *JNES* 36:181-198.
Rudolph, Wilhelm
1963, Präparierte Jungfrauen? (Zu Hosea 1), *ZAW* 75:65-73.
1966, *Hosea* (KAT 13/1; Gütersloh: G. Mohn).
Saggs, Henry William Frederick
1978, *The Encounter with the Divine in Mesopotamia and Israel* (London: Athlone).
Sahlins, Marshall D.
1968, *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall).
Sallaberger, Walther
1993, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur-III Zeit*, vols. 1-2 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
Saller, Sylvester J. & Bagatti, Bellarmino
1949, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet El-Mekhayyat)* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press).
Salonen, Armas
1963, *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia).
1965, 1966, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen*, vols. 1-2 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia).
Salonen, Erki
1967, *Die Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefen* (StOr 38; Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica).
Sanders, James A.
1972, *Torah and Canon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
1984, *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
1987, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
Sanmartín Ascaso, Joaquín
1977, *dôd*, *TWAT* 2:152-167.
Sapin, Jean
1982, La géographie humaine de la Syrie-Palestine au deuxième millénaire avant J.C. comme voie de recherche historique, II, *JESHO* 25:1-49.
Sarna, Nahum M.
1989, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Genesis* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society).
Sasson, Jack
1985, Yarim-Lim's War Declaration, *Miscellanea Babyloniaca. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (eds. J.-M. Durand & J. R. Kupper; Paris: ERC): 237-255.

Sauren, Herbert
1986, Le mariage selon le Code d'Eshnunna, *RIDA 3me série*, 33:45-86.
Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Christa
1983, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im Alten Testament: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Max Webers Studie "Das antike Judentum"* (BZAW 156; Berlin & New York: W. de Gruyter).
Schaeffer, Henry
1915, *The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
Scharbert, Josef
1958, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im Alten Testament und in seiner Uwelt* (BBB 14; Bonn: Peter Hanstein).
1973, ברך, *TWAT* 1:808-841.
1981, Jeremia und die Reform des Joschija, *Le livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (BETL 54; ed. P.-M. Bogaert; Leuven: Peeters):40-57.
1982, BĒYT ʾĀB als soziologische Grösse im Alten Testament, *Von Kanaan bis Kerala* (AOAT 211; FS J. P. M. van der Ploeg; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag):213-237.
Scheil, Vincent
1902, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale).
1909, Tablette de Kut-el-Ḥaï, *RT* 31:132-133.
Schley, Donald G.
1989, *Shiloh. A Biblical City in Tradition and History* (JSOT SS 63; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
Schloen, J. David
1993, Caravans, Kenites, and *Casus belli*, *CBQ* 55:18-38.
Schmid, Hans Heinrich
1976, *Der sogenannte Jahwist. Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag).
Schmid, Herbert
1968, *Mose: Überlieferung und Geschichte* (BZAW 110; Berlin: Töpelmann).
Schmidt, Ludwig
1970, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative: Studien zu Tradition, Interpretation und Historie in Überlieferungen von Gideon, Saul und David* (WMANT 38; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
Schmidt, Werner H.
1979, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube in seiner Geschichte* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
1983, *Exodus, Sinai, Wüste* (Ergebnisse der Forschung; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
1989[4] (1978), *Einführung in das Alte Testament* (Berlin & New York: W. de Gruyter).
Schmitt, Götz
1982, Der Ursprung des Levitentums, *ZAW* 94:575-599.
Schmitt, Hans-Christoph
1972, *Elisa: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur vorklassischen nord-israelitischen Prophetie* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn).
1977, Prophetie und Tradition: Beobachtungen zur Frühgeschichte des israelitischen Nabitums, *ZThK* 74:255-272.
1980, *Die nichtpriesterliche Josephsgeschichte. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuchkritik* (BZAW 154; Berlin & New York: De Gruyter).

Schollmeyer, Anastasius
1912, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš* (Paderborn: Schönigh).
Schorr, Moses
1913, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* (VAB 5; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs).
Schramm, Wolfgang
1973, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* (HdO; Leiden: Brill).
Schreiner, Josef
1977, Hoseas Ehe, ein Zeichen des Gerichts, *BZ* 21:163-183.
Schroeder, Otto
1918, Über Adresse und Grussformel in den altbabylonischen Briefen, *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft Wolf Wilhelm Grafen von Baudissin zum 26. September 1917 überreicht von Freunden und Schülern* (BZAW 33; eds. W. Frankenberg & F. Küchler; Giessen: Töpelmann):411-417.
Schüpphaus, Joachim
1975, Volk Gottes und Gesetz beim Elohisten, *ThZ* 31:193-210.
Schunk, Klaus-Dietrich
1963, *Benjamin: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Geschichte eines israelitischen Stammes* (BZAW 86; Berlin: Töpelmann).
Schwally, Friedrich
1892, *Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel und des Judentums* (Giessen: Ricker).
Seebass, Horst
1973, Elia und Ahab auf dem Karmel, *ZThK* 70:121-136.
1974, Der Fall Naboth in 1 Reg. XXI, *VT* 24:474-488.
1984, לקח lāqaḥ, *TWAT* 4:588-594.
Seeligman, Isac Leo
1964, A Psalm from Pre-regal Times, *VT* 14:75-92.
Sefati, Yizhaq
1985, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature* (Hebrew Ph. D. diss., Bar-Ilan University).
Segal, J. B.
1976, Popular Religion in Ancient Israel, *JJS* 27:1-22.
Seidl, Theodor
1993, Mose und Elija am Gottesberg. Überlieferungen zu Krise und Konversion der Propheten, *BZ* 37:1-25.
Seidl, Ursula
1971, Göttersymbole und -Atribute, A. Archäologisch, *RLA* 3:484-490.
Seitz, Gottfried
1971, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium* (BWANT 93; Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz: Kohlhammer).
Sellin, Ernst
1928, Hosea und das Martyrium des Mose, *ZAW* 46:26-33.
1935[2] (1924), *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer).
Selms, Adriaan van
1954, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London: Luzac).
Selz, Gebhard
1990, Studies in Early Syncretism, *ASJ* 12:111-142.
Seow, Choon Leong
1989, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance* (HSM 46; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Sethe, Kurt
1929, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (Abh. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse; Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften).
Seux, Marie-Joseph
1976, *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (LAPO 8; Paris: Editions du Cerf).
Seybold, Klaus
1973, Elia am Gottesberg, *EvT* 33:3-18.
1976, תרפים Idol(e), *THAT* 2:1057-1060.
Shea, William H.
1977, The Date and Significance of the Samaria Ostraca, *IEJ* 27:16-27.
Shiloh, Yigal
1979, Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Elements in Palestine, *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)* (ed. F. M. Cross; Cambridge: ASOR):147-157.
Siegelová, Jana
1971, *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus* (StB 14; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
Sigrist, Marcel
1993, Gestes symboliques et rituels à Emar, Quaegebeur 1993:381-410.
Simmons, Stephen D.
1978, *Early Old Babylonian Documents* (YOS 14; New Haven & London: Yale University Press).
Singer, Ithamar
1986, The *ḫuwaši* of the Storm God in Ḫattuša, *Türk Tarih Kongresi* IX (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi).1:245-253.
1991, The 'Land of Amurru' and the 'Lands of Amurru' in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty, *Iraq* 53:69-74.
Sjöberg, Åke W.
1960, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell).
1967, Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Sumerischen, *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* (FS Adam Falkenstein; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz):201-231.
1972, Die göttliche Abstammung der sumerisch-babylonischen Herrscher, *OrSu* 21:87-112.
1975, i n - n i n š à - g u r$_4$ - r a : A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the e n -Priestess Enḫeduanna, *ZA* 65:161-253.
Skaist, Aaron
1980, The Ancestor Cult and Succession in Mesopotamia, *Death in Mesopotamia* (CRRAI 26; Mesopotamia 8; ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag):123-128.
1994, *The Old Babylonian Loan Contract: Its History And Geography* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press).
Smend, Rudolf
1963, *Jahwekrieg und Stämmebund. Erwägungen zur ältesten Geschichte Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1975, Der biblische und der historische Elia, *Congress Volume Edinburgh 1974* (SVT 28; Leiden: Brill):167-184.
Smith, Mark S.
1990, *The Early History of God* (San Francisco: Harper & Row).
1993, The Invocation of Deceased Ancestors in Psalm 49:12c, *JBL* 112:105-107.

1994, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume 1: Introduction with Text, Translation & Commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2* (Leiden: Brill).

Smith, Morton

1952, The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East, *JBL* 71:135-147.

1971, *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press).

Smith, Sidney

1932, What Were the Teraphim?, *JTS* 33:33-36.

1949, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (London: The British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara).

Snell, Daniel C.

1984, The Cuneiform Tablet from El-Qiṭār, *Abr-Nahrain* 22:159-170.

von Soden, Wolfram

1951, Review of UET 4, *JAOS* 71:267-268.

1959, Beiträge zum Verständnis des babylonischen Gilgameš-Epos, *ZA* 53:209-235.

1966, Jahwe 'Er ist, Er erweist sich', *WO* 3:177-187; repr. in *Bibel und Alter Orient* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1985):78-88.

1975, Die Terminologie des Tempelbaus, *Le temple et le culte* (CRRAI 20; Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul):133-143; reprinted in *Aus Sprache, Geschichte und Religion Babyloniens* (eds. L. Cagni & H.-P. Müller; Napels: Istituto universitario orientale):203-213.

1989, Tempelstadt und Metropolis im alten Orient, *Aus Sprache, Geschichte und Religion Babyloniens* (eds. L. Cagni & H.-P. Müller; Napels: Istituto universitario orientale):293-335.

1990, Ein Mann und sein Gott, TUAT 3/1:135-140.

Soggin, J. Alberto

1963, Der judäische *ʿam hāʾāreṣ* und das Königreich im Juda, *VT* 13:187-195.

1966, Der offiziell geförderte Synkretismus in Israel während des 10. Jahrhunderts, *ZAW* 78:179-204.

1981a, Bemerkungen zum Debora lied, Richter Kap. 5. Versuch einer neuen Übersetzung und eines Vorstosses in die älteste Geschichte Israels, *ThLZ* 106:625-639.

1981b, *Judges. A Commentary* (London: SCM Press).

1981c, Jezabel, oder die fremde Frau, *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (AOAT 212; eds. A. Caquot & M. Delcor; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag):453-459.

1984, *A History of Israel: From the Beginnings to the Bar Kochba Revolt, AD 135* (London: SCM Press).

1987, *The Prophet Amos* (tr. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press).

1988, The Migdal Temple, migdal šᵉkem Judg 9 and the Artifact on Mount Ebal, '*Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden'. IOSOT Congress Jerusalem 1986* (eds. M. Augustin & K.-D. Schunk; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang):115-119.

Sollberger, Edmond

1951, Thirty-Two Tablets from the Reign of Abī-ešuḫ, *JCS* 5:77-97.

1969, Old-Babylonian Worshipper Figurines, *Iraq* 31:90-93 & Pl. X.

Sollberger, Edmond & Kupper, Jean-Robert

1971, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes* (LAPO 3; Paris: Editions du Cerf).

Sommerfeld, Walther

1982, *Der Aufstieg Marduks* (AOAT 213; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Spaey, Johanna
1993, Emblems in Rituals in the Old Babylonian Period, *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (OLA 55; ed. J. Quaegebeur; Leuven: Peeters):411-420.
Speiser, Ephraim Avigdor
1964, *Genesis* (AB 1; Garden City: Doubleday).
Sperber, Alexander
1992[2] (1962), *The Bible in Aramaic, Vol. 3: The Latter Prophets according to the Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill).
Spronk, Klaas
1986, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
Stade, Bernhard
1887, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*, vol. 1 (Berlin: G. Grote).
Stager, Lawrence E.
1985a, Merenptah, Israel and the Sea Peoples: New Light on an Old Relief, *ErIsr* 18 (Nahman Avigad Volume; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society):56*-64*.
1985b, The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel, *BASOR* 260:1-35.
Stamm, Johann Jakob
1939, *Die akkadische Namengebung* (MVAG 44; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs).
1960, Der Name des Königs David, *Congress Volume Oxford 1959* (SVT 7; Leiden: Brill):165-183, reprinted in Stamm 1980:25-43.
1980, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde* (OBO 30; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
Steck, Hans Odil
1968, *Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte in den Elia-Erzählungen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
Steinkeller, Piotr
1989a, Man-ištūšu, *RLA* 7:334-335.
1989b, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* (FAOS 17; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner).
Stern, Ephraim
1975, Israel at the Close of the Period of the Monarchy: An Archaeological Survey, *BA* 38:26-54.
Steuernagel, Carl
1923[2] (1900), *Deuteronomium und Josua* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
Stoebe, Hans Joachim
1973, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (KAT 8/1; Gütersloh: G. Mohn).
Stol, Marten
1976, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul).
1980, Review of Charpin 1980, *RA* 74:185-188.
1983a, *Zwangerschap en geboorte bij de Babyloniërs en in de Bijbel* (Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux).
1983b, *Een Babyloniër maakt schulden* (inaugural lecture; Amsterdam: Free University Press).
1987, Lugal-Marada, *RLA* 7:148-149.
1988, Nieuw licht op de Babylonische Ballingschap, *Phoenix* 34:36-38.
1991, Old Babylonian Personal Names, *SEL* 8:191-212.
Stolz, Fritz
1973, Der Streit um die Wirklichkeit in der Südreichsprophetie des 8. Jahrhunderts, *Wort und Dienst* 12:9-30.
1980, Monotheismus in Israel, *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner*

Umwelt (ed. O. Keel; Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk):143-189.

Stone, Elizabeth C.
1977, Economic Crisis and Social Upheaval in OB Nippur, *Mountains and Lowlands* (BiMes 7; eds. L. D. Levine & T. C. Young, Jr.; Malibu: Undena):267-289.
1981, Texts, Architecture and Ethnographic Analogy: Patterns of Residence in Old Babylonian Nippur, *Iraq* 43:19-33.
1987, *Nippur Neighborhoods* (SAOC 44; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
1991, The Spacial Organization of Mesopotamian Cities, *AulaOr* 9 (FS Miguel Civil):235-242.

Stone, Elizabeth C. & Owen, David I.
1991, *Adoption in Old Babylonian Nippur and the Archive of Mannum-mešu-lişşur* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns).

Strauss, Anselm A.
1959, *Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press).

Strauss, Christine
1980, Kronen (*ḫ ʿw*), *LÄ* 3:811-816.

Strommenger, Eva
1960, Das Menschenbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik von Mesilim bis Hammurapi, *BagM* 1:1-103 & Pls. 1-22.
1964, Grabformen in Babylon, *BagM* 3:157-173.

Suleiman, Amer
1966, *A Study of Land Tenure* (Ph. D. diss.; London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies).

Sweet, Ronald F. G.
1958, *On Prices, Money, and Money Uses in the Old Babylonian Period* (Ph. D. dissertation; Chicago: The University of Chicago).
1970, An Akkadian Incantation Text, *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World* (eds. J. W. Wevers & D. B. Redford; Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press):6-11.

Szlechter, Emile
1953, Les tablettes juridiques datées du règne d'Abî-ešuḫ conservées au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, *JCS* 7:81-99.
1958, *Tablettes juridiques de la Ire dynastie de Babylone* (Paris: Sirey).
1963, *Tablettes juridiques et administratives de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur et de la Ire dynastie de Babylone* (Paris: Sirey).

Tadmor, Hayim
1984, Autobiographical Apology in Royal Assyrian Literature, *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (eds. H. Tadmor & M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, Leiden: Brill):36-57.

Tajfel, Henri
1982 (ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme).

Talmon, Shemaryahu
1958, המה הקינים הבאים מחמת אבי בית רכב, *ErIsr 5* (FS Benjamin Mazar; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & The Hebrew University):31-63, 111-113.
1966, The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature, *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (ed. A. Altmann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press):31-63.
1984, מדבר *miḏbār*, *TWAT* 4:660-695.
1986, *King, Cult, and Calendar in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press).

Talon, Philippe
1979, La taxe 'sugāgūtum' à Mari, *RA* 73:143-151.
1985, Quelques réflexions sur les clans hanéens, *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* (eds. J.-M. Durand & J.-R. Kupper; Paris: ERC):277-284.
1986, Les nomades et le royaume de Mari, *Akk* 48:1-9.
Tannous, Alif I.
1944, The Arab Village Community of the Middle East, *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1943*:523-544.
de Tarragon, Jean-Michel
1980, *Le culte à Ugarit* (Paris: Gabalda).
Teixidor, Javier
1977, *The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
1979, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (EPRO 79; Leiden: Brill).
Thiel, Winfried
1976, Verwandtschaftsgruppe und Stamm in der halbnomadischen Frühgeschichte Israels, *AoF* 4:151-165.
1980, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
1991, Deuteronomistische Redaktionsarbeit in den Elia-Erzählungen, *Congress Volume Leuven 1989* (SVT 43; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill):148-171.
Thompson, R. Campbell
1930, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Oxford: Clarendon).
Thompson, Thomas L.
1992, *Early History of the Israelite People* (SHANE 4; Leiden: Brill).
Thureau-Dangin, François
1903, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes* (Paris: E. Leroux)
1937, Trois contrats de Ras-Shamra, *Syria* 18:245-255.
Thureau-Dangin, François & Dhorme, Paul
1924, Cinq jours de fouilles à ᶜAshâra, *Syria* 5:265-293.
Tiele, Cornelis Petrus
1872, *Vergelijkende geschiedenis van de Egyptische en Mesopotamische godsdiensten* (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen).
Tigay, Jeffrey H.
1986, *You Shall Have No Other Gods. Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions* (HSS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
1987, Israelite Religion: The Onomastic and Epigraphic Evidence, *AIR*:157-166.
Timm, Stefan
1982, *Die Dynastie Omri: Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Israels im 9. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (FRLANT 124; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
Toombs, Lawrence E.
1979, Shechem: Problems of the Early Israelite Era, *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)* (ed. F. M. Cross; Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research):69-83.
van der Toorn, Karel
1985, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia: A Comparative Study* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum).
1986a, Judges XVI 21 in the Light of the Akkadian Sources, *VT* 36:248-253.
1986b, Ḥerem-Bethel and Elephantine Oath Procedure, *ZAW* 98:282-285.
1988, Echoes of Judaean Necromancy in Isaiah 28,7-22, *ZAW* 100:199-217.
1989, La pureté rituelle au Proche-Orient ancien, *RHR* 206:339-356.
1990, Het Babylonische Nieuwjaarsfeest, *Phoenix* 36:10-29.

1991a, Funerary Rituals and Beatific Afterlife in Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible, *BiOr* 48:40-66.
1991b, The Babylonian New Year Festival: New Insights from the Cuneiform Texts and their Bearing on Old Testament Study, *Congress Volume Leuven 1989* (SVT 43; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill):331-344.
1992, Anat-Yahu, Some Other Deities, and the Jews of Elephantine, *Numen* 39:80-101.
1994a, *From Her Cradle to Her Grave* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).
1994b, Gods and Ancestors in Emar and Nuzi, *ZA* 84:38-59.

van der Toorn, Karel & Houtman, Cees
1994, David and the Ark, *JBL* 113:209-231.

van der Toorn, Karel & Lewis, Theodore J.
1995, תרפים, *TWAT* 8:765-778.

Torrey, Charles Cutler
1907, Epigraphic Notes, 1: An Inscription from the 'High Place' of the Goddess Al-ʿUzza, in Petra, *JAOS* 28:349-351.

Tov, Emmanuel
1976, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch* (HSM 8; Missoula: Scholars Press).
1981, Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah, *Le livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (BETL 54; ed. P.-M. Bogaert; Leuven: Peeters):145-167.

Tromp, Johannes
1995, The Critique of Idolatry in the Context of Jewish Monotheism, *Aspects of Religious Contact and Conflict in the Ancient World* (ed. P. W. van der Horst; Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht):105-120.

Tropper, Josef
1989, *Nekromantie: Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (AOAT 223; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
1993, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli. Neue Edition und vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, samʾalischen und aramäischen Textkorpus* (ALASP 6; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag).

Tsevat, Mattityahu
1962, Studies in the Book of Samuel, II: Interpretation of I Sam. 10:2, Saul at Rachel's Tomb, *HUCA* 33:107-118.
1973, *bĕkôr*, *TWAT* 1:643-650.
1975, The Husband Veils a Wife, *JCS* 27:235-240.

Tsukimoto, Akio
1985, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege* (kispum) *im alten Mesopotamien* (AOAT 216; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
1991, Akkadian Tablets in the Hirayama Collection (II), *ASJ* 13:275-333.

Tsumura, David Toshio
1988, A 'Hyponymous' Word Pair: *ʾrṣ* and *thm(t)* in Hebrew and Ugaritic, *Bibl* 69:258-269.

Tur-Sinai, Naphtali Herz (Harry Torczyner)
1950, אביר, *EncMiqr* 1:31-33.

Unger, Eckhardt
1938, Dilbat, *RLA* 2:218-225.

Ungnad, Arthur
1910, Ein neuer Omentext aus der Zeit Ammiusadugas, *Babyloniaca* 3:141-144 & Pl. IX.
1914, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie* (VAB 6; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs).

Ussishkin, David
1989, Schumacher's Shrine Building 338 at Megiddo, *IEJ* 39:149-172.
Utzschneider, Helmut
1980, *Hosea Prophet vor dem Ende. Zum Verhältnis von Geschichte und Institution in der alttestamentliche Prophetie* (OBO 31; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
Van de Mieroop, Marc
1992, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur* (BBVO 12; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer).
Van Gennep, Arnold
1909, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: Émile Nourry).
Van Lerberghe, Karel
1982, L'arrachement de l'emblème *šurinnum*, *Zikir šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus* (eds. G. van Driel *et al.*; Leiden: Brill):245-257.
1986 (in collaboration with M. Stol & G. Voet), *Old Babylonian Legal and Administrative Texts from Philadelphia* (OLA 21; Leuven: Peeters).
Van Lerberghe, Karel & Voet, Gabriela
1991, *Sippar-Amnānum, the Ur-Utu Archive,* vol. 1 (MHET 1; Ghent: University of Ghent).
Van Seters, John
1975, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press).
1980, The Religion of the Patriarchs in Genesis, *Bibl* 61:220-233.
1987, Moses, *Encyclopedia of Religion* (ed. M. Eliade; New York: Macmillan) 10:115-121.
Vaughan, Patrick H.
1974, *The Meaning of 'Bāmâ' in the Old Testament: A Study of the Etymological, Textual and Archaeological Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
de Vaux, Roland
1957, Les fouilles de Tell el-Farᶜah près Naplouse: Sixième Campagne, rapport préliminaire, *RB* 64:552-580 & Pls. VI-XIII.
1964, Le sens de l'expression "peuple du pays" dans l'Ancien Testament et le rôle politique du peuple en Israël, *RA* 58:167-172.
1967a, Elie et les prophètes de Baal, *Bible et Orient* (Paris: Editions du Cerf):485-497.
1967b, Tirzah, *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (ed. D. W. Thomas; Oxford: Oxford University Press):371-383.
1970, The Revelation of the Divine Name YHWH, *Proclamation and Presence. Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies* (eds. J. I. Durham & J. R. Porter; London: SCM Press):48-75.
1971, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël* (Paris: Gabalda).
1975, El-Farᶜah, Tell, North, *EAEHL* 2:395-404.
1976[3] (1957), *Les institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, vols. 1-2 (Paris: Editions du Cerf).
Veenhof, Klaas R.
1972, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and Its Terminology* (Leiden: Brill).
1976, The Dissolution of an Old Babylonian Marriage according to *CT* 45, 86, *RA* 70:153-164.
1977, Some Social Effects of Old Assyrian Trade, *Iraq* 39:109-118.
1978, *aššum Šamaš*, 'by Šamaš!,' and Similar Formulas, *JCS* 30:186-188.
1985, *Tarbaṣ nišī*, 'Sheepfold of men'?, *RA* 79:94-95.
1987, Of 'Dying Tablets' and 'Hungry Silver': Elements of Figurative Language in Akkadian Commercial Terminology, *Figurative Language in*

the Ancient Near East (eds. M. Mindlin, M. J. Geller & J. E. Wansbrough; London: School of Oriental and African Studies):41-75.

1988, Notities over het sacrale koningschap in het Oude Mesopotamië, *Sacraal Koningschap: Schakel tussen goden en mensen* (ed. H. J. M. Claessen; Leiden: CNWS):27-44.

Vernus, Pascal

1977, Le dieu personnel dans l'Egypte pharaonique, *Premier et deuxième colloques d'Histoire des Religions organisés par la Société Ernest Renan Société française d'Histoire des Religions 1976 et 1977* (Orsay: Centre interdisciplinaire d'étude de l'évolution des idées, des sciences et techniques):143-157.

Vorländer, Hermann

1975, *Mein Gott. Die Vorstellungen vom persönlichen Gott im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (AOAT 23; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Vriezen, Theodoor C.

1942, La tradition de Jacob dans Osée, *OTS* 1:64-78.

Vriezen, Theodoor C. & van der Woude, Adam S.

1973[4] (1948), *De literatuur van oud-Israël* (Servire: Wassenaar).

Vrijhof, Pieter Hendrik & Waardenburg, Jacques

1979 (eds.), *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (The Hague: Mouton).

van der Wal, Adri

1986[3] (1981[1]) *Amos: A Classified Bibliography* (Amsterdam: Free University Press).

Walker, Christopher B. F. & Collon, Dominique

1980, Hormuzd Rassam's Excavations for the British Museum at Sippar in 1881-1882, *Tell ed-Dēr III* (ed. L. de Meyer; Leuven: Peeters):93-114 & Pls. 25-29.

Walker, Christopher B. F. & Kramer, Samuel Noah

1982, Cuneiform Tablets in the Collection of Lord Binning, *Iraq* 44:70-86.

Walsh, Jerome T.

1992, Elijah, *ABD* 2:463-466.

Walters, Stanley D.

1971, The Sorceress and Her Apprentice, *JCS* 23:27-38.

1991, Saul of Gibeon, *JSOT* 52:61-76.

Wanke, Gunther

1971, *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchschrift* (BZAW 122; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).

de Ward, E. F.

1977, Superstition and Judgment: Archaic Methods of Finding a Verdict, *ZAW* 89:1-19.

Ward, William Hayes

1920, *Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

von der Way, Thomas

1992, *Göttergericht und 'Heiliger' Krieg im Alten Ägypten: Die Inschriften des Merenptah zum Libyerkrieg des Jahres 5* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag).

Wegner, Ilse

1981, Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Klein-Asien (AOAT 36; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Weinberg, Joel P.

1973, Das *bēit ʾābōt* im 6.-4. Jh. v.u.Z., *VT* 23:400-414.

Weinfeld, Moshe
1972, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
1977, Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East, *Israel Oriental Studies* 7:65-88.
1984, Kuntillet ʿAjrud Inscriptions and Their Significance, *SEL* 1:121-130.
1985, The Emergence of the Deuteronomic Movement: The Historical Antecedents, *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (BETL 68; ed. N. Lohfink; Leuven: Peeters):76-98.
1987, The Tribal League at Sinai, *AIR*: 303-314.
1988, The Pattern of the Israelite Settlement in Canaan, *Congress Volume Jerusalem 1986* (SVT 40; ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill):270-283.
1991, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday).
1992, Deuteronomy, Book of, *ABD* 2:168-183.
Weintraub, Karl Joachim
1978, *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
Weippert, Helga
1973, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches* (BZAW 132; Berlin & New York: W. de Gruyter).
1978, review of Jaroš 1976, *ZDPV* 94:167-176.
1981, Der Beitrag ausserbiblischer Prophetentexte zum Verständnis der Prosareden des Jeremiabuches, *Le livre de Jérémie: Le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (BETL 54; ed. P.-M. Bogaert; Leuven: Peeters):83-104.
1988, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Handbuch der Archäologie; Vorderasien II/1; München: C. H. Beck).
Weippert, Manfred
1967, *Die Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme in der neueren wissenschaftlichen Diskussion* (FRLANT 92; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1969, Ein ugaritischer Beleg für das Land 'Qadi' der ägyptischen Texten ?, *ZDPV* 85:35-50.
1972, 'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien. Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des 'Heiligen Krieges im Alten Testament', *ZAW* 84:460-493.
1973, Menahem von Israel und seine Zeitgenossen in einer Steleninschrift des assyrischen Königs Tiglathpileser III. aus Iran, *ZDPV* 89:26-53.
1974, Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends: Über die *šꜣśw* der ägyptischen Quellen, *Bibl* 55:265-280, 427-433.
1979, The Israelite 'Conquest' and the Evidence from Transjordan, *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)* (ed. F. M. Cross; Cambridge, Mass.: ASOR):15-34.
1980, Jahwe, *RLA* 5:246-254.
1982, Zur Syrienpolitik Tiglathpileser III., *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (CRRAI 25; BBVO 1 & 2; eds. H.-J. Nissen & J. Renger; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag):395-408.
1990, Synkretismus und Monotheismus: Religionsinterne Konfliktbewältigung im alten Israel, *Kultur und Konflikt* (eds. J. Assmann & D. Harth; Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp):143-179.
Weisman, Zeev
1978, A Connecting Link in an Old Hymn: Deuteronomy XXXIII 19A, 21B, *VT* 28:365-368.
Welch, Adam C.
1924, *The Code of Deuteronomy: A New Theory of Its Origin* (London: James Clarke & Co.).

Wellhausen, Julius
1871, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1889[2] (1885), *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Georg Reimer).
1905[6] (1878), *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin & Leipzig: W. de Gruyter; reprint 1927).
1927[3] (1887), *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co).
Welten, Peter
1973, Naboths Weinberg (1.Könige 21), *EvT* 33:18-32.
Wenning, Robert & Zenger, Erich
1986, Ein bäuerliches Baal-Heiligtum im samarischen Gebirge aus der Zeit der Anfänge Israels, *ZDPV* 102:75-86.
Wensinck, Arent Jan
1941, De oorsprongen van het Jahwisme, *Semietische Studiën uit de nalatenschap van Prof. Dr A. J. Wensinck* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff):23-50.
Westbrook, Raymond
1988, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law* (*AfO* Beih. 23; Horn: F. Berger & Söhne).
1991, *Property and the Family in Biblical Law* (*JSOT* SS 113; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
Westenholz, Aage
1976, The Earliest Akkadian Religion, *Or* 45:215-216.
Westermann, Claus
1981, *Genesis*, vol. 2 (BK 1/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
de Wette, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht
1806, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Vol. I: Kritischer Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik mit Hinsicht auf die Geschichte der Mosaischen Bücher und Gesetzgebung* (Halle an der Saale; reprinted 1974, Hildesheim: Georg Olms).
Wheatley, Paul
1976, Levels of Space Awareness in the Traditional Islamic City, *Ekistics* 42:354-366.
Whitelam, Keith W.
1979, *The Just King. Monarchical Judicial Authority in Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: JSOT Press).
Whiting, Robert M.
1987, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar* (AS 22; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
Whitt, William D.
1991, The Jacob Traditions in Hosea and their Relation to Genesis, *ZAW* 103:18-43.
Widengren, Geo
1970, What Do We Know About Moses? *Proclamation and Presence. Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies* (eds. J. I. Durham & J. R. Porter; London: SCM Press):21-47.
Wiebach, Silvia
1986, Die Begegnung von Lebenden und Verstorbenen im Rahmen des Tebanischen Talfestes, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 13:263-291.
Wiggermann, Frans A. M.
1982, Exit Talim! Studies in Babylonian Demonology, I, *JEOL* 27:90-105.
1992, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts* (Groningen: Styx & PP).
Wiggins, Steve A.
1993, *A Reassessment of 'Asherah'. A Study According to the Textual Sources of the First Two Millenia* [sic] *B.C.E.* (AOAT 235; Kevelaer: Butzon &

Bercker, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Wijngaards, Johannes N. M.

1965, הוצא and העלה: A Twofold Approach to the Exodus, *VT* 15:91-102.

Wilcke, Claus

1973, Sumerische literarische Texte in Manchester und Liverpool, *AfO* 24:1-17.

1974, Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit, Garelli 1974:177-232.

1978, Philologische Bemerkungen zum *Rat des Šuruppag* und Versuch einer neuen Übersetzung, *ZA* 68:196-232.

1982, Zwei spät-altbabylonischen Kaufverträge aus Kiš, *Zikir šumim. FS F. R. Kraus* (eds. G. van Driel *et alii*; Leiden: Brill):426-483.

1983, Nachlese zu A. Poebels Babylonian Legal and Business Documents From the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon Chiefly From Nippur (BE 6/2) Teil 1, *ZA* 73:48-66.

1985, Familiengründung im alten Babylonien, *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung* (ed. E. W. Müller; Freiburg & München: Karl Alber): 213-317.

1987, A Riding Tooth: Metaphor, Metonymy and Synechdoche, Quick and Frozen in Everyday Language, *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* (eds. M. Mindlin, M. J. Geller & J. E. Wansbrough; London: School of Oriental and African Studies):77-102.

Wilhelm, Gernot

1990, Marginalien zu Herodot, Klio 199, *Lingering Over Words. FS Moran* (HSS 37; eds. T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard & P. Steinkeller; Atlanta: Scholars Press):505-524.

1995, *Bīt papāḫi* in Nuzi, *Edith Porada Memorial Volume* (SCCNH 7; eds. D. I. Owen & G. Wilhelm; Bethesda: CDL Press):121-128.

Williams, John G.

1966, The Prophetic "Father", *JBL* 85:344-348.

Wilson, Robert Rutherford

1977, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

1980, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

1983a, Enforcing the Covenant: The Mechanics of Judicial Authority in Early Israel, *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall* (eds. H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina & A. R. W. Green; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns):59-75.

1983b, Israel's Judicial System in the Preexilic Period, *JQR* 74:229-248.

Winckler, Hugo

1898, Einige semitischen Eigennamen, *Altorientalische Forschungen* II/1:84-86.

Winnett, Frederick Victor

1949, *The Mosaic Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

Winter, Urs

1983, *Frau und Göttin* (OBO 53; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Wiseman, Donald J.

1953, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara).

1960, The Goddess Lama at Ur, *Iraq* 22:166-171.

Wohlstein, Hermann

1961, Zu den altisraelitischen Vorstellungen von Toten- und Ahnengeistern, *BZ* 5:30-38.

Wolf, C. Umhau

1946a, Some Remarks on the Tribes and Clans of Israel, *JQR* 36:287-295.

1946b, Terminology of Israel's Tribal Organization, *JBL* 65:45-49.
1947, Traces of Primitive Democracy in Ancient Israel, *JNES* 6:98-108.

Wolff, Hans Walter
1956, Hoseas geistige Heimat, *ThLZ* 81: 83-94, reprinted in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1964):232-250.
1965[2] (1961[1], 1976[3]), *Dodekapropheton 1: Hosea* (BKAT 14/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
1975[2] (1969), *Dodekapropheton 2: Joel und Amos* (BKAT 14/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Woolley, C. Leonard
1976, *Ur Excavations VII: The Old Babylonian Period* (UET 7; London: British Museum Publications).

Wright, George Ernest
1965, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company).
1967, Shechem, *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (ed. D. W. Thomas; Oxford: Oxford University Press):355-370.
1978, Shechem, *EAEHL* 4:1083-1094.

Wright, G. R. H.
1968, Temples at Shechem, *ZAW* 80:1-35.

Würthwein, Ernst
1936, *Der ʿamm haʾarez im Alten Testament* (BWANT 4/17; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).
1977, *Das Erste Buch der Könige, Kapitel 1-16* (ATD 11,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
1978, Naboth-Novelle und Elia-Wort, *ZThK* 75:375-397.
1984, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1. Kön. 17 - 2. Kön. 25* (ATD 11,2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Wyatt, Nicholas
1978, The Problem of the 'God of the Fathers', *ZAW* 90:101-104.
1992, Of Calves and Kings: The Canaanite Dimension in the Religion of Israel, *SJOT* 6:68-91.

Xella, Paolo
1981a, *I testi rituali di Ugarit* (Roma: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche).
1981b, Ilib, gli 'dei del padre' e il dio ittita Zawalli, *Studi storico-religiosi - 1981/V* 1:85-93.
1982, QDŠ. Semantica del 'sacro' ad Ugarit, *Materiali lessicali ed epigrafici, I* (Collezione di studi fenici 13; Rome: Consilio nazionale delle ricerche):9-17.
1983, Aspekte religiöser Vorstellungen in Syrien nach den Ebla- und Ugarittexten, *UF* 15:279-290.
1986, Un antecedente eblaitica del 'demone' ugaritico *Ḫby* ?, *SEL* 3:17-25.

Yadin, Yigael
1961 (ed.), *Hazor III-IV. An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957-1958* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press).
1972, *Hazor, the Head of all those Kingdoms, Joshua 11:10* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1970; London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy).

Yaron, Reuven
1988, *The Laws of Eshnunna* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes, Leiden: Brill).

Yassine, Khair
1984, The Open Court Sanctuary from the Iron Age I at *Tell el-Mazār* Mound A, *ZDPV* 100:108-115.

Yee, Gale A.
1987, *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea: A Redaction Critical*

Investigation (SBL DissSer 102; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Yuhong, Wu & Dalley, Stephanie
1990, The Origins of the Manana Dynasty at Kish, and the Assyrian King List, *Iraq* 52:159-165.

Yurco, Frank J.
1986, Merneptah's Canaanite Campaign, *JARCE* 23:189-215.
1990, 3,200-Year-Old Picture of Israelites Found in Egypt, *BAR* 16/5:20-38.

Zaccagnini, Carlo
1983, On Gift Exchange in the Old Babylonian Period, *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore* (eds. O. Carruba, M. Liverani & C. Zaccagnini; Pavia: GJES Edizioni):189-253.

Zertal, Adam
1985, Has Joshua's Altar Been Found on Mt. Ebal ?, *BAR* 11:26-43.
1986a, How Can Kempinski Be So Wrong ?, *BAR* 12:43, 49-53.
1986b, *The Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country of Manasseh* (Ph. D. Thesis; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University) [Hebrew with English abstract].
1987, An Early IA Cultic Site on Mount Ebal: Excavation Seasons 1982-1987, *TA* 13-14:105-165 & Pls 5-19.
1988, A Cultic Center with a Burnt-Offering Altar from the Early Iron Age I Period at Mt Ebal, *'Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden'. IOSOT Congress Jerusalem 1986* (eds. M. Augustin & K.-D. Schunk; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang):137-153.

Zimmern, Heinrich
1896, 1901, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs).

Zobel, Hans Jürgen
1985, Prophet in Israel und in Judah: Das prophetische Verständnis des Hosea und Amos, *ZThK* 82:281-299.
1986, *mišpāḥâ*, *TWAT* 5:86-93.

Zohar, Mattanyahu
1980, Tel Marjamah (*ʿEin Sâmiyeh*), *IEJ* 30:219-220.

Zwickel, Wolfgang
1984, Eine zyprische Parallele zur kürzlich in Israel gefundenen Kulthöhe, *BN* 24:24-29.
1994, *Der Tempelkult in Kanaan und Israel: Studien zur Kultgeschichte Palästinas von der Mitelbronzezeit bis zum Untergang Judas* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 10; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr).

AKKADIAN AND SUMERIAN TEXTS

A. 3696:13-14 28 n. 116; 30 n. 128

AbB
1, 15:1-4 103 n. 52
1, 61:7 114 n. 108
1, 89:19-31 108 n. 84
1, 89:26-31 29 n. 119
1, 89:29-31 28 n. 114
1, 105:1-2 99 n. 30
1, 105:1-3 105 n. 68
1, 106:4-19 50 n. 47
1, 140:17-25 60 n. 95
2, 46:19-21 114 n. 109
2, 82:10, 30 89 n. 129
2, 83:18-19 46 n. 23
2, 88:5 92 n. 147
2, 89:11-13 114 n. 111
2, 89:14-15 105 n. 67
2, 111:15-16 62 n. 107
2, 115:12-14 19 n. 47
2, 116:8-11 126 n. 46
3, 22:9 114 n. 109
3, 22:29-31 31 n. 147
3, 33:2-4 82 n. 91
3, 33:22-23 28 n. 118
3, 47:6-7 103 n. 51
3, 50:5-6 98 n. 23
3, 52:19-21 27-28 n. 109; 103 n. 56
4, 154:22-24 28 n. 114
4, 154:24 29 n. 127; 132 n. 73
5, 39:7-9 74 n. 39; 109 n. 87
5, 160 r. 3'-5' 46 n. 23
6, 1:11-12 99 n. 26
6, 104:7 92 n. 148
6, 135 r. 4'-20' 84 n. 103; 130 n. 63
7, 139:3' 114 n. 108
7, 168:1-2 103 n. 52
8, 106:4-5 109 n. 87
8, 131 146 n. 146
8, 148:5-7 99 n. 23
9, 39:4 105 n. 70
9, 106:16-22 46 n. 23
9, 132:4-6 70 n. 19
9, 141 74 n. 41; 131 n. 65
9, 141:1-19 136 n. 85
9, 141:4-7 139 n. 103
9, 141:4 99 n. 29
9, 141:5-7 99 n. 31; 140 n. 109
9, 141:8-9 81 n. 87
9, 141:12-13 140 n. 108
9, 141:14-17 141 n. 118
10, 1:7-12 104 n. 59
10, 178:4-5 86 n. 110
10, 178:5 70 n. 20
10, 203:4-5 47 n. 29
11, 15:20 74 n. 38
11, 82:17-20 29 n. 119
11, 84:1-3 102 n. 50
11, 106:5'-7' 99 n. 24
11, 119:27-30 99 n. 30
11, 122:1-4 103 n. 54
12, 99:1-22 131 n. 70
12, 99:1-2 81 n. 86
12, 99:1 131 n. 67
12, 99:5-6 96 n. 5
12, 99:7-9 113 n. 103; 139 n. 102
12, 99:11-12 29 n. 126
12, 99:15-17 140 n. 107
12, 99:19 141 n. 119
12, 99:20-22 140 n. 107
12, 99:20-221 132 n. 75
12, 117:113 27 n. 108
12, 129:3 70 n. 18; 75 n. 45
12, 144:15-22 22 n. 67
12, 179:9-11 165 n. 67
13, 21:5-13 62 n. 105
13, 53:3-9 105 n. 64
13, 60:5 92 n. 147
13, 60:72-76 114 n. 110
13, 65:4-5 70 n. 16
13, 138:4-6 70 n. 21
13, 146:3 71 n. 22
13, 161:4-5 70 n. 17
13, 164 81 n. 85
13, 164:1-7 137-138 n. 91
13, 164:1 131 n. 68
13, 164:8-19 139 n. 106
13, 164:10 141 n. 114
13, 169:4'-5' 105 n. 72

ABL 1217 r. 4'-5' 319 n. 10

ABRT 2, 13:1-16 159 n. 37

Alster 1991
line 75 57 n. 79

lines 107-108 65 n. 119
line 114 53 n. 67
line 135 57 n. 79
line 137 50 n. 45
lines 151-152 60 n. 93
line 152 125 n. 40

AIT 99 91 n. 142; 175 n. 129

Al-Zeebari 1964
25 r. 18'-19' 109 n. 87

Ana ittišu
VII i 37 31 n. 145
VII i 39 31 n. 145

AO 11127:10-11 85 n. 108

ARM(T)
1, 3 131 n. 69
2, 1:15-23 27 n. 104
2, 50 r. 12' 78 n. 69
5, 20:14-17 175 n. 135
6, 76 39 n. 197
8, 11 37 n. 184
10, 9:19' 126 n. 46
10, 31 r. 9'-10' 102 n. 47
10, 32:11, r. 5 102 n. 47
10, 34 r. 8'-10' 102 n. 46
10, 36:14-15 114 n. 108
10, 37:7-8 114 n. 108
10, 38:9-11 114 n. 108
10, 39:20 114 n. 108
10, 42:4 114 n. 108
10, 63:15 162 n. 48
10, 113:13-23 102 n. 45
10, 113:19-20 75 n. 51
10, 152 r. 10 28 n. 111
10, 156:10-11 77 n. 63; 88 n. 121
10, 161:6'-10' 36 n. 178
14, 81:38-39 28 n. 114
22, 127:5-6 27 n. 103
23, 284:3 73 n. 33
23, 496 20 n. 54
23, 620:2 27 n. 104; 30 n. 137
23, 621 27 n. 104
26, 10:13-15 44 n. 12
26, 24:10-15 89 n. 130
26, 25:38-40 162 n. 51
26, 108:6-7 76 n. 57
26, 150:10 27 n. 103
26, 191 86 n. 115; 131 n. 69
26, 191:11-12 99 n. 23
26, 193 131 n. 69
26, 232:7 86 n. 115
26, 256 33 n. 159
26, 256:14-15 192 n. 52
26, 298:42-43 19 n. 51
26, 312:36'-39' 110 n. 92
26, 314:26-29 110 n. 90
26, 323:21-22 47 n. 26
26, 331 r. 5' 14 n. 10
26, 379:22-25 101 n. 41
26, 386 r. 6'-10' 101 n. 42
26, 403:3-26 84 n. 101
26, 408:54 28 n. 111
26, 414:23 27 n. 103
26, 418 r. 11'-12' 28 n. 111
26, 510:25 186 n. 14
27, 1:24 28 n. 111
27, 25:12-14 28 n 113

Arnaud 1986
28:5 73 n. 33
213:10-11 29 n. 125
369:3-4 43 n. 5
369:63-64 44 n. 10
373:43 163 n. 54
373:95-96 175 n. 131
394:26-44 163 n. 54

Arnaud 1987
16:31-33 207 n. 2

Arnaud 1991
70:11'-13' 63-64 n. 115
70:11'-12' 167 n. 81
75:16' 130 n. 61

AS 22, 11:3-9 20 n. 57

Atra-Ḫasīs
112 S v 18-26 23 n. 75

BAM 3, 215:44-63 159 n. 37

BBR 52:12-14 52 n. 62

BE
6/1, 5:9 80 n. 83
6/2, 111:1-33 53
17, 86:19-24 32 n. 152

BIN
4, 96:15-22 63 n. 111
4, 96:18-22 109 n. 88
6, 59:8-11 63 n. 112
6, 97:20-22 73 n. 34; 109 n. 86

6, 207:15-17 112 n. 101
7, 208 90 n. 134
7, 212 90 n. 135
7, 214 80 n. 79

Birot 1980
142 i 24 28 n. 111

BM
34188 120 n. 6
36678 120 n. 6
55148 120 n. 6
68411 120 n. 6
68658 120 n. 6
96956 68 n. 12
140684 120 n. 6

BMS
8:13 97 n. 10
8:14 106 n. 74
61:12 50 n. 49

Borger 1956
§ 82:8 96 n. 9
§ 101:13 96 n. 9

Borger 1971a
11 iii 17 43 n. 8

Borger 1991
36-37:27 38 n. 192

BWL
32:47 129 n. 58
38:19-20 49 n. 38
58:31-32 96 n. 6
102:61-63 108 n. 82
102:64 108:83
104:135 113 n. 105
230:1-4 38 n. 192

CBS
1513:37-39 111 n. 95; 123 n. 28
1545 90 n. 134

CCT
3, 25:24-25 126 n. 46
4, 14b:6-9 101 n. 40
4, 28a:30-33 27 n. 107
4, 31a:28 63 n. 114
4, 43a:31-32 73 n. 33
5, 1a:31-33 73 n. 35

CḪ
i 37-39 30
ii 13-15 89 n. 125
§ 23 35 n. 174
§ 32 35
§ 117 30 n. 130
§§ 215-224 17
§§ 253-274 17
r. xxxvii 39 57 n. 76
r. xxvii 41-42 89 n. 126

Charpin 1980
283 no. 24 90 n. 135
286 no. 70 91 n. 144
286 no. 71 82 n. 92

Charpin 1992b r. 4' 141 n. 115

Christian, J. B. 1969
2:4-6 133 n. 78
3:12-15 141 n. 113
18:20-30 35 n. 176

Çig & Kramer 1976
416:15 75 n. 48

Civil 1967
31 v 25-26 38 n.191

Civil 1983
47:12-13 43 n. 7

Cohen, M. E. 1977
line 44 57 n. 79
lines 73-76 49 n. 36

Cooper 1983
193:207 159 n. 34

CT
4, 9a:1-20 110 n. 93
6, 31b:4 56 n. 73
6, 35 82 n. 92
6, 36a 17 with n. 32; 251 n. 71
8, 3a:24 111 n. 95
16, 29:83 122 n. 20
39, 46:64 76 n. 53
47, 32 80 n. 83
56 90 n. 134
48, 51 45 n. 16; 296 n. 28
48, 51:7-8 45 n. 15
48, 61:12'-13' 45 n. 16; 296 n. 28
48, 106 90 n. 134

van Dijk 1953
104 A vi 14 25 n. 89

Donbaz 1989
52:13-15 86 n. 109

Donbaz & Veenhof 1985
2:7 73 n. 36
2:18-20 73 n. 37

Dossin 1948
131:29-31 90 n. 137

Dossin 1956
66:5-6 109 n. 87
67:27-28 76 n. 54

Dreams
Sm 1069 ii 1-2 222 n. 74
79-7-8, 77 r. 16'-17' 61 n. 97; 129 n. 57
79-7-8, 77 r. 17' 222 n. 74

Driver & Miles 1935
§ 41 44
§ 55 221 n. 63

EA
55:42-43 175 n. 132; 176 n. 136
55:53 175 n. 133; 176 n. 136
55:56 175 n. 133; 176 n. 136
55:59-60 175 n. 134
55:59 175 n.133; 176 n. 136
55:63 175 n. 133; 176 n. 136
198:1-2 68 n. 11
198:2 77 n. 59
250:46 190 n. 40
252:12-13 176 n. 137
252:29-30 176 nn. 137-138

Erra
I 57-59 13
IIC 33-34 23 n. 74
III 11-12 106-107 n. 78
IV 99-101 60 n. 96

Falkenstein 1956
23:9-10 45 n. 13

Farber 1981
61-63:1'-17' 122 n.19
63:10' 128 n. 53
63:17' 127 n. 48
63:edge 121 n. 15

Farber 1989
34:1-11 119-120 n. 2
34:12 120 n. 5
36:11-14 121 n. 12
36:13-14 126 n. 45
42:47 120 n. 9
44:55-56 121 n. 10
44:58 124 n. 32
84:358 124 n. 32

Finkelstein, J. J. 1966
96:32-43 64 n. 117

Frayne 1990
360:1-13 113-114 n. 107
381:41-42 89 n. 127
387:92-100 104 n. 63

Gadd 1926
51:10-17 222 n. 71

Geller 1985
40:357 99 n. 32

Gilg
I i 16-19 14
III ii 19 133 n. 79; 138 n. 94
VI 174-175 59 n. 87
VII iii 19-21 29 n. 124
VII iv 33-34 127 n. 47
VIII ii 17 43 n. 9
VIII ii 25-iii 5 62 n. 106
XI 303-305 14
XI 306-307 14

Grant 1918
254:14-16 146 n. 144
260:14 75 n. 52

Grayson 1987
51:132 89 n. 122

Groneberg 1986
101:12 137 n. 89
101:13-16 137 n. 87
103:9' 137 n. 88

Hallo 1985
59:11-13 101 n. 39

Hallo 1991
384-386:36-47 135

Held 1961
6 i 29 100 n. 33

HSS
14, 108:23-42 223 n. 77
19, 27 222

Huehnergard 1983
2:18-24 46 n. 19
3:14-17 46 n. 19

IM
6818:35 207 n. 2
49219:8-9 138 n. 96
52615 100 n. 36
54685:11-13 103 n. 57
58424:13-16 74 n. 42
67692:340 132 n. 74
90648 121 n. 16
90648:5-6 122 n. 21
90648:7-8 121 n. 17
90648:10 123 n. 24
90648:15 58 n. 80
90648:20 127 n. 48

Instructions of Šuruppak
139-140 30 n. 132
213-216 18 n. 44
259-263 57 n. 77
264 14-15 n. 14

Jean 1931
22a 67 n. 9

JEN
478:4-48 234 n. 124
478:6-8 222

Joannès 1984
75:77-78 45 n. 17

K.
2764 131 n. 69
5219:12' 122 n. 20

KAH
1, 2 vi 19 76 n. 55
2, 91:9 96 n. 9

KAR
44:15 120 n. 6
227 r. iii 9 54 n. 68
250:8 97 n. 10
250:9 106 n. 74
300 r. 6-8 129-130 with n. 60
373 130 n. 64
386 r. 20 129 n. 58

KAV
218a II 8-10 51 n. 55

Klein 1990
111:65 159 n. 34

Kramer 1949
204:74 81 n. 89
204:83 74 n. 43

Kraus 1936
94:66' 113 n. 104
94:69'-70' 113 n. 102

Kraus 1939
36 i 2 129 n. 58

Kraus 1971
a 4 138 n. 96
b 1'-2' 141 n. 112

Kraus 1983
205:1-18 134 n. 82
205:8 134 n. 80
205:9-10 97 n. 11
205:19-21 133 n. 77

kt n/k 494:12-15 126 n. 46
kt 91/k 139 63 n. 113

KTK
18:6-9 49 n. 32
18 r. 11 63 n. 113

Labat 1965
59 51 n. 50
59:2 51 n. 51

Lafont 1984
9-10:14-16 98 n. 17
9-10:15-16 91 n. 140
9-10:49-50 98 n. 17

9-10:50 91 n. 140

Lambert 1987b
188:1 101 n. 38
190:7 76 n. 56
190:12-13 138 n. 97
190:21b-26b 97 n. 14
192:56-67 107 n. 81

LAS
132 51 n. 56
132:5-7 65 n.118

Lewy 1926
15:25 63 n. 114

LKA
62 r. 17 127 n. 47
89 r. 3 54 n. 68
153 r. 12 50 n. 49

Luckenbill 1924
30 ii 62 77 n. 66

McGinnis 1987
i 23 58 n. 82

MAH
16370 83 n. 95

Maqlû
I 117-119 110 n. 91

MDP
22, 11:10 111 n. 97; 146 n. 142
24, 337 146 n. 141
24, 337:7-12 111 n. 96
24, 341 146 n. 141

MEE
2, 46 v I 1-2 169 n. 84

Meier, G. 1939
142 ii 8 131 n. 71

Meier, G. 1944
142:37 58 n. 83; 157 n. 20

de Meyer 1982
274:11-12 28 n.115

de Meyer 1989
41:6' 99 n. 28
41:6'-7' 131 n. 68;139 n. 105
41:9'-14' 139 n. 104
41:9' 131 n. 68
41:15' 99 n. 28; 139 n. 105
41:16'-17' 138 n. 93

MHET
1, 68:3'-4' 71 n. 23
1, 77:27-29 20 n. 57
1:150, seal 5 82 n. 92

MSL 5
23-24:192-202 50 n. 49
157:93 52 n. 61

OB Gilg. M
ii 1'-13' 117 n. 116

OB Gilg. P
ii 32 137 n. 90
iv 14-18 52 n. 65; 123 n. 27

OB Gilg. Y
v 40 100 n. 35
vi 40-43 48 n. 30; 166 n. 71; 171 n. 101

OBRT
16:8-10 86 n. 113
116:4-5 75 n. 46
118:7-12 104 n. 61
118:11 78 n. 67
118:12 100 n. 37
119:5-6 78 n.69
119:6 100 n. 37
154:4 86 n. 114
200:9 86 n. 114

OECT
1, 13 i 7-9 45 n. 14
8, 20:11 56 n. 73
11, 1:12 73 n. 33
11, 2:11-14 121 n. 12

OIP 2
41:1 126 n. 44
117:3 96 n. 9

von der Osten 1934
263 67 n. 9

Owen 1976
12 seal A 91 n. 144

PBS 1/2
22:25 98 n. 16

Pinches 1917
65 no. 19 91 n. 139
91 no. 23:3' 123 n. 23

RA 65
71:9 30 n. 135

Rm 717 120 n. 6

RS
8.145:22-23 46 n. 21
16.144:9-13 174 n. 126
16.144:12 174 n. 125
16.157:27-28 174 n. 125
16.238:18-20 173 n. 116; 174 n. 125
17.79+374:56' 174 n. 127
17.234 r. 3' 174 n. 125
17.237 r. 15' 174 n. 127
17.340 r. 21' 174-175 n. 127
18.06+17.365:7' 175 n. 127

RSOu 7
36:8 82 n. 93

SAA
2, 33:116-117 319 n. 9
3, 3:13-15 98 n. 19
3, 41-47 131 n. 69
3, 47 131 n. 69

SbTU
2, 7:5-6 21 n. 63
3, 90:48 23 n. 73
3, 94:43 29 n. 125

Schollmeyer 1912
138 K. 3025:20 58 n. 86

Sh. 874:35-38 43 n. 4

SLTN
35 59 n. 89
35 iii 5-6 62 n. 109
35 iii 7 62-63 n. 110
35 iii 9-13 59 n. 90
35 iv 5-9 60 n. 92

Smith, S. 1949
line 2 175 n. 130
lines 29-30 175 n. 134

Snell 1984
lines 13-18 46 n. 20
lines 23-24 64 n. 115
line 23 167 n. 80

SP
1.145 57 n. 77
1.157 57 n. 77
1.161 57 n. 77
2.144 14 n. 13

STC II
82:75-78 128 n. 51
82:84 96 n. 8; 97 n. 13; 102 n. 49; 141 n. 114
82:85-90 128 n. 52
82:90 103 n. 55

STT 73:60 77 n. 62

Šurpu
II 52-53 23 n. 72
VIII 43 50 n. 49

Sweet 1970
7:5-6 62 n. 108; 127 n. 49

Szlechter 1958
122-124 92 n. 150
122-124:3-7 123 n. 23
122-124:3-5 92 n. 151

Szlechter 1963
14 90 n. 134

TC 1, 20:46 73 n. 32

TCL
1, 19 144 n. 128
1, 40:4-25 100 n. 34
1, 69 r. 67 n. 8
1, 83 80 n. 83
1, 101:8-9 123 n. 23
2, 217 79 n. 73
17, 6:11-12 100-101 n. 37
17, 19:10-12 20 n. 56
17, 21:31-32 22 n. 66
17, 29:16-21 25 n. 90
17, 29:17 105 n. 73
17, 37 132 n. 73
17, 37:1-2 80 n. 76; 96 n. 2; 99 n. 25

17, 37:7-9 103 n. 53
17, 37:35-38 29-30 n. 127
17, 56:14-16 140 n. 111
18, 81:4-9 22 n. 64
18, 84:6-22 46 n. 23
18, 85:18-19 22 n. 65
18, 86:33-34 19 n. 46
18, 90:5 105 n. 71
18, 90:12-13 29 n. 122
18, 111 46 n. 23
18, 150:2 102 n. 50

Thureau-Dangin 1903
58 i 6'-ii 2 50 n. 43

Thureau-Dangin & Dhorme 1924
217 r. 9-10 158 n. 27; 173 n. 115

TIM
3, 135 seal impr. 82 n. 92
4, 5 90 n. 135
9, 43:3 100 n. 36
9, 43:13-17 100 n. 37

TLB 1
5 82 n. 92
238 96 n. 1

Tsukimoto 1991
23:30-33 46 n. 19
23:38 207 n. 2
29 r. 6' 46 n. 21; 77 n. 61

UET
4, 171 130 n. 64
5, 81:16-23 27 n. 106
5, 246 31 n. 143
5, 476 seal 4 80 n. 82
6, 262:1-4 103 n. 57
6, 402 130 n. 64

Ug. 5
55:4-12 168 with n. 83
83:8-10 46 n. 22

Ungnad 1910
141:3 75 n. 50

VAB
4, 68:19 36 n. 180
4, 258 ii 26 126 n. 46
6, 181 144 n. 128

Van Lerberghe 1968
68:3 123 n. 23

VAS
1, 54 57 n. 76
7, 21 83 n. 95
8, 9:12-14 45 n. 16; 296 n. 28
9, 38 90 n. 135
17, 35 139 n. 100
22, 10 seal 3 82 n. 92
22, 12 seal d 80 n. 77
22, 14 82 n. 92
22, 15 90 n. 134
22, 28 87 n. 118
22, 85:18'-23' 32 n. 156

Walker & Kramer 1982
3:14-r. 4 141 n. 116

Wilcke 1982
429 K 90 n. 134
432 seal impr. I 82 n. 92

YBC
5142:30'-31' 222 n. 76

YOS
2, 141 228 n. 95
5, 126 90 n. 135
8, 9 90 n. 135
8, 113 96 n. 1
10, 24:20 100 n. 35
10, 44:70 106 n. 77
11, 92:7-12 19 n. 50
12, Pl. C, no. 490 80 n. 78
12, 147 79 n. 72
12, 428 80 n. 80
13, 74 90 n. 134
13, 91 90 n. 134
13, 191:21 98 n. 16
13, 203 90 n. 134
13, 203 r. 21 144
13, 226 90 n. 134
13, 271 B 90 n. 134
13, 292 90 n. 134
13, 349 B 90 n. 134
13, 369 90 n. 134
13, 371 B 90 n. 134
13, 379 B 90 n. 134
13, 380 A 90 n. 134
13, 384:1-2 123 n. 23
13, 386 A 90 n. 134
13, 386 B 90 n. 134

13, 396 90 n. 134
13, 408 A 90 n. 134
13, 496 90 n. 134
13, 532 90 n. 134
15, 19 109 n. 87

ARAMAIC, CANAANITE, UGARITIC, AND MOABITE TEXTS

Aḥiqar no. 10 209 n. 9

Bordreuil & Pardee 1992
42-53 158 n. 25

CIS II
235 177 n. 145
3978:6-7 177

KAI
24:16 167; 176; 177
181:9 240 n. 14
181:14-18 277 with n. 48; 332 n. 77
181:30 240 n. 14
214 166-167
214:1 166 n. 74
214:15-18 167 with n. 76
214:20-22 167 n. 76
214:23-24 167
214:29-30 167 n. 78
215:22 167; 176
216:5 167; 176

KTU
1.1 iv 14 282
1.2 i 20-21 326 n. 48
1.2 iv 5 165
1.6 vi 45-49 160 n. 41
1.12 ii 54 321 n. 16
1.14-16 169
1.14:21-25 169
1.14:26 221 n. 66
1.14:37-153 170 n. 88
1.14:40-41 170 n. 89
1.14:41 170 n. 91
1.14:59 170 n. 91
1.14:61-62 170 n. 89
1.14:77 170 n. 91
1.14:153 170 n. 90
1.14:155 170 n. 90
1.14:169 170 n. 91
1.14:299-300 170 n. 90
1.15 ii 20 170 n. 89
1.15 iii 3, 14 210 n. 14
1.16 i 10-11 170 n. 92
1.16 i 20-22 170 n. 92
1.16 i 23 170 n. 92
1.16 i 105-106 170 with n. 92
1.16 i 110-111 170 n. 92
1.17-19 170
1.17 i 18 170 n. 93
1.17 i 26-33 154 n. 3
1.17 i 26-27 164; 219
1.17 i 27-28 165 n. 65
1.17 i 35-48 170 n. 95
1.17 i 35 170 n. 94
1.17 i 36 170 n. 93
1.17 i 38 170 n. 93
1.17 i 43-52 154 n. 3
1.17 ii 1-8 154 n. 3
1.17 ii 17-23 154 n. 3
1.17 ii 28 170 n. 93
1.17 v 4-5 170 n. 93
1.17 v 14 170 n. 93
1.17 v 33-34 170 n. 93
1.17 vi 52 170 n. 93
1.19 i 20 170 n. 93
1.19 i 36-37 170 n. 93
1.19 i 47 170 n. 93
1.19 iv 175 170 n. 93
1.19 iv 179 170 n. 93
1.19 iv 180 170 n. 93
1.19 iv 198 170 n. 93
1.20 ii 1-2 164 n. 64
1.21:2-4 164 n. 64
1.21:10-12 164 n. 64
1.22 ii 3-6 164 n. 64
1.22 ii 8-11 164 n. 64
1.22 ii 18-21 164 n. 64
1.39:12-19 171 n. 104
1.39:12-13 171
1.39:12 172
1.39:13 171 n. 102; 172
1.53:8 171 n. 102
1.81:7-8 172
1.81:7 171 n. 102
1.102 172
1.102:1-14 171 n. 104
1.102:1 171 n. 102
1.108:1 170
1.108 r. 4'-5' 170
1.108 r. 6', 7' 170
1.108 r. 8'-9' 170-171
1.113 164

1.113:11-25 158 n. 23
1.114:17-19 155 n. 4
1.115:1-3 172
1.115:3 171 n. 102
1.116:8 172 n. 108
1.116:10 172 n. 108
1.123:29 164 n. 59
1.142 164 n. 59
1.161 52 n. 63; 164
1.161:31-34 65 n. 118
2.23:19 174 n. 124
2.36:30' 174 with n. 122
2.44:10 174
6.13 161 with n. 45
6.14 162 with n. 46

BIBLE AND APOCRYPHA

Genesis
12:2 206
12:8 240; 258 n. 94
13:4 258 n. 94
14:6 326
20 255 n. 87
20:7 263 n. 116
20:13 263 n. 116
21:8-20 255 n. 87
21:22-34 255 n. 87
21:33 171; 257-258 n. 94; 259
22 258 n. 94
22:1-14 255 n. 87
22:13 260
24:38-41 200
25:3 230
25:11 206
25:21 359
26:25 258 n. 94
27:27-29 206
28 259
28:10-22 255 n. 87; 258-259 n. 100
28:10-12 257
28:18-22 257
28:18 260
28:19 257; 258 n. 94
28:20-22 261
28:20-21 260
28:21 259
28:22 260; 262
31 192
31:1-54 255 n. 87
31:4-16 259
31:5 257; 260
31:13 258; 260
31:14-19 257
31:16 257
31:19 220 with n. 60
31:29-30 257
31:30 221
31:30-35 220
31:34 220 with n. 60
31:35 220 with n. 60
31:42 257
31:44-54 262
31:45 260
31:51-53 256
31:54 260
32:10 256
32:11 256
32:31 257
33:18-20 255 n. 87
33:20 257; 258 with nn. 94.98; 260
34:2 203
34:9 203
34:10 203
34:16 203
34:20 203
34:21 203
34:22 203
34:23 203
35:1-8 255 n. 87; 258 n. 100
35:1-5 259
35:1 259
35:3 259; 260
35:4 353 n. 55
35:6-7 259
35:7 257; 258 with n. 94
35:8 216
35:9-15 259
35:14-20 255 n. 87
35:14 260
35:16-20 269 n. 20
35;19-20 216
35:20 260
36 268 with nn. 10-11
37:28 284
38 192
39:2-6 206
43 255 n. 87
43:23 256
46:1-5 255 n. 87; 258 n. 99
46:1-3 259
46:1 260
46:2-3 259
46:2 258
46:3 258 n. 98
49:25-26 258 n. 97; 321 n. 16
49:25 258
49:33 220 n. 61
50:15-20 255 n. 87
50:16-17 256

Exodus
2:1-10 303
2:16 284
3:1 284
6 200
6:8 167 n. 78
12:8 213
12:21 201
14:15-29 313
15:2 264
15:22-25 313
15:26 171 n. 99; 231
18:1 284
18:4 264
18:10-12 284
20:22-23:33 233-234
21:1-22:16 233-234
21:6 234 with n. 120; 358
21:10 296 n. 28
21:17 233
22:27 233
23:17 359
24:10 325 n. 44
31:6 230
32 305; 321 n. 18
32:4 323 n. 28
32:8 323 n. 28
32:26-29 302
32:51 324 n. 37
33:18-23 313

Leviticus
10:4 198; 217
18:6-16 195
20:5 201; 359
21:14 203
23:6 213
25:10 201
25:41 201
25:48 201
25:49 198; 217

Numbers
10:29 284
10:36 324 n. 37
12:10-16 313
12:13 171
16:15 309
18:20 211
20:31 324 n. 37
26:30-33 191
27:8-11 201
27:11 201
32:34 240 n. 14
32:35 190
34:4 190
36:1-12 201

Deuteronomy
4:6 362
4:9 362
4:16-18 358
4:23 358
4:25 358
5:3 372
5:6 299
5:9 337
6:7 362
6:20 362
7:5 252 n. 76
7:25-26 358
8 351 n. 45
10:1-5 360
10:16 363
11:19 362
11:20 358
11:26-32 353
12 358
12:1-7 355
12:3 252 n. 76
12:7 359
12:12 359
12:15 358
12:22 358
13:6 359
14:1-2 209
14:1 357
15:6 368
15:17 234 with n. 121; 358
16:18-20 358
16:18 356 n. 69
17:14-20 353
18:1-2 211
18:1 304
18:6 347
18:6-8 354 n. 64; 357
18:9-22 298; 356 n. 69
18:9-16 356 n. 69
18:10-14 224
18:10-11 357
18:11 224
18:15-22 356 with n. 69
18:15-18 356
18:18-19 361
18:22 356 n. 69
21:1-9 192
21:18-19 192
22:13-21 192
24:16 359
25:5-10 192; 207 n. 2

25:5 197
26:14 208-209; 357
26:19 368
27 353
27:4 245
27:15 358
28:13 368
29:6 346
30:6 363
30:11-14 360
31:12-13 362
32:6-7 258
32:40 167 n. 78
33:2-5 258; 323
33:2-3 322 n. 26
33:2 282; 324
33:6-25 323
33:8-11 304-305
33:8-10 303
33:17 321 n. 16
33:26-29 323
33:26 325 n. 41
33:28-29 325
34:10 359

Joshua
7:14 359
7:14-18 199-200
7:24 359
8:30-35 245; 353
9:17 268; 280
11:17 241
12:7 241
12:22 230
13:5 241
13:17 240 n. 14
14:6-15 345 n. 26
15:9-10 285
15:9 285
15:13 345 n. 26
15:14-19 345 n. 26
15:21 258
15:22 345 n. 26
15:29 285
15:38 207
15:56 207
15:57 345 n. 26
17:2-3 190
17:11-12 207
18:23 252 n. 78
18:27 240
18:28 267 n. 7
19:11 230
19:12 207
19:13 191 n. 40
19:14 207; 240
19:18 203 n. 113; 207; 240
19:33 240
19:45 190 n. 40
21:34 230
24:26 353 n. 55
24:33 190

Judges
1:11-15 345 n. 26
1:16 284; 345 n. 26
1:27 207; 243
2:1 269 n. 22
4:5 269 n. 22
4:11 284; 345 n. 26
5 236
5:4-5 285 n. 90; 322 with n. 26
5:4 282; 285
5:28 198 n. 81
5:31 274
6-8 251-253
6:25-32 329
6:26 253
6:27 191
6:30-31 329
6:32 238
6:34 191
7:8 202 n. 108
8:4 202 n. 108
8:14 192
8:32 191; 199; 207
9 251
9:4 243; 245
9:46 243; 245
11:3 186 n. 17
14:2 195
14:3 200
14:9 195
14:19 195
17-18 247-251; 305; 321 n. 18
17:4 197
17:5 197; 219; 220 with n. 60
17:7-8 304
17:7 304
17:12 197
18 197
18:11 198
18:14 197; 220 n. 60
18:18 220 n. 60
18:19 197; 219
18:20 220 n. 60
18:22 197

18:25 198
18:26 198
18:30 305
19-21 286
19 314
19:1 247; 304
20:26-28 249
20:33 241
21:12-21 244 n. 39
21:19 244 n. 39
21:25 247

1 Samuel
1:1-8 254
1:1 190; 191; 215
1:4-5 155 n. 8; 359
1:9-18 359
1:9 253
1:18 253
2:27 315 n. 122
5:5 342 n. 18
7:12 257 n. 94
7:16 311
7:17 215
8:5 273
8:7 324
8:11-17 273; 317
8:12 272
8:15 277; 312
9:1-10:16 214-217; 253
9:1-2 267
9:4 191
9:5 190; 195
9:12 203; 254
9:22 359
10:1-16 268-270
10:5 269
10:10 270
10:13-16 198
10:13 217
10:14-15 198
10:17-24 272 n. 35
10:21 267 n. 9; 268 n. 11
10:26 268; 271
10:27-11:15 214
11:1-15 272 n. 35
11:4 268; 271
12:3 309
12:8 300
12:11 251
13:2-4 272 n. 35
13:2 273
13:3 215 n. 38
13:17 215; 252 n. 78
14:3 274; 275
14:18 274; 275
14:49-51 198
14:49 280 n. 61
14:50-51 198
14:50 267 n. 9; 273
14:51 267 n. 9
14:52 272
15:3 274
15:5-6 345 n. 26
15:6 268; 286
15:8 274
15:23 220 n. 60; 224
15:33 274
15:34 268; 271
16:2-5 253 n. 81
16:19 274
18 186
18:5 272; 273
18:17-29 273
18:17 274
18:25 272
19:11-17 220
19:12 198
19:13 219 n. 59; 220 with n. 60
19:16 219 n. 59; 220 n. 60
19:20 308
20 211-214
20:6 201; 204; 215; 358
20:21 204
20:25 273
20:28-29 358
20:29 198; 201; 202; 215
21:1-9 280
21:5-6 274
21:7 275; 276
21:8 319 with n. 12
21:9 275
22:2 186 n. 19
22:3 214
22:6-19 280
22:6-7 273
22:6 268; 271
22:7 272
22:9-10 276; 319
22:11 249
22:14 273
22:16 191
22:18 191; 249; 275
22:19 191; 275; 276
22:20-23 280
23:13 186 n. 18
23:19 268; 271
24:7 274
24:11 274

24:29 99 n. 27
25:4-8 186
25:13 186 n. 18
25:28 274
26:1 268; 271
26:5 267 n. 9
26:9 274
26:11 274
26:14 267 n. 9
26:16 274
26:19 301
26:23 274
27:2 186 n. 18
27:8-9 186
28 224
28:3 318 with n. 6
28:9 318
28:12 318
28:13 221 n. 69
28:14 222; 308
28:23 220 n. 61
29:3 186
30:14 345 n. 26
30:21-25 272
30:26 274
31:10 275

2 Samuel
1:10 273
1:12 274
2:8 238; 267 n. 9
2:9 273
2:12-17 272
2:12 267 n. 9
2:32 199; 207
3:7 268 n. 11
3:25 267 n. 9
3:28 267 n. 9
3:37 267 n. 9
4:2 272; 273
5:20 241
5:25 270
6:2 241
6:16 198 n. 81
7:8 280
7:16 266
11:11 274
11:21 251
13:23 241
14:4-11 204
14:7 165 with n. 67; 201
14:16 233
14:21 208 n. 5
15:1-6 204
15:7 342 n. 18
16:2 272
17:23 199; 207
18:18 160; 208
19:37 199; 207
21:1-14 276
21:3 274
21:6 268; 269-270
21:8 268 n. 11
21:9 269; 270
21:14 199; 207; 267
22:32 326

1 Kings
2:5 267 n. 9
2:26-27 364
2:32 267 n. 9
3:4-15 267; 276
3:4 270; 280
4:11-12 243
5:5 349
11:29 311; 315
12:16 288
12:26-32 278; 288-289
12:26-27 342
12:27 279
12:28-29 321
12:28 279 with n. 55
12:29 247; 278 n. 53
12:29-30 248
12:31 305; 319
13:2 202
13:11 264 n. 118; 311
13:32 278 n. 53; 330
13:33 290; 316; 319
16:24 330
16:28 330
16:29 330
16:31 330
16:32 332
17-19 306
18 333
18:4 334
18:13 334
18:19 311; 312; 332
18:21 334 with n. 85; 336
18:28 333
18:29 333
18:46 330
19:1-18 312
19:14 337
19:19-21 309
19:21 162 n. 46
20:14-15 330
20:19 330
20:41 308

21 306; 318 n. 4
21:1-16 317; 332
21:1-4 199; 207
21:1 278 n. 53; 307; 330
21:3 199; 207; 317 n. 3
21:8-14 318
21:8 192
21:9 335 n. 90
21:10 318
21:11 192
21:13 318
22:19 323
22:37 330

2 Kings
1 306
1:3 278 n. 53; 307
1:8 308 with n. 94
1:17 330
2:3 264; 311
2:5 311
2:12 308
2:13-15 313
2:15 311
2:19-22 313
2:21 311
2:23-24 308
2:23 310
2:24 310; 311
3:4-5 329
4:13 203; 311
4:23 213; 311
4:25 311
4:38-41 308
4:38 263 n. 115; 311
4:42 189 n. 32; 241; 263 n. 115; 311; 312
5:3 311
5:22 311
5:26 309
6:1 308
6:8-7:20 263263
6:8-12 312
6:9 311
6:13 311
6:15-17 311
6:19 311
6:21 308
6:24-7:20 263
6:31 311
6:32 311
8:1-6 203 n. 113; 204
8:4 311
8:18 330
8:28-29 263
9:1-10 335
9:11 310
9:12-13 310
9:14 263
9:17 330
9:22 332
10:1-2 192
10:16 337
10:18-29 332
10:18-27 345
10:18-21 332
10:19 332
10:32-33 263
13:14 311
13:17 198 n. 81
14:25 191 n. 40
15:27-31 340
15:29 340
17:6 340
17:24-33 143
17:24 278 n. 53; 330; 340
17:27 341
17:29 143
17:30-31 143
17:33 143
17:41 143
18:9-11 340
20:5 280
22:1-10 353
22:3-14 371
22:8 370
22:14 370
23:8-9 354 n. 64
23:8 243
23:19 278 n. 53; 330
23:24 220 with n. 60; 224

Isaiah
1:1 293 n. 20
1:13 213
1:23 193
4:1 199
7:3 343
8:19 222 with n. 70
10:20-21 343
10:29 268
10:32 276
11:11 341 n. 12
11:13 343
20:2 308
26:14 225 n. 85
26:20 221
42:5 258 n. 99
57:8 221; 358

Jeremiah
1:5 367
1:10 368
1:17 367
1:19 367
2:2 350; 366
2:6 350; 366
2:18 367
2:27 367
2:28 367
3:9 367
3:14 367; 369
4:4 363; 369
4:10 367 n. 113; 368
5:1 367 n. 113
5:24 367
6:6-8 367 n. 113
6:10 369
6:19 364; 367 n. 113
7:1-15 367 n. 113; 368; 371
7:16 367
7:18 367 with n. 113
7:22 350
8:8 361 n. 86; 364 with n. 96
9:4 369
9:13 364; 367
9:20 198
9:25 363
11:7 366
11:13 367
11:14 367
11:15 367 n. 113
11:21-23 370
12:6 370
14:11 367
15:1 367
15:17 370
16:2 370
16:6-8 209
16:11 364
16:14 366
17:10 369
20:10 370
20:11 368
21:1 370
23:7 366
23:8 366
26 371
26:1-15 367 n. 113; 368
26:24 371
29:5 363
29:21 370
29:25-26 370
30-31 365
31:15 229
32:6-15 201
32:7 370
32:9 363
32:19 369
33:18 347
33:24 202
35:1-11 351
35:2 203
35:3 203
35:4 370
35:6-10 344-345
35:7 347
35:11 345
35:13-16 363
35:18-19 352 n. 47
35:19 347
37:3 367; 370
37:11-16 371
38:2-3 371
42:2 367
42:4 367
42:20 367
44:18-25 367
48:23 240 n. 14

Ezekiel
13:17-23 232 with n. 113
16:7 309 n. 96
16:8 309 n. 96
20:6 167 n. 78
21:26 220 n. 60; 223; 224
24:17 209 n. 11
24:22 209 n. 11
44:28-30 211

Hosea
1-3 294
1:1 293
2:7 295
2:10 296; 367
2:13 213; 295; 296 n. 29
2:15 295
2:16-17 350
2:17 297
2:18 240
2:19 295
3:1 295; 363 n. 93
3:4 219; 220 n. 60; 250; 296 n. 29
4:4-10 314
4:5 314 n. 117
4:6 313
4:13-14 295
4:13 295

4:15 263
4:17 295
4:19 295
5:1 216 n. 43; 263
5:7 213; 295; 296 n. 29
5:8-6:6 294
6:5 314
6:9 263
7:7 337
7:11 337
7:13 337
8:4-6 335
8:4 295; 337
8:5-6 305
8:5 279; 314
8:6 278 n. 53; 279; 321 n. 16
8:11 295
8:12 360
8:13 295
9:1 295
9:4 209 n. 11
9:7 310
9:8 313 n. 116; 314
9:9 314
9:10 299
10:1 295
10:2 295
10:5 263; 278 n. 53; 279; 314
10:8 295
10:9 314
10:14 327
10:15 263
11:2 295
11:5 337
12:1-15 263
12:2 337
12:4-13:3 298 n. 36
12:4-5 296
12:5 299
12:10-11 297
12:10 350
12:11 298
12:13-14 299
12:13 299
12:14 263 n. 116; 298
13:2 295; 314
13:4 296; 336

Joel
2:9 198 n. 81

Amos
1-2 291 n. 12
1:1 291 n. 9
1:3 263
1:14 327
2:7 292
2:8 292
2:10-11 292; 297 with n. 34
2:12 292
3:1 291 n. 12; 292
3:2 293
3:14 263
4:1 291 n. 12
4:4-5 292
4:4 263 with n. 115; 263
5:1 291 n. 12
5:4 291 n. 12
5:5-6 292
5:5 259; 262; 263
5:25-26 292
5:25 291 n. 12; 350
5:26 292
6:10 198; 217
7:10-17 291
7:10 319
7:12-14 291 n. 9
7:12-13 292; 319
7:13 277
7:14-15 292
7:14 291 n. 9; 312; 319
7:15 264 n. 116
8:5 213
8:14 249; 262; 263; 278; 292; 322
9:7 291 n. 12; 292; 293

Micah
3:6 224
3:11 224
4:4 349
5:1-2 343 n. 24
7:5-6 197

Habakkuk
3 325 with n. 42
3:2-15 285
3:3-7 325-326
3:3-4 322 n. 26
3:3 282
3:8 325 n. 42
3:15 325 n. 42

Zechariah
1:10 342 n. 20
9:14 322 n. 26
10:2 220 n. 60; 223; 224
12:11 333

12:12-14 201
13:4 308

Malachi
2:11 378
2:14 309 n. 96

Psalms
16:2-6 210
18:8-16 322
18:9-14 322 n. 26
18:32 326
48:3 331
49:12 208 n. 6
68:7-8 322 n. 26
68:8-11 285 n. 90
68:8 282; 285
68:18 324 n. 37
68:30 285
70 352 n. 47
77:17-20 322 and n. 26
84:11 211 n. 65
88:11 225 n. 85
97 322
99:2 342 n. 18
109 130 n. 64
132:6 269 n. 20
133:1 197

Job
29:7-12 193

Proverbs
2:17 309 n. 96
31:1 229
31:4 229

Ruth
1:8 204
1:15 204
2:23 295 n. 26
3:9 310 n. 96

Esther
9:28 201

Ezra
7:1-5 365

Nehemiah
9:18 279 n. 55
11:25 207
11:32 276

1 Chronicles
1:35 268 n. 11
1:40 268 n. 11
1:48-49 268 n. 11
2:50-55 268 with n. 10
2:55 345
4:11-12 345
4:18 207
4:21 203
5:8 240 n. 14
5:30-34 365
6:35-38 365
6:53 207
7:31 190
7:36 191
7:37 191
8:29-40 267
8:33 198 n. 83; 267 n. 9
8:38 268 n. 11
8:39 268 n. 11
9:35-44 267
9:39 198 n. 83; 267 n. 9
9:44 268 n. 11
13:6 241
14:11 241
24:3 365
24:6 365
24:31 365
26:7 171 n. 99
26:28 267 n. 9
27:6 230
28:9 280

2 Chronicles
16:12 231
17:4 280
21:6 330
34:3 280

Tobit
1:9 201
2:8 199
3:15 201
3:17 171 n. 99
4:12-13 201
4:17 209
7:12 201

Judith
8:2 201

2 Maccabees
12:39 207

Jesus Sirach
30:18 209 n. 9

SUMERIAN TERMS

ab-ba uru 32
agrig 61 n. 103
an-za-gàr 37

bala 97
banšur-zà-gu-la 48; 59
ba-ug$_x$-meš 223

dag-gi$_4$-a 32
dingir-meš 222
dul 44-45
dul$_6$ 43

é 17
  é ad-da 20
  é-duru$_5$ 37
en 33
én 120

gal-unken-na 38
giš-šú-a 46 n. 20
^{túg}gú-è 46
^{giš}gu-za gidim 52

ḫa-zi-in 97

im-ri-a (im-ru-a) 22
ìr 66

ká 32

kalag 30
kirid 97
ki-sì-ga 61; 126
kù é a-ba 40 n. 213

lú 27 n. 105

me 83
-meš 176 n. 136

nam-ad-da 21
ne-IZI-gar 51

pa$_4$ 21
pabilga 21; 199 n. 84
pirig 73 n. 33

sig 30
šeš-gal 21
šu-gidim-ma-ka 157 n. 20

tukul 97

u$_4$-ná-a 49; 50
unken 32
uru 13

zà-gar-ra 123
zà-gu-la 59 with n. 91
^{d}zálag-meš 129; 222

AKKADIAN TERMS

(final -m has been consistently omitted)

abbūtu 21
aḫḫūtu 23
alāku 222
almattu
  mār almatti 112
ālu 13; 37
  libbi āli 15
  mārē āli 41
āšipu 120
aširtu 92; 123 n. 23
awīltu 27
awīlu 27-29; 106
  lā awīlu 112
  mār awīli 27
awīlūtu 27; 106; 112

bābtu 25; 32; 39-40 n. 205;172 n. 108
bābu 25; 32
bēlu 75
biblu 44
birqu 73 n. 33
bītu 17; 40; 132
  bīt abi 20
  bīt ararri 17
bubbulu 213
  ūm bubbuli 49-50
bulluṭu 105

dādu 198 n. 84
damqūtu
  mārē damqūti 27; 30
dāmū 42
dannu 30
dayyānu 31
dekû 121
dimtu 37
dipāru 128
dūru 14

eʾiltu 142
ekallu 27
enšu 30
ēntu 43
enûtu 18 n. 43
eqlu 37
  bēlū eqli 37
  šībūt eqli 37
esirtu 44
eṭemmu 57 n. 76; 58; 222-223
  kussû eṭimmē 52
  eṭemmē kimtišu 52
ezibtu 26

galamaḫḫu 71
garāru 124
gāyu 40
gimillu 112
gullutu 121

ḫabāru 186
ḫabirū 77; 186-187; 304
ḫammu 229
ḫassu
  lā ḫassu 112
ḫayaru
  ḫayarī qaṭālu 89 n. 130
ḫazannu 32; 40
ḫibru 40
ḫulmittu 173 n. 114

ikribu 63 with n. 114
  ikribū 34
ilku 100
ilu 55-56; 57; 58
  il abi 58
  il bīti 77; 121
  ilu ša bīti 171
  il kimti 78
  ilu ša qaqqadi 77
  il ramani 77
  ili rēši 76
  ilānu 222-223
išertu 111; 122; 123; 126
ištaru
  ištar bīti 77
  ištar ummi 58

kabtu 26-27; 31; 32
  mār kabti 27
kallatu 43

kapru 37
karābu 4 n. 13; 61; 65 n. 118; 113
kāribu (kāribtu) 113; 114
kāru 15
kaspu
kasap bīt abi 40 n. 213
kašādu 131
katāmu 43
kimtu 22; 52; 62
kinūnu 24; 122-123; 124-125; 128
kinūnu belû 62
kippatu 273 n. 37
kipsātu 223
kirbānu 234 n. 124
kirru 43
kispu 49; 50; 51; 52; 54; 61; 64; 223
kispu ginû 49
kubbutu 23; 100 n. 37
kulūlū 273 n. 37
kummu 61 n. 103
kunnû 55-56
kusarikku 121; 124
kuṣṣuṣu 110 n. 91

labāšu 45
lamassu 80; 99

marzaʿu 169 n. 84
mātu 40
mār māti 112
mētu 55-56
muḫassisu 133
muʾirru 38
munnabtu 186
muškēnu 28-29; 108; 113; 132
mutakkilu 100 n. 30

nadītu 50; 53-54; 69; 74 n. 40; 76; 114
naḫālu 37
naḫlaptu 46
nakru 20; 23; 112; 131 n. 71; 257 n. 92
nepāru 17
nīšu 92
mār(i) nīš(i) ili 92
nubbû 55-56
nupāru 17

pagrāʾu 162-163
pagru 162
palāḫu 55-56; 130; 222
papāḫu 15
parakku 73 n. 33
paššūru
paššūr aširti 123
paššūr sakkê 48; 52 n. 65
pilakku 97
piqittu 155 n. 8
pirikku 73 n. 33
pussumu 43; 44

qadištu 75
qaqqadātu 27
qaqqadāt āli 35
qerû 57;106 with n. 76
qinnu 20

rabiānu 38
rabiān bābti 32
rabiu (rabû) 27; 31
rēšu 77
rēš warḫi 50; 213
rigmu 121

sagû 129
salātu 22 n. 64; 43
sikkanu 155 n. 9
sissiktu 47
sissikta batāqu 47
sugāgu 40
sukkallu 137
sūqu
sūqa etēqu 96
ṣalālu 55
ṣalmu 113
ṣillu 100
šaggāšu 186
šāʾilu
šāʾili amat ili 319 n. 9
šalāmu 102 with n. 48
šangû 33
šarru 27
šatammu 35
šēdu 80
šešgallu 33
šībūtu 32; 40
šībūt eqli 37
šīmtu 97; 105-106
šiptu 120
šīru 42
šittu 121
šumu 47; 102

ṭardu 112

usātu 29 n. 119; 108

wardu 29; 66
wāṣītu 21
wēdûtu 27

zakāru
šuma zakāru 52; 56; 104
zākir šumi 52

UGARITIC TERMS

ʾab	160 n. 4
ʾil	158 n. 23
ʾil bt	171-173
ʾilʾib	155-160
ʾarṣ	210 n. 14
zʿtr	155 n. 10
ztr	155 n.10
ḥdr	169; 221
ḫlb	174 n. 120
ḫlmz	173
ksm	155
lb	172
mlk	
mlk ʿlm	170
mnt	155
mrzḥ	169
mt	
mt rpʾ	170
ndd	164 n. 63
nṣb	155
skn	155; 161 n. 42
spʾ	155
ʿbd	170
ʿm	157; 160
pgr	162-163
qdš	161; 326 n. 48
rpʾu	
rpʾu mlk ʿlm	170 n. 97
ṯr	321 with n. 16

HEBREW TERMS

ʾāb 160; 226; 308
ʾeben 257 n. 94
ʾôb 160; 318
ʾāḥ 226; 370
ʾîš
  ʾanšê hāʿîr 191; 192
ʾēl 327
ʾelōhîm 221-222
ʾēlôn 216
ʾallôn 216
ʾelep 252
ʾēpôd
  ʾēpôd ûtĕrāpîm 250
ʾeṣʿādâ 273 n. 37
ʾereṣ 210 n. 14
ʾăšîšâ
  ʾăšîšê ʿănābîm 295

bôqēr 291 n. 9
BḤN
  BḤN kilāyôt 369
bayit 197
  bêt ʾāb 191; 194-203; 370
  bêt ʾelōhîm 314 n. 118
  bêt ʿăbādîm 299
bĕkôr 198
bōlēs 291 n. 9
bāmâ 215 with n. 35; 253; 295
baʿal 238; 240
bĕrît 309 n. 96
BRK 206
bĕrākâ 303
bārāq 325 n. 42
bāśār 195

gōʾēl 201; 310 n. 96
gĕʾullâ 201
GBʿ 239
gebaʿ 239
gibʿâ 239
gibbôr
  gibbôr ḥayil 214; 267
  gibbôr ʿārîṣ 367
gādôl
  gĕdōlê hāʿîr 192
GDʿ 252 n. 76
geder 239
gĕdērâ 239
gôy 40
GWR 347
gôrāl 210
gēr 304; 347

dôd 198 with n. 84; 217; 229
daʿat 313
DRŠ 231

HLL 325 n. 43

zebaḥ 203; 253; 260
  zebaḥ hayyāmîm 212
ZKR
  hizkîr šēm 208
zikkārôn 221; 358
zĕnûnîm
  ʾĕšet zĕnûnîm 294
  yaldê zĕnûnîm 294
zĕqēnîm 192; 318

ḥeder 221
ḥōdeš 211-214; 295
ḥăkāmîm 361
ḥēleq 210
ḥam 229
ḥesed 350 n. 44
ḥāsîd 303
ḥāṣēr 239
ḤQR
  ḤQR lēb 369
ḥōrîm 192; 318

yiddĕʿōnîm 232-233; 318 n. 6
YṢʾ 293

kĕbîr hāʿizzîm 220
kôs 210
kĕsût 296 n. 28
kar 220

lĕʾôm 229
lēwî 304
leḥem 212
  leḥem happānîm 275
lĕmû 229
LQḤ 369
liškâ 253

mōhar 201 n. 99
mizbēaḥ 295
melek 247 n. 53; 323
mĕnāt 210
*MṢ*ʾ 299
maṣṣēbâ 225; 257-258 nn. 93.94; 260-261 with n. 103; 295
miṣpâ 239
marzēaḥ 169
mĕšuggāᶜ 310
mišmeret 315 n. 123
mišpāṭâ 190 n. 38; 199-204; 359; 369
mētîm 224

nābîʾ
bĕnê hannĕbîʾîm 308
NDB 230
nĕḏîbîm 192
nēzer 273 n. 37
naḥălâ 199; 201-202; 210; 275
naḥălat ʾābôt 199; 207
naḥălat ʾĕlōhîm 233
naḥălat YHWH 274
nokrî 257
nōqēḏ 291 n. 9
nepeš 232 n. 113
nāśîʾ 193; 233

sōpĕrîm 361 n. 86

ᶜibrî 187
ᶜēgel 279; 321
ᶜēgel šōmrôn 305
ᶜṬR 239
ᶜăṭārôt 239
ᶜîm 198
ᶜîr 369
ᶜLH 293; 366
ᶜōlâ 260
ᶜam 200; 203-204; 215; 229; 253; 275
ᶜam hāʾāreṣ 301 n. 55
ᶜam YHWH 274
ᶜōnâ 296 n. 28
ᶜăṣabbîm 295
ᶜṢR (niphal) 319 n. 12

peger 162
paḥad
paḥad yiṣḥaq 226-227
pelek 97
pesel
pesel ûmassēkâ 250 n. 68
pĕsîl 295
pārāš 311 with n. 102

ṣābāʾ 315 n. 123
ṢPʾ 239
ṣĕrôr haḥayyîm 99 n. 27

QDŠ 324 n. 37
qādôš 326
qĕdôšîm 210
QNʾ 337
qinʾâ 337
qesem 224
qōsĕmîm 223

RYB 324 n. 37
rāmâ 239
RPʾ 231
rĕpāʾîm 225
rōpĕʾîm 225

ŠʾL 318 n. 6
šĕʾēr 296 n. 28
šabbāt 295
šôr 321 n.16
ŠMR 299
šōpēṭ, šōpĕṭîm 192; 193-194; 247 n. 53
śēᶜār
baᶜal śēᶜār 308 n. 94
śar, śārîm 192; 193; 315 n. 123

tĕhillâ 325 n. 43
tôrâ 313
tĕrāpîm 219-225; 232
ŠʾL battĕrāpîm 223; 232

THEONYMS

Aba-Enlilgim 55 n. 73
Adad (cf. Hadad) 75; 76; 78; 80; 82; 88; 111; 138; 146
~ of Aleppo 91; 98; cf. 174
~ of Ekallātum 89
~ of Kalassu 98
Adrammelech 143
Alalu 159
Al-ᶜUzza 177
Am 229 n. 101
Amat-Zarriqum 56 n. 73
Amurru 63; 70; 71; 73; 74; 79; 80; 81; 86; 90; 140
ᵈa n - m a r - t u 90
ᵈm a r - t u 90
~ as form of El 90 with n. 133
hymn to ~ 73 n. 33; 113-114; 323 n. 27
letter to ~ 131
Anammelech 143
Anat 169; 173; 367 n. 114
Anat-Bethel 378
Annunītu 71
letter to ~ 131; 138
Anu 81; 159
Anunnaki 51; 55
Ardat lilî 21 n. 63
Asherah 278; 324-325
~ of Samaria 278
~ of Yahweh 322
Ashima 143
Ashtar-Chemosh 277
Ašnan 71;80; 82 n. 92
Aššur 63; 73; 86; 89; 126 n. 46
Astarte of Ḫurru 173
Atargatis 173
Aya 69; 93; 133 n. 79; 138; 146

Baal 155; 158; 166; 238; 240-241; 252; 294-296; 322; 331-332
~ Ḥammān 177
~ ṣemed 177
~ Zaphon 173-174
Baba 172 n. 108
Banit 143 with n. 124
Bau 172 n. 108
*Bbt 172
Bel 177
Bēl-ṣarbi 80
Bēlet-tarbaṣi 86
Bēlšunu 56
Bethel 378

Chemosh 277

Dagan 80; 82; 91; 158; 162-163
~ of Ashdod 342 n. 18
~ ša ḫurri 173 n. 115
~ of Terqa 90
Damu 80
Dumuzi 59; 62
Dusares 177

Ea 80; 145
El 155; 158; 169-171; 238; 257-259; 327
~ Amurru 90
~ gibbôr 343
~ ᶜôlām 171; 257-258 n. 94; 259
~ of Paran 326
~ rōpēᵓ 171
~ šadday 258 n. 97
~ as warrior 323 n. 27; 327
~ and Yahweh 321-328
El-Berith 243; 245
Eloah 326
Enki 80; 90 n. 135; 91 n. 144; 145
Enlil 74 n. 40; 80; 90 n. 135; 96; 146; 159
Enmešarra 159
Eraḫ 90
Erra 111 n. 94

Fear of Isaac 226-227

Geštinanna 75; 78; 90 n. 135
Girra 51
Gula 70; 80; 85

Hadad 165; 174; 322
~ Rimmon 333

Ḫaniš 17 with n. 31
Ḫaniš-and-Šullat 17 with n. 31; 251
Hauhet 159
Ḫebat 175
Ḫenduršaga 17 n. 30; 124 n. 34
Huh 159
Ḫuwawa 100

Id 86 n. 115
letter to ~ 99 n. 23
Ikrub-El 56
Ikūnum 56
Ilaba 156
Ilabrat 146 (see also Ninšubur)
Ilāhat 177 n. 144
Ilib 155-160
Inanna 59-60; 62; 80
~ of Zabalam 80 n. 83
Iqūlam 56
Išar-āliššu 56 n. 73
Išar-kīdiššu 56 n. 73; 80
Išar-mātiššu 56 n. 73
Išar-padā(n) 56 n. 73; 80; 103
Išḫara 173; 175
Isis 106
Ištar 73 n. 33; 74; 80; 84; 86; 97; 137; 162 n. 51
~ of Uruk 144
prayer to ~ 96; 137
Ištaran 145 n. 134
Ištar ḫurri 169
Ištar-ṣarbat 80 n. 83
Išum 81; 82 n. 92; 137-138
Itūr-Mer 56

Kāmi-tāmīšu 87
Kanisurra 144
Kothar-wa-Ḫasis 17 n. 31
Kumarbi 158-159; 173 n. 115

Lāgamāl 83; 96
Laḫmu 237
Lātarāk 144-145
Līmu 229
Lugalbanda 48; 58; 59; 100-101
Lugal-Marada 86

Marduk 38; 54; 70; 80; 81; 82; 86; 89; 137
~ as city god 110-11
temple of ~ 87
Melqart 333 n. 81
Milkaštart 342 n. 18
Milku 342 n. 18

Nabium 80; 81; 82; 134; 170 n. 88
Nanaya 144
Nanna
temple of ~ 34-35
Naunet 159
Nergal 38; 80; 143
Nibhaz 143
Nimintabba 72; 83
Ninmaḫ 105
Ninmug 81
letter to ~ 131; 137-138
Ninsianna 80; 90 n. 135; 146
letter to ~ 131
Ninšubur 70; 74; 80; 82 n. 92; 91 n. 139; 137
Ninsun 98
Ninurta 74 n. 40; 80
Nissaba 80; 81; 82
Nubadig 172 n.108
Nun 159
Nusku 319

Olden Gods 159

Queen-of-Heaven 367

Rakib-El 167; 176
Rāpiʾu 170-171
Rephaim 160; 164; 170-171; 224; 225

Šadday 258
~ gods 230 with n. 103
Sakkud 145
Sala 166
Šamaš 20 n. 53; 38; 48; 53; 70; 80; 81; 86; 100-101; 126 n. 46
~ of Isin 85
~ of Larsa 35 n. 176
~ of Sippar 93
nadītu of ~ 54; 69; 114
Šapšu 160
Šatrana 169
Šatwak 80
Šauška 159
Šayᶜ al-Qaum 348
Šemeš 237
Šimige 175
Sîn 52-53; 76; 77; 80; 82; 82 n. 92; 86; 88-

	90; 146
~ Amurrum	89
~ of Ḫarrān	89
Šubula	38; 80
Succoth-benoth	143 n. 124
Sùd	16 n. 28
Šullat	17 with n. 31
Šulpae	79
Šulutul (Šulluḫša)	74
Šumi-aḫiya	56
Šunama	155
Šušinak	111; 145
Šuzianna	85
Tartak	143
Tešub	158-159; 175
Ṯukamuna	155
Uraš	83; 87
Ušḫara(ya)	172-173
Usmû	146
Uṣur-awassu	144
Utu	57 with n. 77
hymn to ~	60
Wēdûm	80
*Ya	281-282
Yahu	283
Yahweh	238; 277-286
~ of Hebron	342 n. 18
~ of Samaria	278; 342 n. 18
~ of Teman	282; 342 n. 18
~ of Zion	342 n. 18
~ and El	321-328
Yam	172; 325 n. 42
Yariḫ	172
Yw	282
Zababa	80; 87

GENERAL INDEX

Aaron 249; 305; 314; 321 n. 18; Aaronites 365
Abinadab 226
Abjathar 230
Abner b. Ner 272-273
Absalom 208
Adab (Bismaya) 74
Adad-guppi 117
Adapa 361
adoption 25; 46; 234; records of ~ 57
adultery 294
adversity ~ as a social construct 119
Ahab 278; 307
Ahimelech b. Ahitub 191
Ahinadab 226
Ahiram 230
Ahitub 230
Akizzi 175
Alalaḫ 77; 175
alcohol prohibition of ~ 346
Aleppo 44; 76; 88; 89; Adad of ~ 91; cf. 174 (Baal Zaphon of ~)
All Souls' Day 51
almsgiving 30 and n. 32
altar 250; 253; 259
Amaziah 292
Ammiel 230
Ammiditāna 64
Ammi-ṣaduqa 64
Ammishaddai 230
Ammizabad 230
Amorites 20 n. 54; 36-41; 282; clichés about the ~ 38-39; gods of the ~ 82; 88-93
Amos 291-293; 341
amphictyony 204
Anathoth 276; 364
ancestor(s) apical ~ 229; cult of the ~ 42-65; 154-168; 206-235; ~ as god(s) of the house 125-126
ancestorhood 65
Andarig 83-84
angel(s) 257; guardian ~ 99; 103; 300; worship of ~ 354 n. 60
anointing ~ cultic pillars 260; ~ in betrothal ceremonies 43; ~ the future king 272 n. 35; 335-336
anthropology Babylonian ~ 117
Apil-Sîn 89
ʿApirū see Ḫabirū
Apuleius 106
archaeology ~ of the early Israelite cult 242-246
Arḫalba 174
aristocracy 27; 95; 192; 214-215; 266; 272; 335
ark 266-267; 274; 275; 280; 354 n. 60; 360-361
army 101; 272-273; religion of the ~ 274
asherah 252
Ashkelon 184
assimilation religious ~ 320
Assurbanipal 170 n. 88
Atroth-shophan 190
autobiography 98 n. 20; 116-117
axe 97

Baal-Gad 241
Baal-Hazor 241
Baal-Judah 241
Baal-Meon 240 with n. 14
Baal-Perazim 241
Baal-Shalisha 189 n. 32; 241
Baal-Tamar 241
baby crying ~ 120
Babylon 86; 90; ritual for the dead at ~ 39
bar 19
Baruch 366 n. 106
bedroom 60-61; 220-221
beer 18

Beersheba 259; 262-263
beggar(s) 30; king as ~ 36 n. 180
belomancy 223
Beth-aven 269 n. 22
Beth-baal-meon 240 with n. 14
Bethel 143; 240; 257-259; 262; 279; 289-290; 292; 305; 321; priesthood of ~ 249; 365
Bethlehem 214; 237; 248
Beth-meon 240 n. 14
Beth-shean 242-243
Beth-shemesh 237
betrothal 43
birth 95; ~ legends 303 n. 59
blessing 113; 130; 206-207; ~ of the dead 64-65; epistolary ~ 69-71; ~ of Moses 323-325
blood ~ offered to the dead 210
book ~ as identity symbol 361
bread ~ and water offered to the dead 167-168; ~ of mourning 209 n. 11
brick first ~ 126 n. 46
brother deified ~ 226
bull 321; ~ shaped vessel 244
Bull of Heaven 58
Bull Site 245; 254
burial 55; intramural ~ 60-61

Calebites 345
calendar cultic ~ 290
calf golden ~ 279; 289; 305; 321-322; ~ of Samaria 278 n. 53
Canaan 184
Canaanites 187; 330-331
canon 360
career 95
Carmel 311
cella 61 n. 103
cemetery 61; 161; 218; Middle Bronze Age ~ in Palestine 188
chair ~ for ghosts 52
chapel(s) domestic ~ 61 n. 101; ~ of family god 111; Old Babylonian ~ 16-17
charity 108
chief 193; 249
childbed 123
childlessness 140
children 130
city Babylonian ~ 13-20; ~ god 15-16; ~ quarter 136
clan 22; 88; 191; ~ meal 212; scattered ~ 128; Israelite ~ 199-204; Rabbaean ~ 37; Safaitic ~ 92
class ~ consciousness 112; 118
cleanliness ritual ~ 212; 274; 358
collective property 25; land as ~ of the clan 37
conception ~ as divine act of creation 95-96
concubine 44; ~ of a god 54
confession ~ of sin 138
connubium 203
consanguinity 190
conscience ancestors as family ~ 63
contagion 123; 221
conversion 146; 329
cosmogony 327
co-residence ~ of kin group 195; 203; 369
corporate ~ responsibility 201
Covenant Code 233-234 with n. 118; 360 n. 82
creator personal god as ~ 70; 89;132; 367
cult ~ centralization 353; domestic ~ 48; 245-246
curse 63; 130 n. 64; 233

Dan 305; sanctuary of ~ 247; 249; 279; 289-290
Dan'el 154; 164; 170
David 186; 279-280; ~ and Saul 211-212; promise to ~ 341
day ~ of Yahweh327
dead ~ regarded as gods

231,
160; offering to the ~ 126; 357
death personified ~ 105; premature ~ 106
Deborah ~ nurse of Rebekah 216
decalogue 360
defilement ~ as cause of death 60 n. 95
deification ~ of ancestors 55-58
democracy primitive ~ 32
demon 131, 23,
demythologization 358
denudation 46-47
Dēr 89; 145 n. 134
desert ~ ideal 350
destiny ~ decreed before birth 97; reversal of ~ 106
deus otiosus 323 n. 27
Deuteronomist(s) 244 n. 39; 270; 276; 288; 293; 336 n. 95; 353-362; Deuteronomic History 270; 288; 352
Deuteronomy Book of ~ 352-355
devotion 112-113; personal ~ 375
Dhibāᶜi Tell ed-~ 16
dialogue literary ~ 74
diaspora Babylonian communities in ~ 142-147; Ephraimite ~ 341-344
Didānu (Ditānu) 163
Dilbat 82-83; 87; 90
dimorphism social ~ 41
disparity economic ~ 108
dispersion ~ of the family 23; 124-125
divination 117; 223-224; 319
diviner 83
divorce 45-47; 294
dream(s) 100-101; 117; 259; bad ~ 60-61; 129; ~ of revelation 169-170
drunkenness 154-155

Ebabbar 126 n. 46
Ebal Mount ~ 353; sanctuary of ~ 244-245
Ebla 158; 164; 281
ecstatic behaviour 310
economy 272
Edom 282-286
Edomites 268
education 95
egalitarianism 193 with n. 53
Ekallātum 89
Elam 111; 145-146
elders 192; city ~ 32
election ~ of Israel 293; ~ of Jerusalem 368; ~ of the king 335
Eli 315
Elijah 336; ~ Cycle 306-308; 357
Elisha disciples of ~ 308; ~ prophets 346-347
élite social ~ 112; spiritual ~ 369; 371
Elohist 255-264; 341
Emar 22; 37 n. 187; 43; 46; 55-56; 63; 167; 175; 192 n. 52; 222-223; 261
emblem ~ of family god 111 n. 95
endogamy 200-201
Enkidu 58; 100; statue of ~ 62
ephod 197; 250; 252; 274 n. 38; 275
Ephraim 204
epilepsy 110
Eridu migrants from ~ 145
Esarhaddon 51 n. 56; 319
Ešarra-ḫamât 51 n. 56
Ešnunna (Tell Asmar) 16; 78; Amorites in ~ 39-40 n. 205
eternal life 105
ethics ~ of family religion 94-118; ~ of property 335; social ~ 107-108
etiquette 27; 112
euphemism ~ for curse 63; ~ for dying 57
evil eye 23; incantation against the ~ 119; 121-125
excommunication 318; ~ from the family 45-47

Execration Texts 239
Exodus tradition 255 n. 87; 341; 349-351; 375-376; ~ as charter myth 291-302
exogamy 200-201
expulsion ~ from office 140

family extended ~ 194; extended ~ residence 24; extended ~ villages 37 n. 138; nuclear ~ 194-195; nuclear ~ residence 24; ~ estate 109; ~ home 223; ~ tomb; Old Babylonian ~ 20-26; Israelite ~ 194-199; ~ in Ugarit 154 n. 2; disintegration of the ~ 132
famine 23
fast 318
father deified ~ 226
fear of God 7; 106
Fekherye Tell ~ inscription 165-166
fertility ~ goddess 173
festival 18; 290; 295; city ~ 21 n. 63; harvest ~ 295; national ~ 292 (see also New Year)
figurine cultic ~ 245 (see also statue and statuette)
fireplace 128; ~ and the cult of the dead 129-130
first-born 199
first fruits 263 n. 115
foundation legend 259
fratriarchy 21
fugitives 186
fullness ~ of life 105
fundamentalism 336

gate city ~ 19; 198; palace ~ 19; temple ~ 19; ~ as cultic area 243; ~ as designation of the neighbourhood 32
Gath-Hepher 190-191 n. 40
Gath-rimmon 190 n. 40
Geba 215 n. 38; 270
genealogy 54; 214; ~ of Hammurabi dynasty 64
gentlemen 112; prestige of the ~ 142
Gezer 184
ghosts 57; 158; angry ~ 64
Gibeah 268-270; 314
Gibeath-elohim 215 n. 38; 269
Gibeath-Phinehas 190
Gibeon 215 n. 38; 267-271
Gibeonites 267-271; 284-286; massacre of the ~ 276
Gideon 191; 193; 250; 251-253; 329
gifts 26
Gilgal 216
Gilgameš 48; 58-59; 65; 100; 138
god(s) city ~ 70; 85 (in Egypt); ~ of the house 62; family ~ 66-93; 168-177; and passim; personal ~ 71; 75 (of women); 76-77; ~ of my head 76; ~ of your husband 70; 75; ~ of the father 72; 255-264; letter to the ~ of the father 131; 167; 175; ancestor(s) as ~ 55-58; 221-223; tribal ~ 91; ~ of the king 175-176
goddess ~ as family deity 80; ~ of the house 62; Hurrian ~ 173
god lists 79; 158-159
Gozan 219
grave 61; 83; 126; 161; 216; family ~ 199
greeting ~ formulas in letters 68-71; 98-99; 168 (see also blessing)
grief 117
Gugunum 91
guilds 203; 347
guilt 118; 133; 137; feelings of ~ 61; ~ *versus* shame 138-142

Ḫabirū 181; 185-187
hair ~ offered to the dead 210; long ~ 308 n. 94; ~ clasp 97
Halah 340
Hamath 143
Hammurabi 39; 68 n. 12; 113; personal god of ~ 89; ~ s. of Yarīm-Līm 77; 88
Ḫana 46
Ḫarrān temple of Sîn in ~ 89
Ḫaya-Sūmu 101-102
Hazar-Addar 190
Hazor 219; 245-246
healers 231
Hebrews 186-187
Hebron 262
heir principal ~ 55
hemerologies 50-51
heritage 74 (see also inheritance)
Hermopolis eight primaeval gods of ~ 159
hero worship 217
hierarchy ~ of the gods 82
Hilkiah 370
honour 104; ~ due to parents 130
Horeb 312 n. 108
Hosea 293-300; Book of ~ 341
house Israelite ~ 189-190; 195-196; Old Babylonian ~ 15; god of the ~ 125-128; ~ of darkness 126-127
household Old Babylonian ~ 20-26; ~ idols 219; collapse of the ~ 121
Huldah 370
human condition 139
humiliation 141
ḫuwaši-stone 261

Ibleam 207
iconoclasm 252; 305
identity 7-8 and passim; family ~ 65; 233; gender ~ 97; group ~ 94; 351; 374; personal ~ 94; 118; religious ~ 71; jeopardized ~ 132; loss of ~ 147; ~ in situations of diaspora 343; sacralization of ~ 373
Idrimi 77; 91; 175; autobiography of ~ 117
ignorance 138
Ilān-Ṣurā 101-102; 109-110
illness 83-84; 131; 132; ~ as divine punishment 110
illocutionary act 113
Iltāni ~ Queen of Qaṭṭarā (Rimaḫ) 78; 104
image bronze bull ~ 245; cult ~ 250 n. 68; ~ of Yahweh 279; 321-322; public ~ 118
immortality 65
Imnah 215
impurity 123; 130
incantations baby ~ 119-120
incest taboo on ~ 58
individual 3; notion of the ~ 116; ~ responsibility 359
individualism 369
infertility 62
inheritance 22; 37; 109; 199; 210; 304; 310; 317; patrilineal ~ 206-208; right of ~ 201; division of ~ 111; 123; ~ settlements 110-111; ~ texts 55-56; 146; 167; ~ *versus* conquest 300
initiation rite of ~ 294 n. 24
insignia royal ~ 273
insomnia 167
intercession ~ by family god with superior deity 74; 80-81
intercessor 133; family god as ~ 136-138
interlunium 50; 211-218
introspection 116-117
investiture ~ of bride 43

invocation ~ of ancestors 208
Irpeel 240
Isin 16; 85; 101
Išme-Dagan 175
Israel 183-187
Ittobaal 330

Jabneel 240
Jacob 255-264; ~ tradition 298-300; Cycle of ~ 255 n. 89
Jehu 335; coup of ~ 334 n. 86
Jephthah 186 n. 17
Jekabzeel 207
Jeremiah 363-371; relatives of ~ 370
Jeroboam ~ I 278-279; 288-291; 321; ~ II 293-294
Jerubbaal 176; 251-252
Jerubbesheth 251
Jerusalem (Jebus) 276; 342; 368; ~ priesthood 365
Jezebel 306-307; 318; 332-333
Jezreel (Zerin) 207; 240; 330
Jiphthahel 207; 240
Job 169
John the Baptist 308
Jokdeam 207
Jokmeam 207
Jokneam 207
Joktheel 207
Jonadab (Jehonadab) 226; 345
Jonathan 212
Joseph 255-256
Josiah 224; Reform of ~ 353; 354; 370-371
Judah 204
judges ~ in Old Babylonian times 31; ~ in Israel 192; 249
judicial procedure 87

Kārum Kaniš (Kültepe) 72
Kenite hypothesis 283-284
Kenites 268; 283-284; 345
Keš 104-105
king 27; 30-31; divine nature of the ~ 30-31; 68; 133; 177; divine endorsement of the ~ 290; 335; ~ eating at the table of the god 155; ~ as intermediary between gods and humans 81 n. 88; Yahweh as ~ 323
King of Eternity 170
kingship 104; advent of ~ in Israel 266; role of ~ in Israelite society 199; Deuteronomic ideal of ~ 361
Kiriath-jearim 216 n. 42; 248; 268; 280
Kirtu Epic of ~ 169-170
Kirûm 75; 101-102; 109-110
Kiš 24; 86; 89; 90; 146
kissing ~ the gods 84; 140
Kuntillet ʿAjrūd inscriptions of ~ 278; 282; 322; 326-327; 342 n. 18
Kutalla 86; 91 n. 144; 145-146
Kutha 38; 143

Labʾayu 176
labour division of ~ 17
Lagaba 82
Lagaš 50; 74
lamp ~ in bedroom 61; divine ~ 129; 222
Larsa 35 n. 176; 70; 71; 86; 91; 101; 104; 113; 145-146
law ~ of Moses 359
lawsuit 110-111
league tribal ~ 204 with n. 118 (see also amphictyony)
Lemuel 229
letters ~ placed in the sanctuary 84 n. 105
Levite(s) 247; 250; 290; 302-306; 310; 314; 347; ~ and Deuteronomy 353; 354 n. 64; 357
libation 161; ~ for the dead 210; ~ vessels 58; 161
lineage group 40; 200
lizard 173 n. 114
loans temple ~ 34; 35; 103
loneliness 141

love divine ~ 99
lullaby 120

Malgium 146
Manana dynasty 89
manhood symbols of ~ 97
Maništušu Obelisk 37
Maqlû ritual 51
Marad 86
Mari 14; 37; 44; 101; 131 n. 69; 162; 261; king of ~ 90; rituals for the dead at ~ 39; 52 n. 63
Marjama Ḫirbet ~ 189 n. 32
market 17
marriage ~ ceremony 42-45; ~ partners 39-40; ~ gift 44; ~ money 200-201; ~ vow 309 n. 96; ~ document 45; diplomatic ~ 102; levirate ~ 207; ~ of Hosea 294 with n. 23; remarriage 44-45
marzeah 159
mask cultic ~ 220
Maṣṣôt-festival 213
Mazār Tell el ~ 246
meal wedding ~ 43; sacrificial ~ 155; 253 with n. 81; 260; 292; monthly family ~ 51; festive ~ 162
meat ~ as unusual delicacy 51
Megiddo 242; 246
menstruation 130
merchants 15; 72
Meribath-kadesh 324 n. 37
Merneptah stela 184
Mesha ~ inscription 277
metallurgists 347
Micah ~ from the hill country of Ephraim 247
Midian 282-286
Midianites 252
migrants religion of Babylonian ~ 142-147
migration forced ~ of Israelites 340
minority religious ~ 348
misfortune individual ~ 130
Moab 277
monarchy opposition against the ~ 301; 317
monolatry 226; 297 n. 31; 334 n. 89
monotheism 336 n. 93
month 213
moon invisibility of the ~ 49-50; new ~ 212
morass ~ as image of difficulties 84
Moses 247; 248-249 n. 60; 284; 298-301; ~ as model of the prophets 312-313; 356; 367; ~ as patron of the Levites 303-304; Blessing of ~ 303
mother(s) 54
motherhood 102
mourning 163
mutilation ~ as punishment 110 with n. 91; 111
myth national ~ 376; exodus as charter ~ 292-302; ~ and religious practice 164
mythology Eridu ~ 145

Nabonidus 90
Naboth 317-318; 335 with n. 90
name(s) 47; substitute ~ 227; theophoric ~ 226
name-giving 79; 226
Naphtali 204
Nazirites 314
Nebi Samwil 269; 276
Nebo 277
necromancy 165; 222; 224; 231; 318-319; ban on ~ 357
neighbourhood 25; 32; ethnic ~ 39; god of the ~ 136; ~ shrine 35; 79; 82-83; 251; ~ solidarity 87
Nēribtum (Išchali) 16; 29
New Year ~ festival 16 with n.

21; 33; 215 n. 39; 290
Ninšatapada 134-136
Nippur 14; 17 n. 39; 24; 74 n. 40; 85; 133; testamentary decisions from ~ 48; 123
Niqmadda III 163
Nob 191; 275-276
nobility 192; 249 n. 66; 301; 334-335
noise 19; 120; god of the house disturbed by ~ 126
nomadism enclosed ~ 40; pastoral ~ 88; ~ of the Rechabites 346
nomads 36; 38-39; Safaitic ~ 92; nomadic ideal 349-351 (see also Amorites and Šosū)
nouveaux riches 335
numina loci 77; 223
Nuzi 37 n. 183; 46; 56; texts from ~ 219; 222-223; 234 n. 124

oath 85; 92; 167; ~ by the king 31; 68; 73 n. 33; treaty ~ 337
oblate 75
offerings ~ to the dead 48-52; 161; 166
offspring ~ as gift of the ancestors 62
oil 337
omens 121; behavioural ~ 113; 129
omission 133
Omri 330
Omrides 306; religious politics of the ~ 329-334
Ophrah 191; 252 with n. 78
oracles 224

palace 33; 103; 171; ~ chapel 171
Palmyra 177; 348
Panammu 166
pantheon ~ as hierarchy 320
Paran 326; Mount ~ 282
parentage divine ~ 98
pastoralists 39; 40
paterfamilias 20-21; 72; 141; 192; 198; 214; 254; sleeping-room of the ~ 59
patriarchs 206; religion of the ~ 226-227; 255-264
patriarchy 198
patrilineality Old Babylonian ~ 24
patrilocality Old Babylonian ~ 24
penates 219
personhood 115-118
pestilence 325
Petra 177
philanthropy 107; 112; 115
Philistines 272
physician 231
pilgrimage 292; ~ to Beersheba 263; ~ to graves 216
pillar cultic ~ 259; 260-261
plague 325
plenilunium 295
pluralism religious ~ 274
politics religious ~ 279; 288-291
polygamy 20
polytheism 256
poly-Yahwism 342 with n. 18
possession ~ cults 310
pottery Israelite ~ 190
poverty 29; 132; ~ assigned by Ištar 97; vow of ~ 309
power political ~ 104
praise 140; ~ in return for recovery 140
prayer(s) 166; formulary ~ 66; intercessory ~ 134; letter ~ 71 n. 23; private ~ 221; *eršaḫunga* ~ 139; *šigû* ~ 139; answered ~ 139
pregnancy 102
prestige 17; 101; ~ of the *awīlum* 27; ~ as a divine concern 140; restored ~ 112
priest(s) 17; 19; 211; 275;

Palestine 183-6

state ~ 290; Levite ~ 304; ~ of Gula 85; ~ of Dan 247-248; city of ~ 191; ~ accompanying the army 274; migrated ~ 191
priestess 75; 136; ~ at Emar 43-44
primogeniture 223
prisoners of war 29; ransom of ~ 35
privacy ~ of the bedroom 61; 126; lack of ~ 18
procession religious ~ 292
procreation 62
profession ~ and devotion 81
promiscuity sexual ~ 195; 292
property immovable ~ 99
prophecy Old Babylonian ~ from Terqa 90; Neo-Assyrian ~ 98; unauthorized ~ 319
prophet(s) cult ~ 292; 313 n. 116; ~ and priests 306; ecstatic ~ 215 n. 40; 310; Ephraimite ~ 306-315; Baal ~ 310-311; ~ and the exodus 297; Abraham as ~ 263 n. 116; Moses as ~ 298; ~ and Deuteronomy 356; prophetic schools 308; prophetic orders 308-311; 336; 356 n. 69
prosperity unequal distribution of ~ 109
prostitute(s) 29
prostitution sacral ~ 299
protection divine ~ 97
providence 107
psalm ~ of Habakkuk 325
psychology 118
public opinion 140
punishment divine ~ 76; 109

Qatna 175
Qaṭṭarā (Tell Rimaḥ) 86; 104
Qirī Tell ~ 246
Qiṭār, el ~ 46; 63; 167
queen 104

Rachel 229; tomb of ~ 268-269
Raddana 189; 245; 254 n. 85; 270
rain ~ and Baal 333
Ramah 215; 254 n. 85; 269
Ramathaim-zuphim 190; 253; 270
rash 122
Rechabites 344-352
recovery ~ from illness 101; 112
redemption ~ of land 201
reformer religious ~ 297
refuse 19
religion 7; domestic ~ 130; 223; national ~ 377; state ~ 266-286; popular ~ 2; 374; 379; private ~ 93; tribal ~ 226; change of ~ 146-147 (see also conversion)
reputation good ~ 102; 114
retribution doctrine of ~ 142
revelation 360
Rīm-Sîn II 104-105
rites ~ of passage 42-47; 234; ~ of style 351
ritual(s) birth ~ 97
role social ~ 115-118
Ruth 295

sacrifice 84; 140; 259-260; annual ~ 113; 132; ~ creating community 374 with n. 3
Šaduppum (Tell Harmal) 16
Safaites 92
Sam'al (Zenjirli) 166; 176
Samaria 278; 330-331; ~ ostraca 191; 279 n. 56; 331
Samsī-Addu 39; 76; 89
Samson 195
Samsu-ilūna 89; 103; 144
Samuel 215; 254; 315 n. 122; 357; 367
sanctuaries open air ~ 245; 261; 296; extramural ~ 276; local ~ 216-218; 296; 358; private ~ 249-250 with n. 66; ~ in the central hill country 188; 242-246

sanctum 61 n. 103; 128
Sargon legend 117
Saul 198; 214-217; 266-286; 318; ~ Cycle 214
scepticism 359
school ~ exercise 132
scorpion ~ as sacred animal of Išḫara 173
scribe(s) 81; unemployed ~ 141; religion of the ~ 82
scriptorium 82
seal 71; cylinder ~ 66-68; 83; legends of the Old Babylonian~ 66-68
sect 346
secularization 358
Seir 268 n. 10; 282; 285
self-dedication ~ to sanctuary 304
self-mutilation 210; 333
Sennacherib 319
settlement ~ of the early Israelites 185-190; ~ in Ephraim 187-189; ~ in Manasseh 189
Shalmaneser 340
shame 118; ~ and guilt 138-142
Shechem (Tell Balaṭa) 176; 203; 242; 243-244; 353 n. 55
shepherd personal god as ~ 99
Shiloh (Ḫirbet Seilūn) 188; 244 with n. 39; 253; 315 with n. 122; 359 with n. 77
shrine ~ of Aššur 73 with n. 33; confederal ~ 88; domestic ~ 246; national ~ 275
Šibtu 44
Siduri 65
siesta 19
silence 128
Sim'alites 91
Šīmatum 109-110
sin 137; unknown ~ 138; ~ as error 139
Sinai 282
Sîn-kašid 134
Sîn-muballiṭ 89
Sippar 14; 22; 26; 70; 71; 138; 146; Amorites in ~ 90; 91 n. 144; ~-Amnānum 39-40 n. 205; ~-Yaḫrūrum 39-40 n. 205
slavery debt ~ 30
slave(s) 29; 78 n. 70; manumitted ~ 194; 234; run-away ~ 31
sleep ~ of death 126
sleeping-room 59
snake 173 n. 114
social stratification Old Babylonian ~ 26-30
soldier 37
solidarity kinship ~ 22; 23; 233; 253
solitude 370
son duties of a ~ 154; eldest ~ 59; 72
soothsaying 224
Šosū 181; 185-187; 283
soul 167; ~ as seat of the inner life 117
spindle 97
spirits ~ of the dead 63; 167; 170; protective ~ 80 n. 76; 124; tutelary ~ 62
starvation 167
state formation of the Israelite ~ 271-273
statue(s) cult ~ 16; 175; 295; *kāribu* ~ 113; prohibition of ~ 358
statuette(s) ~ of the ancestors 59; 62; 219-225
stela cultic ~ 243; 257-258 n. 94; 260-261; funerary ~ 155; 160
storm god 91; 322 with n. 26
stranger(s) 257
subjectivity 117; 369
suburbs 14
Succoth 192
sufferer emblematic ~ 169
Šulgi 83; 98
Sumu-abum 89
sun 160; ~ god 283 n. 83
superiority social ~ 96; 103

Ṣupur-Šubula 38; 40 n. 213
Susa (Šušan) 56; 111; 145-146
syncretism 331 nn. 74.76

table ceremonial ~ 59-60; 123; ~ of the king 163
taboo sexual ~ 58
Tabor Oak of ~ 269 n. 22
taxes 40; 277; temple ~ 92
Teman 282
temple 15-16; 113; 161; 314 n. 118; ~ in the Old Babylonian city 33-36; ~ in Egypt 85; central ~ 275; state ~ 289; ~ administration 131 n. 69; economic role of the ~ 34; judicial role of the ~ 35-36; letters deposited in the ~ 130; eating in the ~ 155; absence of ~ 246; Ekišnugal ~ 145
tephillin 360
teraphim 197; 218-225; 231-232; 250; 257
Terqa 90; 91; temple of Dagan in ~ 163
theocracy 330; 337; theocratic ideal 323; 335
theodicy 142
theology ~ of family religion 94-118
theophany 282; dream ~ 259; ~ texts 322-327
thiasos 159 n. 32
throne ~ as symbol of the king 163
Tiglath-Pileser 339-340
Tirzah (Tell el-Farᶜah) 243
tithe 123 n. 23; 209; 257
tomb ~ of Rachel 216
toponyms early Israelite ~ 190-191; 239-241; theophoric ~ 237
Torah 360-361 with n. 85; 379
transhumance 39
tree sacred ~ 258 n. 94
tribe(s) 204-205; Amorite ~ 91; tribal religion 226
Tuttul 158 n. 27

Ugarit 46; 65 n. 118
underworld 48; 127; 159; 210 with n. 14
Ur 14; 16; 17 n. 39; 24; 25; 26; 34-35; 72; 83; 124 n. 34; migrants from Eridu in ~ 145; intramural burial at ~ 61
Uruk 14; migrants from ~ in Kiš 144
usurper 104; 112

vademecum ~ of the exorcist 120 with n. 6
veil bridal ~ 43-45
vengeance 201
vigil 51
village Old Babylonian ~ 36-38; Israelite ~ 189-190
virginity 44
virility 130; 137
vision 259
votive gifts 34; 113
vow(s) 140; 257; 259-260
vox populi 319

war holy ~ 101; 274; 347 n. 35
warrior god as ~ 327
wealth 27; ~ as gift of the gods 97; 103
weapon divine ~ 36; ~ of Zababa 87
wedding 43; 59-60; 123; ~ ceremonies 309 n. 96
widow(s) 35; 46; 249
wine 120
wisdom 361-362
witchcraft 23; 110
womanhood symbol of ~ 97
womb ~ of Mother Earth 127
women position of ~ in Israelite society 198; religious position of ~ 359

Yahweh ~-alone movement 334-338; 345
Yahwist 258 n. 94; 258-259 n. 100
Yaminites 89; 90
Yarīm-Līm 76; 77; 88
Yenoᶜam 184

Zadok ~ and the Zadokites 365
Zela (Ḫirbet es-Salah) 267
Zimrī-Līm 39; 44; 101; 109-110; 229; letter from ~ to the god Id 99 n. 23; prophecy addressed to ~ 90; 91; 98
Zion 331; ~ theology 341; 368

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

EDITED BY

B. HALPERN AND M.H.E. WEIPPERT

1. G.W. AHLSTRÖM. *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06562 8
2. B. BECKING. *The Fall of Samaria.* An Historical and Archaeological Study. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09633 7
3. W.J. VOGELSANG. *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire.* The Eastern Iranian Evidence. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09682 5
4. TH. L. THOMPSON. *Early History of the Israelite People.* From the Written and Archaeological Sources. Reprint 1994. ISBN 90 04 09483 0
5. M. EL FAÏZ. *L'Agronomie de la Mésopotamie antique.* Analyse du *Livre de l'Agriculture nabatéenne* de Qûṭâmä. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10199 3
6. W.W. HALLO. *Origins.* The Ancient Near Eastern Background of Some Modern Western Institutions. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10328 7
7. K. VAN DER TOORN. *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel.* Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10410 0

ISSN 0169-9024

New York University
Bobst, Circulation Department
70 Washington Square South
New York, NY 10012-1091

Web Renewals:
http://library.nyu.edu
Circulation policies
http://library.nyu.edu/about

THIS ITEM IS SUBJECT TO RECALL AT ANY TIME

Due: 03/16/2011
11:00 PM
Family religion in
Babylonia, Syria
and Israel :
31142021978682

Bobst Library

RETURNED
DEC 10 2010
BOBST LIBRARY

DUE DATE
OCT 31 2008
RETURNED
APR 29 2010
BOBST LIBRARY
CIRCULATION

RETURNED
NYU Bobst Library
DUE DATE
MAY 25 011
JUN 16 2011
Interlibrary Loan
RETURNED
NYU ISAW Library

NOTE NEW DUE DATE WHEN RENEWING BOOKS ONLINE

108385



New York University
Bobst Library
70 Washington Square South
New York, NY 10012-1091

Phone Renewal:
212-998-2482
Wed Renewal:
www.bobcatplus.nyu.edu

DUE DATE	DUE DATE	DUE DATE

ALL LOAN ITEMS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL

DUE DATE
FEB 2 5 2007
BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION

RETURNED JAN 24 2008

DUE DATE
AUG 13 2011
NYU ISAW Library

DUE DATE
RETURNED AUG 14 2003
APR 2003
Bobst Library Circulation

DUE DATE
APR 1 • 2008

DUE DATE
FEB 05 2004
BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION

RETURNED JUN 22 2004

DUE DATE
AUG 01 2005
BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION

RETURNED JUN 0 2005

DUE DATE
JUL 29 2008
BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION

RETURNED APR 1 2008

DUE DATE
SEP 15 2006
BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION

PHONE/WEB RENEWAL DUE DATE

NYU Repro:159185