A Man Without Spare Time

The Meaning of Archaeology for the Exegetical Task

ALFRED VON ROHR SAUER

The Influence of Archaeological Evidence on the Reconstruction of Religion in Monarchical Israel

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT EARLY ISRAEL AS THE KINGDOM OF Yahweh functioned on the analogy of Ancient Near Eastern vassal states. In the religion of Early Israel both law and warfare were vehicles for the extension of Yahweh's covenant rule.

In spite of an abundance of reasonably well-dated and preserved new sources to document the life and history of Palestine-Syria in the second millennium B.C. there was a widespread pessimism among OT scholars before World War II about the possibility of reconstructing the religion of Early Israel. This was due in part to the fact that the oldest OT source, the so-called Yahwistic stratum in the Tetrateuch, except possibly for Judges 5, was not written down before the 10th century B.C. In consequence there was uncertainty about even the outlines of the history of Israel from Moses through Samuel as well as the patriarchal prolog. At the same time it must be admitted that until very recently OT scholars were not prepared to scrutinize archaeological or Akkadian sources from Palestine-Syria, to name but two that are of prime significance, with any kind of critical facility. It is this new material that has provided a sound basis for a history of the religion of Early Israel. OT sources can now be tested for general age of content if


EARLY ISRAEL AS THE KINGDOM OF YAHWEH

not composition. In the paragraphs that follow we shall first briefly review the major efforts to reconstruct the religion of Early Israel since Wellhausen. Following a delineation of major new sources from the second millennium B.C. and an evaluation of the OT as a source, a proposal is offered for reconstructing the religion of Early Israel.

I. SCHOLARSHIP SINCE WELLAUHSEN

It is widely agreed that Biblical theology as a history-conscious discipline was first effectively separated from systematic theology by Johann Philipp Gabler in his inaugural lecture at the University of Altdorf, 1787. In the following century the impact of humanistic studies on OT scholarship was so great that by the time Julius Wellhausen (1844—1918) published the first volume of his Geschichste Israels in 1878, it was clear to everyone that the historical study of the religion of the OT had replaced the theological exposition of the text as a viable way to adequately reflect and meaningfully report the OT to modern man. Though his synthesis was a popular success, influential scholars very soon began the process of revising the documentary and historical hypotheses advanced by Wellhausen. In one way or another all significant modifications of the Wellhausen reconstruction of the religion of Early Israel have been due to the work of scholars who have taken into account the new evidence brought to light by accidental and systematic archaeological discovery. Indeed, it may well be that the uncertain future of the OT theology produced by the generation now retiring is due in no small measure to its inadequately confronting the meaning of the evidence produced by the archaeological revolution of the 20th century.

In Wellhausen's reconstruction the religion of Early Israel was a gradual development of the national self-consciousness of an originally nomadic people chosen by Yahweh. The golden age and creative period was the monarchy and the later preaching of the prophets. Early Israel was a child growing into maturity, which was reached first in the 10th century.

3 The second edition of this work was entitled, Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels (Berlin, 1883). This edition was translated into English as Prolegomena to the History of Israel (Edinburgh, 1885). The sixth German edition appeared in 1927. The currently available Meridian Books edition (New York, 1957) also contains the long article, "Israel," which appeared in the 9th edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica (1879).

4 The history of this process is in J. Coppens, L'histoire critique de l'Ancien Testament (ET, Patterson, N. J., 1942), pp. 50—110, and H. J. Kraus, Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erfor-
The camp of Israel en route from Egypt to Palestine, described in Numbers, is "at once the cradle in which the nation was nursed and the smithy in which it was welded into unity." Indeed, "Moses gave no new idea of God to his people." Since the Pentateuch is not the work of Moses, and none of it derives from Early Israel, one must gather from Judges, Samuel, and Kings indirect evidence of what Mosaism might have been. The view that a covenant with Yahweh was integral to Early Israel or that God ruled as in a theocracy are both constructs from later sources superimposed on the early period. Israel learned first about the covenant from Assyrian and Babylonian periods of exile in the 8th and 6th centuries. Since the second millennium provides no reliable sources other than the Song of Deborah in Judges 5, we cannot hope to recover a more adequate picture of the religion of Early Israel. This in brief is the Wellhausen legacy, which has strongly influenced the average scholar and student of the OT in the past 90 years in his views of the religion of Early Israel between Moses and Samuel.

In the universities of Europe, England, and America the literary critical views of Wellhausen and his reconstruction of the religious history of Israel evolving from natural through prophetic to priestly religion were powerfully persuasive and intellectually satisfying to all but a modest, nevertheless literate, minority. There were respected conservative theologians who acknowledged the necessity of critical investigation of the Bible, accepted some form of a documentary hypothesis for OT literary history, but allowed considerably more historical value to sources for the religion of Early Israel. Such scholars were Franz Delitzsch (1813–1890), August Dillmann (1823–1894), Eduard König (1846–1936), and Rudolf Kittel (1853 to 1929). A second group to protest the

6 Wellhausen, Prolegomena, p. 434.
7 Ibid., pp. 440.
9 Ibid., pp. 411 f.
10 Ibid., pp. 418 f.

13 Dillmann was especially important for reviving interest in Ethiopic studies. He also contributed commentaries on Genesis (eds. 1882, 1892; ET 1897), Exodus and Leviticus (1880, 1st ed.), Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua (2nd ed., 1886), Job (4th ed., 1891), and Isaiah (5th ed., 1890) in the series, Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Leipzig).
14 See note 4 as well as Geschichte der Altestamentlichen Religion (Gütersloh, 1912). A respected Hebraist, he consistently rejected the evolutionary interpretation of the religion of Israel.
massive devaluation of OT sources for the reconstruction of the religion of Early Israel were Orientalists, chiefly Assyriologists, whose professional interests drew them to the OT only as a cognate field. From their knowledge of the new sources they insisted that the Ancient Near East in the second millennium was not primitive either in religion (fetishism, animism, polydemonism) or in general culture. Nor was there reason to believe that the religion of Early Israel could not indeed have been highly developed. Such scholars were Eberhard Schrader (1836–1908),\(^\text{16}\) A. H. Sayce (1846–1933),\(^\text{17}\) Fritz Hommel (1854–1936),\(^\text{18}\) Hugo Winckler (1863 to 1913),\(^\text{19}\) A. T. Clay (1866–1925),\(^\text{20}\) and Franz Böhl (1882– ).\(^\text{21}\) While none of these scholars is without his liabilities, they are the intellectual ancestors of the critical but conservative reevaluation of theology to abandon their barren speculations in regard to the source of this or that fraction of a verse, and rather to devote their youthful energies to the far more profitable study of the Assyro-Babylonian and South Arabian inscriptions, in order that they may be able, at first hand, to place the output of these absolutely inexhaustible mines of knowledge at the service of Biblical students; nothing can be more deplorable than to find a scholar persistently devoting his most important labours to second-hand sources of information.” (P.xi)


\(^\text{18}\) Hommel made many contributions to South Arabian studies. His impact on OT studies was not great. The significance of his work is clearer today. See his Altsyrischische Überlieferung (Munich, 1897; ET, New York, 1897). From the preface of the ET comes the following salutary appeal: “I take this opportunity of urging the younger school of Old Tes-


\(^\text{20}\) Clay received his degree from Pennsylvania in 1894 under H. V. Hilprecht. He taught at his alma mater from 1899 to 1910, when he went to Yale. There he developed and began publication of the Babylonian Collection. In all he published 11 volumes of cuneiform texts. A series of popular lectures reflects the enthusiasm of The Sunday School Times for archaeological information: A. T. Clay, Light on the Old Testament from Babel (Philadelphia, 1906). His efforts at historical reconstruction were not regarded by his contemporaries as successful. See four titles: Amuru, The Home of the Northern Semites (Philadelphia, 1909), The Empire of the Amorites (New Haven, 1919), A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform (New Haven, 1922), and The Origin of Biblical Tradition (New Haven, 1923). Soon after Clay’s death George A. Barton wrote in the Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. IV (New York, 1930), pp. 168 f.: “His training had not fitted him for such historical investigations, and it is sufficient to say that the theory is already disproved. . . . [In ethnology and history] he was to the end a dogmatist and propagandist.” However, a successor to Clay at Yale, A. Goetz.
of the OT as a source for religious history. Our indebtedness to this heritage is immense.

Both Oriental and critical Biblical studies were transplanted to this continent by American scholars trained in Europe, particularly Germany, and by European scholars immigrating to this continent. It is fair to say that until World War II it was the simplistic views of the evolution of the history of Israel's religion given classic shape by Wellhausen as well as the strong emphasis on literary criticism as a source of historical knowledge that dominated American OT teaching and research.22 Though the American Schools of Oriental Research established its Jerusalem school in 1900, it was slow to sponsor excavations.

"Professor Clay and the Amorite Problem," Yale University Library Gazette, XXXVI (1962), 133—137, generally sees Clay vindicated by the new evidence.

21 Böhl's dissertation began a distinguished career. See Die Sprache der Amarna-briefe mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kanaanitischen, LSS, V/2 (Leipzig, 1909); Kanaänische und Hebrew Untersuchungen zur Vorgeschichte des Volks und der Religion Israels auf dem Boden Kanaans, BWAT 9 (Leipzig, 1911); Das Zeitalter Abrahams. Der Alte Orient., 29/1 (Leipzig, 1931). An interpretation and synthesis of Old Babylonian evidence that has been useful is his "King Hammurabi of Babylon in the Setting of His Time (about 1700 BC)," MKNAW, New Series, Vol. 9, No. 10 (1946), 341—370. The last two items have been reprinted in Opera Minora (Groningen, 1953), pp. 26—49 and 339—363.


until W. F. Albright (1891—) served as director from 1920 to 1929.23 As significant as was his publication of the ceramic chronology of Tell Beit Mirsim for the science of Palestinian archaeology, more important in its impact on the mainstream of OT scholarship was his early synthesis of all relevant epigraphic and anepigraphic evidence from the Ancient Near East that had a bearing on the history of Israel's religion.24 From the Stone Age to Christianity appeared in 1940 and Archaeology and the Religion of Israel in 1942.25 Since so many
important contributions to the intersection of archaeology, broadly defined, and OT studies have been made by Albright, his students, or their students, it is appropriate to summarize his views of the religion of Early Israel.

Albright is not less an evolutionist than Wellhausen. Albright is, however, entirely immersed in the relevant new texts, artifacts, and stratigraphic indices from the Ancient Near East, which Wellhausen either did not have available or steadfastly ignored. Albright begins his discussion of the history of the religion of Israel with Palaeolithic man in order to show that "the history of Israelite and Jewish religion, from Moses to Jesus ... stand[s] on the pinnacle of biological evolution as represented in *homo sapiens.*" We may summarize Albright's contribution to our discussion in four observations, the first two methodological, the second two substantive to the history of Early Israel. (a) Albright's phenomenal grasp of Oriental studies generally has allowed him to demonstrate the supreme significance of social, economic, political, and cultural history of the Ancient Near East to establish the context for religious history. In this way it is possible to perceive the role religion plays in the total life of Israel. (b) Albright continually reminds his readers that new information supports the "substantial historicity of the account of the Exodus and the wandering ..." or that the connections of the patriarchs with Northwest Mesopotamia are solidly demonstrated. He does not believe our reconstruction of Israel's religion or history should deviate significantly from the received tradition.

(c) Albright affirmed not only that Moses led Israel out of Egypt but also that he was a monotheist. Though perhaps indebted to the concepts of creator-god who ruled a cosmic dominion in the Aten revolution in Egypt, Mosaism was a mutation in the religions of the Ancient Near East, an abrupt change that cannot be entirely explained.

(d) For Albright Yahweh is the creative, innovative element in the re-practices, personages and chronology that have persisted as major categories of Albright's scholarship. According to Hardwick 70 percent of the time Albright introduces extrabiblical (that is, archaeological) evidence for new interpretations. Usually the evidence is epigraphic. Forty-three percent of the time the new evidence adduced had not been mentioned before. Anepigraphic evidence is introduced most frequently in the interpretation of the conquest (ibid., p. 569). Indeed, the greatest number of changes in Albright's position was noted in his interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the fall of Jericho (ibid., pp. 407, 409-412, 424-436, 439-444, 465 f.). Between 1932 and 1946 Albright contended for a 9th-century date for the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21 to 23). Parts may be earlier but not Mosaic. Since 1951, however, he has followed H. Cazelles in arguing for a Mosaic core (ibid., pp. 368-371). Before 1940 there is no reference to covenant in Albright's writings except in Book of the Covenant. See text related to note 32 below. Hardwick points out that it was rare for Albright to have omitted consideration of such a major theme (ibid., pp. 381-385).

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26 From the Stone Age, p. 122.
27 See Stanley E. Hardwick, "Change and Constancy in W. F. Albright's Treatment of Early Old Testament History and Religion, 1918-1958," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1965. This extensive study shows that the great number of changes in Albright's position occurred in the first decade of his career. This refers not to details of chronology, language, and the like but to his general estimate of the historical reliability of the Biblical material (ibid., pp. 571-578). Indeed, it was this problem in addition to the determination of the nature of objects, institutions and
ligion of Israel between Joshua and Samuel. Yahweh is one, the Creator, holy and just, invisible and nonsexual, unique and universal. Albright emphasizes the conflict in Palestine with Canaanite religion as the force that made Israel increasingly particularistic.

Albright's most significant contributions are in two areas, reappraisal of the veracity of traditions of Early Israel (item b above) and restoration of the primary character of Moses and premonarchic Yahwism (item c above). It would be valuable to elaborate on these conclusions and the evidence. For theologians it might be of particular interest to examine Albright's philosophy of history adumbrated in item a above. However, it seems to this writer that it is in the area of item d above that Albright has left unfinished business. In the Introduction to the 1957 edition of From the Stone Age to Christianity he admits that he had "failed to recognize that the concept of 'covenant' dominates the entire religious life of Israel. . . . We cannot understand Israelite religion, political organization, or the institution of the Prophets without recognizing the importance of the 'Covenant.'" The archaeological evidence for this assertion was first published in two essays by G. E. Mendenhall (1916— ) in 1954. These studies showed that the covenant in Early Israel was an adaptation of the formal structure of Hittite vassal treaties and that Israelite law was an application of the treaty stipulations to the particular circumstances of the new religious community in Palestine. In this article we shall attempt to show that because law and warfare are functions of the Giver of the covenant the religion of Early Israel can best be interpreted under the rubric of Israel as the kingdom of Yahweh.

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

It will be useful to describe briefly the chief sources available for a reconstruction of the conceptual framework of the religion of Early Israel. Since it will be necessary to evaluate the Biblical sources in the light of the archaeological sources, the latter will be considered first. Usable publications of archaeological sources have been accumulating rapidly since World War I. These sources are typically of two kinds: first, archives of clay tablets written in cuneiform, discovered in Egypt (1), Palestine (1), Syria (3), Turkey (3), and Iraq (2). In these archives two centuries are reasonably well documented, the 18th and the 14th B.C. A second major source is the stratigraphic history of Palestinian and Syrian tells during the Bronze Age (ca. 3000—1200 B.C.) and the transition to the Iron Age (ca. 1200—1000

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30 Ibid., especially p. 272. See also Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, pp. 115—119.
32 From the Stone Age, p. 16. See the end of note 27 above.
34 Numbers in parentheses represent the number of archives from the respective countries listed and described in the paragraphs that follow.
The development of precise and rational methods of excavation and recording in addition to an accepted ceramic typology have done much to enhance the documentary value of the archaeological record.

Ten collections of tablets in Ugaritic and Akkadian, Hittite and Hurrian, are listed below in geographic order. The chief value of these documents is that they allow for chronological synchronizations as well as a reconstruction of the outlines of social, political, economic, and linguistic history. With this background it is possible to learn the function of religion in society. An apparent limitation of these sources is that they are written largely from the point of view of the ruling establishment. This is inevitable, considering the professional role of the scribe. Since, however, the court was in contact, even in conflict, with all elements in society, the picture is reasonably complete, lacking chiefly statistical controls. This may be due less to the nature of the archival source than to the accidental manner in which the tablets are discovered.

a. El-Amarna. Egypt, ca. 190 miles south of Cairo. Discovered by peasant woman in 1887. Authoritative publication of transcribed text in 1907. Of 377 tablets, 357 are letters, diplomatic correspondence covering 25 years of the reigns of Amenophis III and IV (Akhenaten), ca. 1377—1348 B.C. No. 24 is in Hurrian; 31—52 in Luwian. Special interest is in letters from Palestine-Syria. Interpretation of these is complicated by non-Akkadian scribes writing peripheral Akkadian. They also frequently gloss words with their Canaanite synonyms. These tablets are important for details of the social organization and political struggles in Canaanite society and also for Egyptian provincial administration.


EA, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1907); Vol. II (Leipzig, 1915). The English edition by S. A. B. Mercer, The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1939), largely a translation of Knudtzon's German, has not been well received. See reviews in BSOAS, X (1940), 492—497; PEQ, LXXII (1940), 116—123; LIX (1940), 313 to 315; AJA, XLIV (1940), 399 f. In addition to the first item in note 19 above, see E. A. Wallis Budge, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with Autotype Facsimiles (London, 1892) (82 tablets), and Otto Schroeder, Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaeler der koniglichen Museen zu Berlin, XI (Berlin, 1915) (189 tablets), and XII (ibid.) (13 tablets).


b. Ugarit.41 Syria, modern Ras Shamra, ca. 155 miles north of Beirut near coast. Thirty campaigns of French excavation began in 1929, a year after the accidental discovery of a nearby tomb by a farmer. Two major groups of texts: (1) A collection of 439 Akkadian administrative tablets dealing with commercial, legal, and diplomatic life of the court through the 14th century until late in the 13th century when Ugarit fell.42 (2) Better known are the mythological texts (Ba’al and Anath, King Keret and ’Aqhat) composed in a new cuneiform syllabary of only 30 signs.43


It was soon discovered that the language was Northwest Semitic, closely related to Hebrew, now commonly designated "Ugaritic."44 Of the 408 published texts in this script some are letters, ration lists, or commercial docket.

c. Alalah.45 Turkey, Tell el-’Atshânah, ca. 40 miles west of Aleppo in North Syria and ca. 30 miles east of the Mediterranean on the Orontes River. Excavated by the British, 1937–1939, 1946–1949. 457 Akkadian tablets are divided between Level VII (18–17th cent.) and IV (15 to 14th cent.).46 The archives are from the palace and deal with royal administration including treaties, lists (ration, census, weapons, *et al.*), contracts, letters, records dealing with royal holdings, and other subjects. Noteworthy is the 104-line narrative inscription on the statue of Idrimi, king of Alalah, describing his exile in Canaan and return to power.47 Hurrian speakers, present in Level VII, dominate

44 See the major review of the problem by A. Haldar, "The Position of Ugaritic Among the Semitic Languages," *BJOr*, XXI (1964), 267–277, where he tends to agree with Gordon that Ugaritic is an independent West Semitic language. W. F. Albright continues to regard it as North Canaanite, *Yahweh and the Gods*, p. 100.


in IV, so that the language may be called "Mitanni Akkadian." 48

d. Mari. 49 Syria, Tell Hariri, on Euphrates ca. 7 miles from Iraq border. Excavated by the French since 1933, 18th campaign in 1968. The site was discovered by bedouin who uncovered a statue in their search for stone. The late 18th-century B.C. archive of more than 25,000 tablets in Old Babylonian cuneiform contains diplomatic correspondence and administrative dockets in addition to about a dozen historical texts in monumental script. 50 It is evident from personal names that the population was heavily Amorite. 51 Tribal structure, prophecy, and warfare in the OT have been better understood thanks to parallels at Mari. 52 The final years of Mari are contemporary with Hammurapi of Babylon.

e. Nuzi. 53 Iraq, modern Yaghan Tepe, ca. 150 air miles north of Baghdad. Of more than 4,000 tablets recovered during the ASOR excavations (1925—1931), 1,928 have been published in autograph. 54 Fifty-one related tablets came from Kirkuk, ancient Arrapkha. 55 An original Akkadian


55 C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk," RA, XXIII (1926), 49—161. The Biblical parallels
population was displaced by a strong Hurrian element by ca. 1500 B.C. The archive is 15th century, written in Akkadian by Hurrian scribes. Of particular interest are the private records of three leading families, largely legal, reflecting customs strikingly parallel to Genesis 12—38. These tablets deal with sale and real adoptions, wills, securities and loans, purchases of land, slaves.

f. For lack of space we must be content merely to mention five additional archives that supplement and control sources listed above: (1) East of Ankara 100 miles is Bogazkale (new name), ancient Hittite capital of Hattusas, which since 1906 produced more than 10,000 tablets. Of special importance are the vassal treaties. 57 (2) Southeast of Ankara 195 miles is Kültepe, site of a 19th-century B.C. Assyrian trading colony, which has preserved more than 6,000 tablets revealing economic, social, and political realities that bear on the

were first observed by S. Smith apud ibid., p. 127.

One of the most productive students of Hurrian language and culture was E. A. Speiser, whose Genesis, in The Anchor Bible (New York, 1964), makes full use of the Nuzi archive.


patriarchal narratives. 58 (3) Two smaller archives from the 18th century supplement the picture in the Mari sources. In the Upper Habur River triangle is Chāgar Bāzār, 92 tablets discovered in 1936, largely economic lists. 59 (4) In 1957 Shemšāra was first excavated and has produced 249 texts reflecting the fate of Assyrian interests in the East, the Zagros foothills. 60 (5) From Palestine the only cuneiform archive has come from Tell Ta'anek, numbering now 13 tablets, probably from the 15th century B.C. 61

g. Finally, three genres of texts are sig-


significant for recovering the style of action and thought that had a formative influence on Early Israel. The first is the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, beginning with Sargon I in the late third millennium through Shamshi Adad I in the 18th century to the fall of the kingdom at the end of the 7th century. The second source is the half dozen law collections, particularly those from the end of Hammurapi’s reign. These should be viewed in the light of the king’s desire to establish *kitum u mēsharum,* “justice and order.” Third is the collection of Old Babylonian letters, many from Hammurapi to his servant-officials, describing the administration of an important kingdom of the 18th century B.C.

As penetrating and eloquent as is the epigraphic evidence, the empirical facts of the stratigraphic record, if carefully observed, excavated, and recorded, provide not only an independent control for chronological sequence but also an essential embodiment of words and phrases in physical structures and artifacts. Unfortunately, rigorous stratigraphic excavation, following the principles of the so-called Wheeler-Kenyon method, is all too rare. The development of a precise ceramic typology based on the pottery content of sealed loci plus the fact that people tend to live on level surfaces has preserved from total chaos materials excavated as horizontal bands of soil or arbitrary spits rather than empirically discreet layers. Because of the caution with which one must interpret archaeological reports, some field experience under competent leadership would seem a desirable requisite for the historian who must critically evaluate archaeological evidence.

The chart on the following pages is an attempt to summarize by means of typical examples the kind of archaeological evidence.

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66 No better evidence for the seriousness with which Palestinian field archaeologists discuss the matter of method can be offered than the manner in which J. B. Pritchard, *Winery, Defenses, and Soundings at Gibon,* Museum Monographs (Philadelphia, 1964), was greeted by three fellow field archaeologists in reviews: *RB,* LXXIII (1966), 130—135 by R. de Vaux; *PEQ,* XCIII (1966), 114—118 by Peter Paar; and *AIA,* LXXII (1968), 391—93 by Paul Lapp. A "spit" is a British term for a layer of earth as deep as the blade of a spade.
### 12. Summary of 3rd—2nd Millennium Archaeological Record in Palestine (See note 67)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Megiddo</th>
<th>Ta'annek</th>
<th>Dothan</th>
<th>Partah (N)</th>
<th>et-Tell</th>
<th>Jericho</th>
<th>Arad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td>Strata XX-XIX. Rectangular shrine w/altar against rear wall.</td>
<td>City wall c. 3 m. wide, slopes 4 m. wide going downhill, part of gateway. Levels 11-10</td>
<td>Occupation in shallow pits. Tomb 3 and probably &quot;upper chalcolithic&quot; tombs. City founded c. 3100</td>
<td>Tombs B, C, G. No architecture</td>
<td>Sanctuary B c. 2700—2700</td>
<td>Earlyest large bldgs. seem. by earthquake. Terrace wall remains but later falls. Tombs A94, 108</td>
<td>25 acres surrounded by wall 2.30 m. wide w/circular towers. 4 strata. Clay model of EB house. Homes, streets, circular granaries; strct. end of EB II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II</strong></td>
<td>Strata XVIII-XVI. Stages 1-4 (on slope). Rectangular houses. City (?) wall enlarged from 4 to 8 m. wide. Altar 4017 in Area B8 is 8 m. in diameter, 1.4 m. high w/steps</td>
<td>Walls and gate enlarged</td>
<td>Rectangular houses border streets w/drains; defended by mudbrick wall c. 2½ m. thick, gate w/2 towers. Klm. Small Sanctuary.</td>
<td>Sanctuary B</td>
<td>Sanctuary A</td>
<td>Brick built. New architecture and traditions. Tomb A 127</td>
<td>Beit Mirsim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III</strong></td>
<td>Strata XVII-XV. Stages 1-4 (on slope). Rectangular houses. City (?) wall enlarged</td>
<td>City falls. Levels 7-9</td>
<td>City falls. Levels 5-6</td>
<td>City falls c. 2500. City wall A built against B. Wall A phase of citadel</td>
<td>City falls c. 2500. City wall A built against B. Wall A phase of citadel</td>
<td>Brick built. New architecture and traditions. Tomb A 127</td>
<td>Beit Mirsim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV</strong></td>
<td>Strata XIX-XI. Strata of EB I-II</td>
<td>City falls. Levels 7-9</td>
<td>City falls. Levels 5-6</td>
<td>City falls c. 2500. City wall A built against B. Wall A phase of citadel</td>
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<td>Brick built. New architecture and traditions. Tomb A 127</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**15 shaft tombs w/4-spouted lamps, javelin point w/tang. One burial per tomb.**

**120 tombs in cemetery 2000. Small and badly preserved. Tell not occupied.**

**1500 cemetery, rectangular shafts. 100-200 cemetery, rounded shafts.**

**346 rock-cut shaft tombs, 4 main types. Dagger pottery, square shaft, outside.**

Blank box indicates period when excavations show the site was unoccupied.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE BRONZE</td>
<td>Megiddo</td>
<td>Strata XV-XIII. 3 temples. May be EB I. Jarr burials. City wall w/glaicis (XIII). End w/destruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shechem</td>
<td>New city wall &amp; NW gate. Old temple area filled in. New temple c. 26x21 m. Entrance flanked by massaboth (pillars).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ta`annek</td>
<td>West Building founded over EB structures. Glacis against EB wall. Floor burials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Far`sah (N)</td>
<td>Level 5. Tombs A, M. New walls defend half of tell, glacis. New gate continued in use through EB period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beit Mirsim</td>
<td>Stratum E. City wall has glacis of tramped earth. E. gate. Bastion. Houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>el-Jib</td>
<td>Area C.1a-b=(XIV-XIII). Mycenaean III A ware. Area D. Area F became cult center. Stone altar 2.43x0.85x1.2 m. Temple in Area H Temple rebuilt w/porch, hall, holy of holies, dressed basalt orthostats forming dado. Cave in Area K. Destr. 1250-1200=B.XIII in Upper City.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shechem</td>
<td>LB II. Amarna letters from Lab`aya of Shechem. Fortress-temple 2a constr. c. 1450 in use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>Silver-leaved bronze statue of Hathor found in temple (?). Level 4 is LB. Tomb 6, elements in tombs 11, 12, 16.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MONARCHY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1000-800 BC</td>
<td>Hazor</td>
<td>Lower city yet. Iron Age city is crude. Pool constr. removed 3000 tons of limestone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>el-Jib</td>
<td>Fortress-temple 2b. Floor raised. New stone altar. 3 massaboth. Destr. c. 1100, area no longer sacred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shechem</td>
<td>Stratum XII Silos and simple houses. Earliest iron Age occurrence. From end of 11th cent. Fortress at Stratum XI begins in 10th cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>el-Tell</td>
<td>Unvaulted village limited to summit of tell. Less than 3 acres. Villa court stone wall has 4 stone pillars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>B: No city wall. Houses, street concentration w/wall line. Walls. 7 crude figurines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>B: Philistine ware appears. Only one house can be reconstructed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>B: City wall built. Casemate. Small limestone altar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dence at hand, the segmentation into time periods, and the fundamental patterns of occupation and disoccupation. Though Biblical events in Palestine are limited to the second and first millennium, the third

67 Notes and discussion on each box would take us far afield. Below are listed alphabetically the 16 sites cited with appropriate basic bibliography.


g. Hazor. Y. Yadin et al., Hazor I (Jeru-

is an essential prolog. Architectural traditions, choice of sites for urban development, and forms of industrial and cultic installations and artifacts are established in the Early Bronze Age. Also, since the


m. Mirzbâneh. P. W. Lapp, The Dhar Mirz-
Intermediate Bronze Age allows one to examine the problem of cultural discontinuity, one is prepared to approach the disruption of traditions represented by the establishment of Israel in Palestine with some perspective. Not included in this chart is the evidence for Transjordan, except for Bab edh-Dhra, nor any sites in Syria, for example, Mishrifé-Qatna, Ras Shamra, Hamā, Carchemish, Alalah, Amuq Plain, Tell Mardikh, as well as sites along the Habur and its tributaries. Finally, the political and cultural events in peripheral regions (Mesopotamia-Iran, Anatolia-Aegean, and Egypt-Sudan) must be included in order to uncover the sources and meaning of dominant trends, which may include revolution, international peace and commerce, or the influx of new and powerful ideas and peoples.

III. OLD TESTAMENT SOURCES

Archaeological discovery has provided the historian of Israel's religion with important controls for dating OT sources. In general, orthography, lexicon, syntax, and concepts, where they can be tested by reliably dated parallels in the Ancient Near East, support the view that materials in the OT that describe the religion of Early Israel accurately reflect and perhaps are even derived in written form from the 13th to the 11th century B.C. The new sources allow us to fill in some details of the history of the Masoretic Text as well as a closely related subject, the history of the Hebrew language. The orthographic analysis of Northwest Semitic inscriptions by Albright, Cross, and Freedman suggests that the Masoretic Text can best be understood as the composite of at least five major phases of orthographic development, that is, Phoenician (to the end of the 10th century), Aramaic (9th and 8th century), Jewish (6th to 1st century), Rabbinic (Early Christian period), Masoretic phase (7th to 10th century after Christ). The Phoenician phase is characterized by purely consonantal spelling, vowels represented in no position. In the 9th century mater lectiones begin to appear in final positions. Ostraca from Samaria, Lachish, and Arad and monumental inscriptions from Dibon and Jerusalem document the orthography of this period. Masoretic spelling begins to

68 F. M. Cross Jr. and D. N. Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography, A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence, AOS, 36 (New Haven, 1952), pp. 69-86. The evidence from Ugarit was considered first in the essay on the Oracles of Balaam cited in note 79 below.
appear already in the Jewish period. By the Maccabean Era scriptio plena reached its fullest development. Hebrew orthography and paleography from the 3d century B.C. to the 1st century of the Christian era have been richly illuminated by the discovery of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls.69

Another, perhaps even prior, concern is the history of the Hebrew text that serves as the basis for the reconstruction of the religion of Early Israel. Since 1937 the Hebrew text used by most scholars has been Codex B 19a, dated ca. A. D. 1008, the property of the Leningrad Public Library, commonly available in the Kittel-Kahle edition, Biblia Hebraica.3 This manuscript, the high point of Masoretic activity, is the work of Aaron ben Moses ben Asher, the last of the Ben Asher family in Tiberias, A.D. 780–930. Until 1947 the Septuagint (LXX) was the major bridge to the pre-Masoretic Text tradition.71 Because the LXX often diverged from the Masoretic Text, sometimes widely, as in the case of Samuel, there was disagreement about the nature of the "translation."72 The dramatic discovery of scrolls in the Judean Desert between 1947 and 1956 has leaped a millennium of silence in the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible. The recovery of Hebrew manuscripts that agree with the shorter LXX editions of Samuel illustrates the complicated background of the formation of the text type we have inherited in Codex B 19a.73 The LXX, as Wellhausen had guessed, is a reliable, even literal, translation of a Hebrew Vorlage, and not a Targum as some had contended.74

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74 J. Wellhausen, Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht (Berlin, 1871).
Thanks to these discoveries the history of the OT text is clearer, and textual obscurities are receiving more adequate treatment. We are on firmer textual ground to begin historical studies than ever before.

The relative rarity in the OT of phonetic consonantism, that is, a script exclusively consonantal, which characterizes Phoenician spelling, means that the Hebrew text we have dates from the 9th century and later. Already in the Dead Sea Scrolls of the 2d century B.C. the essentials of the Masoretic Text tradition are apparent. These sources allow us therefore to return to between the 9th and 2d century B.C. Can we go farther? Do we possess controls that would permit us to date linguistic, literary, and cultural forms in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets to the period between 1300 and 1000 B.C., direct witnesses to the religion of Early Israel?

The chief new source that has proved decisive for an affirmative answer began to appear on May 14, 1929, in the form of 20 clay tablets in an unknown cuneiform script located in a temple library room in the upper layers of Ras Shamra in Syria. Stratum I was dated 1500-1100 B.C. The three Canaanite epics plus the administrative archive (also in Akkadian) discovered there contain more than enough analogy in all categories cited above to locate much of the tradition of religion in Early Israel in the period between 1300 and 1000 B.C. Combine the new information with the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna Letters, and the light on the historical grammar of the OT shines brightly.

Since the orthographic and phonetic traditions preserved in the Masoretic Text postdate the 10th century B.C., it is a measure of the conservativism of the tradition and the editors that any evidence from the 13th to the 11th century survives in the Hebrew Bible. Because of the formative significance of this material in Israel, it is probable that this tendency was in part religiously motivated. To simplify presentation one may separate the grammatical and the cultural archaisms, though the latter are reflected in the content of the lexicon. On the basis of Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite, many nominal forms, once emended because they did not make sense, are now known to be valid and meaningful. This has been shown to be particularly true in poetic materials, for example, Gen. 49, Ex. 15, Num. 22—24, Deut. 32—33, Judg. 5, 2 Sam. 22 = Ps. 18, Ps. 68, and Hab. 3. A few illustrations...
must suffice. What were formerly thought to preserve traces of nominal cases, genitive /-\i/ and accusative /-\a/ generally elided after Amarna (early 14th century), must now be explained otherwise. The terminative <\-\a\b> in shamaim\=\a\b ("heavenwards") and \'ars\=\a\b ("earthwards") is not a vestigial accusative. In the orthography of Ugarit the final <\b> appears as a consonant, shmm\=\b, and therefore not a mater lectionis for vowel /-\a/.

Also, the discovery that in Canaanite the infinitive absolute may serve as a finite verb has resulted in the recovery of meaning from forms long regarded as corrupt. The final /-\i/ in n\'\=\d\=\r\i = ne\d\=\i\r (Ex. 15:6) and in sry = \=\o\s\=\r\i (Gen. 49:11) is not an old genitive to be pointed as an active participle plus a "connecting hireq" as in the Masoretic Text. It is most probable that these consonants must be revocalized as infinitive absolutes, ne\d\=\r\i ("it is fearful") and \'=\s\=\o\r\i ("the tethers"), and translated as finite verbs, a phenomenon discovered by Moran in Canaanite Amarna Letters.

Huseman has noted about 50 examples in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. There is not space to extend this list or elaborate on its significance. The weight of this type of evidence supports an early date for the vocabulary, grammar, and cliches in the poetry cited above.

It is therefore reasonable to use these poems to reconstruct the religion of Early Israel. Can we also use the intervening prose, relevant portions of Exodus, Numbers, Joshua-2 Samuel? The literary form may be late, and its historical usefulness may require considerable help from extrabiblical sources.

The basic objective here, however, is to establish whether in the main the traditions contained in the prose of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets can belong to the last half of the second millennium B.C. Again, one must be content with a few illustrations. There is little doubt in this writer's mind that the cornerstone in the argument for the antiquity of sedes Cross's dissertation "Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry," pp. 112 f. The word pattern of this verse (AB:CD, AB:EF) is also common in Ugaritic epics.


82 A good example is the almost 20 parallels E. A. Speiser finds between the patriarchal narrative and the Nuzu tablets. See his Genesis (note 56). We will not deal with the patriarchs in this essay. The most recent survey is W. F. Albright, Yahweh and the Gods (note 31).
those traditions in the Pentateuch that are crucial for the religion of Early Israel is G. E. Mendenhall's demonstration that the covenant between Yahweh and Israel at Sinai is an adaptation of the vassal treaty, most clearly extant in the Hittite Suzerainty Treaty.\(^{83}\) The "murmuring" narrative in Numbers assumes the covenant and reflects "breach of treaty," which Yahweh punished severely. "Murmuring" is not merely complaint about conditions in the desert that demoralized the fleeing slaves.\(^{84}\) Though literary critics have assigned these traditions to \(P\), they are as ancient as the covenant itself. Another kind of evidence is decisive: the demonstration on the basis of Akkadian administrative documents from Ugarit and Alalah that Samuel's hostility to kingship in Israel (1 Sam. 8:4-17) was based on precise knowledge of Canaanite monarchic patterns, which had disintegrated by the time monarchy was established in Israel.\(^{85}\) At the same time, the type of warfare practised in Israel, her perpetuation of military traditions that can be traced back to 18th-century Mari, and her disdain for the professional military equipment and leadership employed by the Canaanite city-states establish not only the antiquity of Israelite traditions but also her unique character as a dissenting and disinherit community of \(bophibi\) (emancipated slaves) and \(habiru\) (social outcasts).\(^{86}\) This is the kind of evidence that supports the general assumption that one may safely use the prose sources reflecting Israel between Moses and Samuel to reconstruct the religion of Early Israel.\(^{87}\)

IV. PALESTINE-SYRIA IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

Two comments are in order as we begin to sift through the mass of new and old material for the key to understanding the religion of Early Israel. In order to interpret these alien and ancient OT sources we do need at least reasonably contemporary witnesses to provide some sense of the inward form and outward meaning of events, of the values and conflicts, dilemmas and desires, implied in the language of texts. Fortunately, sufficient resources have been provided by archaeology to restore tentatively at least the historical context within which Early Israel was born and matured. Continuity and discontinuity with essential features of life in Palestine-Syria in the second millennium B.C. may help identify the \(Eigenart\) of Israel as well as discover a model by which to interpret the events between Sinai and Shiloh. A model is an unconscious system of thought deep within the OT sources, revealed more by action and function of per-

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\(^{84}\) See the writer's unpublished essay, "The Murmuring Narratives in Numbers" (1958), 1—18. See G. W. Coats, \(Rebellion in the Wilderness: The Murmuring Motif in the Wilderness Tradition of the Old Testament\) (New York, 1968); he ignores the archaeological material and therefore advances little beyond the subjective sum of earlier literary criticism.

\(^{85}\) I. Mendelsohn, "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of Akkadian Documents from Ugarit," \(BASOR\), 143 (1956), 17—22.

\(^{86}\) A. E. Glock, "Warfare in Mari" (note 52), pp. 189—237.

\(^{87}\) The task of the literary critic is, among other things, to attempt to discover how the ancient writer is using his sources, his special point of view, whether he understands his sources, and how his personal viewpoint alters the testimony of the ancient sources.
sons and groups than by explicit abstract description. The validity of the model is its ability to provide deep meaning and unity to diverse elements in the sources. One further general restatement on the limitation of the extrabiblical sources is in place. Both epigraphic and archaeological evidence, the words and buildings that have survived, in large measure reflect the thought and work of the royal court and its administrative offices, that is, the powerful upper strata in society. The little that is heard indirectly in the archives of the vast majority of the "people" comes either when they serve the court or rebel against it. Indeed, in the crisis resulting from revolt one learns more of the "people," their exploitation, and the defenders of the status quo than in routine records. In this section the basic focus will be on political and social structures of the two best documented centuries, the 18th and the 14th. Here ideas and people provide a vivid setting for the shape and meaning of the religion of Early Israel.

After four centuries in which the population of Palestine did not commonly live in buildings that have survived within walled cities (Intermediate Bronze Age, hereafter IB, 2300—1900 B.C.), a reurbanization began ca. 1850 B.C. (Middle Bronze Age, hereafter MB, to ca. 1550 B.C.). The people involved in this development were probably the West Semitic Amorites, from whom the Biblical patriarchs are descended. Massive detail for reconstructing the style of life in the MB age has been provided by the excavation of the following ten representative major sites in Palestine: Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir), Tell el-'Ajjul (Beth 'Eglaim), Tell er-Rumeileh (Beth Shemesh), Tell es-Sultan (Jericho), Tell Balâlah (Shechem), Tell el-Fâr'ah (Tirzeh), Tell Ta'annek (Taanach), Tell el-Mutesellîm (Megiddo), and Tell el-Qedah (Hazor). In the absence of literary sources from MB Palestine one is forced to extrapolate from contemporary texts from Syria, namely, Mari, Châgâr Bâzîr, Shemshâra, and Alalah VII. From these it is evident that the primary form of social and political organization was the city-state. A particularly revealing pas-


sage in a letter by an official of the Mari court to his "lord," the king, indicates that "there is no king who is in himself really powerful." 93 In the case of four kings who are named, 10 to 15 other kings "go along." Clearly the power center was Yamhad, Aleppo in North Syria, for there 20 vassal kings "go with" its "lord." Cities were centers of commerce and manufacture, homes for businessmen and artisans and others who inevitably served the court. Much of the population lived in unwalled villages away from the urban centers. Indeed, cities and their villages were political property transferred from one king to another, maneuvering for political advantage. 94 Thanks to the excavation of one of the cities of Yamhad, Alalah, and other centers, we are in a position to describe the function of kings and the techniques by which powerful city-states bound vassal cities and their villages. 95

A word on the origins and ideals of kingship will indicate its supreme significance in Ancient Near Eastern society. In third millennium Mesopotamia the "king" was at first appointed by the assembly of citizens to a limited term of office in order to meet either a domestic or military crisis. 96 As the position became more permanent the "king" acquired a garrisoned palace, dispensed justice, and extended his boundaries. In response to the cries of the oppressed citizens a king might institute reforms. 97 In the second millennium the functions of a king are conveniently described in the prolog and epilog of two important collections of legal precedent, the Lipit-Ishtar Laws and the Hammurapi Laws. In the former the name of the king "had been pronounced" by the god "in order to establish justice in the land, to banish complaints, to turn back enmity and rebellion by force of arms, (and) to bring well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians." 98 The remainder of the prolog and the epilog affirm that the king met his obligations, "abolished enmity and rebellion; made weeping, lamentations, outcries . . . taboo; caused righteousness and truth to exist; brought well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians." 99

93 G. Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires de palais de Mari," Syria, XIX (1938), 117, for the Akkadian text.
94 Wiseman, Alalakh Tablets (note 46), pp. 52 f., nos. 76—81, pls. XX—XXI; also pp. 47—49, nos. 52—58, pls. XIII—XVII. On confiscation of tribal villages in the kingdom of Mari, see G. Dossin, "Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari," Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud, BAH, XXX (Paris, 1939), pp. 981—996, especially pp. 984 and 989.

ans and Akkadians." 99 A century later Hammurapi says that the god "named me to promote the welfare of the people . . . to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not oppress the weak, to rise like the sun over the black-headed (people), and to light up the land." 100 In sum, these inherited conventional views of the role of the king show that he was regarded as responsible for justice at home and peace on the borders, for law and warfare.

In Mari the king was regarded as "father" by "brother" kings who recognized his suzerainty. Kinship terminology reflected levels of political, not genetic, relationship. 101 The scribes at Alalah clearly distinguished between the king of Yamhad, the lord, and the king of Alalah, the vassal. 102 It was pointed out above that Yamhad was the most powerful kingdom in Syria. Alalah was one of at least 20 vassal city-states, each bound to Yamhad by treaty. Three parts of the treaty with Alalah, fortunately preserved, are important: (a) The suzerain king of Yamhad, Abba-AN, gave Alalah and its territory to Yarim-Lim, "the king's brother." Nor will Abba-AN ever take back what he has given. 103 (b) He lays upon the vassal specific obligations: he must not "sin" against the king, that is, he may not "give away (any) word (that) Abba-AN confides to him, giving it away to another king," nor can he "take hold of the hem of another king's garment," that is, recognize another king as lord. 104 (c) If Yarim-Lim or a descendant "sins," he shall forfeit his cities and territories. 105 Another copy of this instrument adds violent curses on the head and house of whoever does evil against the lord or his vassal in this relationship. 106

One may conjecture that the MB cities of Palestine were populated by Amorites, were busy centers of trade, and were deeply involved in shifting political alliances, which ultimately were of no avail, however, against the superior forces of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty (1570 to 1304).

Kings like Hammurapi of Babylonia and Shamshi-Adad of Assyria devoted careful and persistent attention to the administration of law and warfare in their kingdoms. In general, warfare in 18th-century

102 Wiseman, Alalakh Tablets (note 46), pl. XV, tablet no. 56:43—44. The first two witnesses in a contract for the sale of villages are Ab-ba-AN LUGAL and Yar-im Li-im a-hi LUGAL.

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Syria or Northwest Mesopotamia was a function of international law; it was regarded as a judgment of the gods for violation of treaty. Rulers were not despots, and warfare was not a way of life. There is indeed slight evidence for a standing army other than the king’s bodyguard. Armies were largely composed of citizens called to arms in times of need. Credit for protection on the march and success in battle was sometimes given to the deity. The most specialized personnel were the priests who read liver omens before battle to discern the will of the gods. Since the king was administering also legal affairs in the realm, he himself rarely could afford the time to accompany troops into battle. From the correspondence of Hammurapi with two officials at Larsa, Sin-id-dinam and Shamash-hazir, it is evident that holders of royal estates were at some time obligated to serve the king, either as soldiers, laborers, or artisans. The “laws” in the collection of Hammurapi are more nearly “principles” than “rules.” The king’s task was to “establish justice.” This may have included the proclamation of legal norms. The judicial system included judges and administrators and courts. Where the protection of royal interests was at stake Hammurapi kept very close contact with his officials. The population in villages far from direct contact with the court received “justice” at the hands of the “village administrator,” who was often the choice of the clans, as at Mari.

The stratigraphic evidence from MB layers in Palestine and Syria supports and elaborates the epigraphic evidence, especially the high cultural level of urban life. Elaborate defense systems in addition to well-constructed public buildings and domestic quarters on paved streets in planned cities point to a powerful centralized government able to marshal human and material resources of great quantity and quality. Most impressive are the MB city walls 3—4 meters wide surmounting a steep terre pisée slope of hard white clay. This has commonly been regarded as a defense against the battering ram, though it has recently been argued that the glacis merely prevented the erosion of

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108 Ibid., pp. 66—68.
109 Ibid., pp. 23 f. for relevant texts.
113 This was first established by B. Landsberger, “Die babylonischen Termini für Gesetz und Recht,” Symbolae ad Iura orientis Antiqui Pertinentes Paulo Koschaker, ed. J. Friedrich et al., SD, II (Leiden, 1939), pp. 219—234. See also F. R. Kraus, “Ein zentrales Problem des altmesopotamischen Rechtes: Was ist der Codex Hammurabi?” Genava, n. s. VIII (1960), 283 to 296.
114 A. Walther, Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen, LSS, VI/4—6 (Leipzig, 1917).
116 K. M. Kenyon, “Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age,” CAH, rev. ed., Fascicle 48 (Cambridge, 1966), is the most recent survey.
the soft slopes around the city. Except for cities newly occupied in MB this may indeed have been one function of the glacis. The gate in the city wall was vulnerable and therefore was defended by towers with two or three chambers separated by removable gate-doors and an approach ramp that required a 90-degree (usually) right turn to enter the gateway. Weapons of war, the fenestrated axe, short daggers with one or more low ribs in a wide blade, and the sickle-sword all reveal on analysis an advanced metallurgy.

Houses are several rooms on the west side of an open courtyard, sometimes as elaborate and well built as the West Building at Ta'annek. This high level of material culture begins to diminish in the next period (LB) as the function of monarchy shifted to a caretaker role thanks to Palestinian vassalage to the Egyptian New Kingdom (1546—1085 B.C.). Again, the sources provide little contact with and knowledge of the "people of the land."

Between 1550 and 1000 B.C. there is a steady deterioration of the level of physical culture in Palestine. Despite major disturbances in the mid-16th century and the late 13th century, in many cities the cultural tradition seems to be fundamentally continuous. Gaps in occupation up to a century are registered in many cities; for example, Megiddo and Ta'annek were destroyed by Thutmose III ca. 1468 B.C., while Shechem and Tell Beit Mirsim fell somewhat earlier. Due to erosion and robbing we are poorly informed about LB defenses. In general MB city walls were reused. The fosse, so characteristic of MB defenses, appears to have become dysfunctional.

An inner line of defense may be in the heavy-walled temples and palaces found at several sites. One of the most characteristic features of the ceramic culture is the import of Mycenaean III ves-

119 H. K. Beebe, "Ancient Palestinian Dwellings," BA, XXXI (1968), 38—58, especially 42—47.
120 Already observed by S. R. Driver, Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible. The Schweich Lectures, 1908 (London, 1909), p. 87. This was, of course, before modern excavations in Palestine. Sixty years later and with more precision Paul Lapp, "The Conquest of Palestine in the Light of Archaeology," CTM, XXXVIII (1967), 295, is able to say: "The basic general typology is virtually identical in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C." The major difference between the two centuries, he finds, is the absence of imported wares in the 12th century (p. 296).
sels as well as Cypriote ware. This be
tokens the wide-open internationalism of
the period in East Mediterranean lands. The disturbance in Palestine between 1250
and 1150 B.C. touches almost every city
from Alalah in the north to Lachish in the
south. Most cities were rebuilt, but not al-
ways immediately and usually along en-
tirely different lines. The causes for this
deterioration in political stability were
many. Some factors appropriate for Pale-
stine are the following: (a) New popula-
tions were moving in, for example, Philis-
tines, Sea-Peoples, Hebrews; (b) Hab-
iru and peasants generally were revolt-
ing against oppressive social and economic
conditions in Canaanite life; (c) Also, Egypt was unable to police city-state in-
trigue. Between 1200 and 1000 B.C.

124 F. H. Stubbings, Mycenaean Pottery from
the Levant (Cambridge, 1951). S. A. Immer-
wahr, "Mycenaean Trade and Colonization," Archaeology, XIII (1960), 4—13. B. Maisler,
"Cypriote Pottery at a Tomb-Cave in the Vi-
cinity of Jerusalem," AJSL, XLIX (1933), 248
to 253, Pl. 2. This hoard of 52 pots has been
restudied by R. Amiran, "A Late Bronze Age
II Pottery Group from a Tomb in Jerusalem;
Erots-Israe1, VI (1960), 25—37, Pls. 3—4 (in
Hebrew).

125 An important pioneering study is H. J.
Kantor, "The Aegean and the Orient in
the Second Millennium B. C.,” AJA, LI (1947),
3—103, Pls. I—XXVI. Now add W. S. Smith,
Interconnections in the Ancient Near East (New
Haven, 1965). Both studies examine chiefly
artistic evidence.

126 The most recent summary of the evi-
dence with full bibliography is W. F. Albright,
"The Amarna Letters from Palestine," and
"Syria, the Philistines and Phoenicia," CAH,

127 See below, p. 586.

128 On the basis of the Amarna letters it has
been shown that the Egyptians were organized
to control Syria-Palestine. Abdul-Kader Moh-
hammad, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine
During the New Kingdom," Annales du Service
do power surrounded Syria-Palestine and
diminished the sovereignty of local mon-
archs. Hittite and Mitanni kings controlled
inner Syria, the Egyptians attempted to
govern lower Syria and Palestine, while
Hittites and Egyptians grasped at Ugarit
by turns. Relationships could be com-
plicated. In one instance the Hittite king
was "lord" of the king of Ugarit who in
turn was "lord" of the king of Siyannu, the
third owing tribute to the second who
transferred it to the first "lord."

Indeed, kings three and two were "servants" of
king one. Though officially no king in

129 G. E. Wright, "Fresh Evidence for the
Philistine Story," BA, XXIX (1966), 70—86.

130 K. A. Kitchen, Suppiluliuma and the
Amarna Pharaohs: A Study in Relative Chrono-
logy, Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and
Oriental Studies (Liverpool, 1962), for outline
of 14th-century contacts. A. Goetze, "The Strug-
gle for the Dominion of Syria (1400—1300
B.C.)," and "The Hittites and Syria (1300 to
1200 B. C.)," CAH, rev. ed., Fascicle 27 (Cam-
bidge, 1965).

131 MRS, IX (see note 42), pp. 71—78.

The relationship becomes apparent when Si-
yannu seceded from Ugarit and became vassal
of the king of Carchemish. See the discussion
in G. Buccellati, Cities and Nations of Ancient
47—52.

132 The relationship becomes apparent when Si-
yannu seceded from Ugarit and became vassal
of the king of Carchemish. See the discussion
in G. Buccellati, Cities and Nations of Ancient
Syria-Palestine was his own political master, this deterred few from enlarging their domains where possible. According to the letters of Rib-Addi of Byblos to the pharaoh the kings of Amurru in South Syria were particularly ambitious.\textsuperscript{132} Of the almost 30 vassal treaties to come from the Hittite archive at Hattusas (Bogazkale),\textsuperscript{133} one describes how Mursilis (1345—1315 B.C.) "sought after" Duppi-Teshub of Amurru.\textsuperscript{134} Following the (a) preamble


\textsuperscript{134} \textit{ANET}, pp. 203—205. The syntactic variations in category (c) below are important. Note a 2d person singular imperative: "Do not turn your eyes to anyone else!" \textit{ANET}, p. 204a, paragraph 8. Legal analysis of Hittite treaties has been done by V. Koroshec, \textit{Hethitische Staatsverträge. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung. Leipzigier Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien}, LX (Leipzig, 1931). An element not in which the Hittite king’s titulary is paraded, (b) a historical statement traces the former relationships between Duppi-Teshub’s father and grandfather and contemporary Hittite kings. The former Egyptian alliance of Amurru is repudiated. (c) There follows a list of obligations imposed on the vassal, which are designed to protect the interests of the great king. The description of reciprocal military aid is detailed. Added are requirements to obey the king’s orders, return deportees who flee, and return refugees. The treaty concludes with (d) an invocation of the gods and (e) a summary statement of curses and blessings.

Within the limitations imposed by treaties, kings of the LB age in Syria-Palestine are responsible for waging both war and law. In the 'Aqhat epic from Ugarit Dan’el is functioning as judge who "is upright, sitting before the gate . . . judging the cause of the widow, adjudicating the cause of the fatherless."\textsuperscript{135} In the Keret epic the king musters a large popular army, which he leads to the chief city of 'Udum, which he besieges.\textsuperscript{136} Though the present form of the epics is LB they represent traditions at least as old as present in the example cited is the provision for deposit and periodic public reading. On this, D. McCarthy, \textit{Treaty and Covenant}, pp. 37—39.

\textsuperscript{135} MRS, X (see note 43), p. 82, No. 17, Col. V:6—8; Fig. 55, Pl. XXVII. Translation based on \textit{ANET}, p. 151a, by H. L. Ginsberg. In general see J. Gray, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice," \textit{VT}, II (1952), 193 to 220.

\textsuperscript{136} MRS, X, pp. 58—67, No. 14; Figs. 36 to 37, Pls. XX—XXII. \textit{ANET}, pp. 142—145. Note the use of this episode by R. H. Smith, "Abram and Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18-20)," \textit{ZAW}, LXXVII (1965), 129—153, esp. 131 to 139.
MB. To discover the realities of the 15th—14th century we must examine the administrative texts. At Alalah and Ugarit the king continued to maintain close supervision of domestic policy and problems, particularly those dealing with real estate. The king was legal owner of all the land in the kingdom. Loyal subjects received estates in return for service to the king. He witnessed the transfer of property and adjudicated disputes between male and female landholders. The king reassigned the confiscated property of the guilty. While there were undoubtedly legal authorities under the king who executed deeds and conveyances, the extant texts do not offer details. The king also remained leader in war, but dramatic new developments altered his role considerably.

A study of the administrative documents from Ras Shamra shows that in texts dealing with military matters the personal names are largely non-Semitic, chiefly Hurrian and Indo-Aryan, while those texts that deal with lands of the ḫuṣṣu and affairs of slaves have names that are usually pure Semitic. The presence of a significant non-Semitic population is also reflected in the tablets from Taanach and Shechem as well as the Amarna archive. From the latter source Indo-Aryan etymologies are available for the ruler of Megiddo (Biridiya), Taanach (Jashdāta), Acco (Zurāta), Kelehen (Shuwardāta), and others. The picture that emerges is a

137 In the MB age neither "wagons" nor "chariots," both well known already in the third millennium B.C., were well enough constructed to be used for tactical operations in warfare. They served only as transport for supplies and officials and for ceremonial purposes. By the LB age, however, swift war-chariots are in use all over the ancient Near East. At Ras Shamra the chariot in the epic corresponds by usage most to MB practice, while in the art and administrative texts it is used in hunting and warfare. In the Amarna Letters Rib-Addi appeals for chariots against the ḫabīru (BA 88:24; 107:40 f.; 127:57; 131:12; 152:57).

138 MRS, VI (see note 42), pp. 293—299 for G. Boyer, "Le droit des fiefs d'Ugarit." MRS, IX (see note 43), pp. 103—105, Text 17.130 is an order from Hattusilis III (1282 to 1250 B.C.) to Niqmepa of Ugarit. The merchants of Ur(a) are not to purchase land in Ugarit. Lines 32—34 indicate that land in Ugarit is "real estate of the King of Ugarit." See C. H. Gordon, "Abraham of Ur," Hebrew and Semitic Studies, G. R. Driver Festschrift (Oxford, 1963), pp. 77—84.

139 MRS, VI, pp. 79—81, RS 16.239; p. 135, RS 15.140. See also AT 52—58.

140 MRS, VI, pp. 94 f., RS 16.245; p. 157, RS 16.254C.


142 MRS, VI, pp. 131 f., RS 15.122; p. 169, RS 16.145.

143 Two references to a "judge," MRS, VI, pp. 61 f., RS 16.156; 20; pp. 140 f., RS 16.132: 26. See also the rabīs (ekallīm), governor (of the palace), MRS, VI, p. 169, RS 16.145:24—26, who uses the seal of the king. An important review of MRS, VI, which discusses many of these problems (notes 138—143) is E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Documents from Ras Shamra," JAOS, LXXV (1955), 154—165, especially p. 157 on the "dynastic" seal.


146 R. O'Callaghan, Anam Naharaim (note 89), pp. 56—64, and an appendix by P. E. Dumont, ibid., pp. 149—155.
basic Semitic or Amorite population dominated by a non-Semitic minority of military professionals descended from Hurrian and Indo-Aryan elements present already in Alalah VII, Châgâr-Bazaar and Kultepe texts of the 19th and 18th century B.C. 147 Abdi-Hepa, military ruler of Jerusalem, possesses at least a part-Hurrian name. 148 Within a year of the beginning of excavations at Nuzi in 1925 scholars began to perceive the dynamic import of "Hurrians" in the Ancient Near East. 149 The Mitanni state was Hurrian though ruled by kings with Indo-Aryan names. Hurrian power appears to have been based on regiments of disciplined horse-drawn chariots, a potent new military weapon. A Hittite version of a manual on the care and training of horses recovered at Hattusas was probably based on a Hurrian original. 150 The term for chariot-warrior was an Indo-Aryan loanword, maryannu (lit. "young warrior"), a word designating both high professional and social status that could be transferred and inherited. 151 Common use of chariots by military governors both to transport military personnel and to maneuver in battle suggests that the Egyptians were employing Hurrians to control Palestine. 152 A century earlier the term maryannu had been adopted as a loanword in Egyptian. In the face of disciplined professional military power the Semitic population of Palestine had no recourse but to submit.

Not for long, however. Reform and revolt against oppressive political, economic, and social conditions have a long history in the Ancient Near East. 153 Early in the 15th century Idrimi, son of the king of Alalah, fled when his "brothers . . . grew great against (him)," that is, revolted. 154 He found refuge in Ammia, a city "in Canaan," the later "Amurru." 155 There he found other outlaws, some from his homeland, generally designated habiru. 156 A


152 The Amarna Letters commonly report appeals for troops and chariots. See note 137, final sentence. Most commonly the troops are archers on chariots. In only rare cases is there information on chariots in military action: EA 243:16, walls of Megiddo are guarded by troops and chariots; EA 173:1, chariots are used in an attack on Amki.

153 See note 97 and Astour (note 132).


155 Ibid., lines 18-20.

156 Ibid., lines 20-28. Landsberger apud B. Mazar, "The Military Elite of King David," VT, XIII (1963), 310-320, especially 311,
century later in the Amarna letters Rib-Addi of Byblos reports that Abdi-Ashirta and his son, Aziru, led habiru in uprising against the king of Ammia, encouraging its citizens: "Kill your lord." Later there is the report: "And behold, now Abdi-Ashirta has taken Shigata to himself and said to the people of Ammia: 'Kill your princes. Then you will be as we are, and you will have rest.' And they did according to his words, and have become as the habiru." Oppressed elements in the population joined the habiru to overthrow established rule. The situation was not different in South Palestine. It may be that by the end of the LB age a form of republican government had been substituted for dynastic monarchy and Egyptian provincial governors. The rigidly stratified note 3, reads the first word in line 27 as sa-ar-ak and renders: "I was captain over the hapit'u men."

157 See note 132. Also EA 73:27.
159 EA 271:9—21 (ANET, pp. 486 f). Milkilu of Gezer pleads for help against the habiru who are pressing him and Shuwardata, probably of Keilah, Hebron region. EA 29:5—24 (ANET, p. 489), yet Abdu-Hepa of Jerusalem says that Milkilu and Shuwardata are allied with the habiru against Jerusalem. EA 286:16 to 60 (ANET, p. 487), no one understands! Not even the commissioner of the king (rabis sharri) recognizes imminent disaster consequent on habiru-led disorders.
160 EA 102:20—23, following the death of the king of Ammia the city is in the hands of a "chief" (rabu) and "lords of the city" (be-li'alim). EA 100:1—4, letter from the "people" of Irqata to the Pharaoh. On the fate of the king of Irqata, see EA 75:25—34. See also H. Reviv, "The Government of Shechem in the El-Amarna Period and in the Days of Abimelech," IEJ, Canaanite society was made up in large part of hupshu, the freeborn small landholders. They stand between the landed aristocrats, which include the maryannu, and the slaves at the bottom of the scale. When the hupshu or Canaanite ba'alim joined the revolt, the threat was serious. Rib-Addi of Byblos asked hopelessly: "From whom shall I protect myself? From my enemies or from my hupshu?" For the hupshu to become habiru meant that they defied the authority of the king. Details of peasant complaints are not available, but "all the lands are uniting with the habiru," a despairing king reported.163

V. EARLY ISRAEL AS THE KINGDOM OF YAHWEH

With the political and social context of second millennium Palestine-Syria in mind it may be possible to begin to understand enough of the OT material to formulate a hypothesis or model for reconstructing the religion of Early Israel. Early Israel was an amalgam of Palestinian peasants who traced their lineage back to Amorite Mesopotamia, "a fugitive Aramean," and the charismatic leadership of Moses in Sinai. The various strata of tradition that have

made the experience of the few who escaped state slavery in Egypt the heritage of "all Israel" combined to describe the escapees as 600 "lābihim" or military units en route to Sinai. Indeed, "the people of Israel went up out of the land of Egypt as five military units, bīmusbib." Yahweh caused the Egyptians to say, "Let us flee from Israel: for Yahweh is fighting for them. . . ." The camp of Israel in the wilderness is pictured as a military camp with "companies" stationed on four sides of a square in the center of which was a tent protecting the ark of the covenant, a war palladium which symbolized the presence of Yahweh. This is precisely the pattern of the camp of Ramses II at the battle of Qadesh painted on the walls of Abu Simbel. In the sources Early Israel is considered to be the army of Yahweh.

Although the Assembly of Yahweh, the qābāl Yahweh, did not commonly function as a unity in warfare, on the one occasion when it did the deep ethical unity of the community surfaced. The rape and death of the Levite’s concubine was a "foolishness" and an "abomination" in "all Israel." All tribes sent troops to the Mizpah Assembly to organize the punishment of Benjamin. Deep in the fabric of Early Israel was a commitment to Yahweh's law and order. The clues that can be picked up through the literary and theological overlays in the Book of Judges allow one to conclude that when Israel "did what was right in their own eyes," in reality a very high level of community responsibility for the welfare of persons was in effect.

Though the material in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 2—23) may not have been codified before the monarchy, its statements accurately reflect the village-farmer-oriented existence of Early Israel.

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164 Josh. 24:2. See also Ezek. 16:3, 45b in the context of Ex. 3:8, 17; Judg. 3:5 et al.; Deut. 26:5. See EA 67:16, "stray dogs" = "fugitive slaves." On Moses see Ps. 105:7; Hos. 12:13; Num. 12:7 f.

165 Ex. 13:18. See also Josh. 1:14; 4:12; Judg. 7:11; Num. 32:17, according to LXX and Vulgate. The meaning is based on Arabic hamish, van and rearguard, main body and two flanks. NEB "fifth generation" can hardly be correct.

166 Ex. 14:25b. The translations of Biblical quotations are the responsibility of the writer.

167 Num. 2:2-17. LXX tāigma for Masoretic Text degel. In Xenophon tāigma means "a regiment." Israel had no military "standards," for, as it was said, "Yahweh is my standard," YHWH nissi, Ex. 17:15. It is most unlikely that the animal symbols given tribes in Gen. 49:9, 14, 17, 21, 27 refer to military standards.


169 See M. Noth, Das System der Zwölft Stämme Israels, BWANT, 4/1 (Stuttgart, 1930), pp. 162—170, for a literary analysis of Judg. 19—21; qābāl is common in P but Noth, pp. 102 f., note 2, argues that it is an old technical term and not late as commonly supposed. L. Rost, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. G. Kittel, vol. III (Stuttgart, 1938; ET, Grand Rapids, 1965), pp. 529 f., note 90, believes qābāl was originally a call-up for war (1 Sam. 17:47). In Israel this meant call-up of the people for either counsel (= law) or for war. See Gen. 49:6 and Num. 22:4.

170 Judg. 17:6; 21:25. Both passages suggest that the days are evil because there is no king in Israel. A striking parallel is in the final columns of Papyrus Harris where Ramses III (ca. 1164 B.C.) is given to say that before he became king Egypt had deteriorated "with every man being his (own standard of) right. They had no chief spokesman for many years" (ANET, p. 260). In royalist eyes it is simply incomprehensible that people could rule their own lives. Deut. 12:8 and Jer. 34:15.

171 The most recent full study is S. M. Paul, "The Book of the Covenant: Its Literary Setting
process of law and order, of course, must be reconstructed. In the village the elders adjudicated conflicts. Assuming some formal analogy with the process of law in the Ancient Near East, no law-books were ever used. Custom provided legal principles that were adapted to the facts of the case. Ex. 21—23 is a collection of precedents used as principles. But the absence of commercial laws or of the distinction of the status of persons common in Canaanite society indicates how widely Israel diverged from her cultural neighbors. Since experience and need precede the formulation of laws or even legal principles, the current form of the tradition in which it appears that Moses proclaims the laws in the desert is certainly not literal history. The form may well remember, however, that Israel is a community that obeys Yahweh. The total metaphor is that Yahweh is King, and Israel is His kingdom in law and warfare.

Since Early Israel successfully met the needs of every political organization for both security and order without recourse to the formal structures of monarchy, it is reasonable to accept as a working hypothesis that Yahweh in some way actually functioned in the community as King, the ultimate authority in both law and war. Once the community existed the state was possible, though, as 200 years of history argued, not necessary. There is no basis for doubting the antiquity of Gideon's rejection of the invitation to kingship in these decisive terms, "I will not rule over you, nor will my son rule over you; Yahweh will rule over you," or the sincerity of Samuel when he is reported to have been "displeased" by the demands of the royalist party for a king. There is no doubt that in our sources Yahweh is said to be king in Early Israel. The introduction to the Blessing of Moses concludes: "Then Yahweh became king in Jeshurun." The later gravitation to monarchy may have meant that Yahweh was no longer truly functioning as king in the communities of Israel. If this led to the breakdown in security and order, then it may be that, as some insisted, in formal monarchy there could perhaps be continuity of Yahweh's rule. This appears to be the choice of coercion rather than reformation as a means of curing the process of law and order, of course, must be reconstructed. In the village the elders adjudicated conflicts. Assuming some formal analogy with the process of law in the Ancient Near East, no law-books were ever used. Custom provided legal principles that were adapted to the facts of the case. Ex. 21—23 is a collection of precedents used as principles. But the absence of commercial laws or of the distinction of the status of persons common in Canaanite society indicates how widely Israel diverged from her cultural neighbors. Since experience and need precede the formulation of laws or even legal principles, the current form of the tradition in which it appears that Moses proclaims the laws in the desert is certainly not literal history. The form may well remember, however, that Israel is a community that obeys Yahweh. The total metaphor is that Yahweh is King, and Israel is His kingdom in law and warfare.

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178 Deut. 33:5. See also Ex. 15:18; Num. 23:21b; 24:7b; Ps. 68:25 (MT), 24 (EVV).
ills in Israel. Whatever the case may be, the remarkable success of Early Israel beckons us to examine in some detail how in fact Yahweh's leadership in law and warfare functioned. OT sources do not, of course, appreciate this curiosity and therefore are either vague or obscure on vital questions. The vassal treaties discovered in the excavations of Hattusas in Anatolia seem to have provided the model that for scholars today unlocks the meaning of the Mosaic covenant. The key to the kingdom was the covenant.

VI. THE KINGDOM AND THE COVENANT

In the LB age a political treaty was the powerful legal instrument for a significant "friendship" that sought to establish an effective "peace" either between equally strong rulers or between a mighty king and the client king or vassal to whom he graciously gave his "friendship."180 Since J. Begrich's essay on berith in the OT was published in 1944, scholars have been more ready to see that the "covenant" was "imposed" on Israel by Yahweh.181 That this was indeed an adaptation of LB political tradition did not become clear until Mendenhall's essays a decade later.182 Curiously enough the OT preserves only fragments of covenants between Yahweh and Israel, though one finds more consecutive descriptions of their presentation and ritual ratification. Comparative analysis of Ex. 19—20, 24, and Josh. 24 with Hittite vassal treaties shows close parallels in language and sequence of ideas.183 What is similar is not the same, however, and all adaptations make important changes. Thus the Mosaic covenant betrays no evidence of gods as witnesses, nor is there acknowledgment of their role in benediction and disaster consequent on loyalty or treachery.184 In Israel the covenant is consummated with family fathers who teach their children, not with other kings.185 This fact


182 See note 33.


185 Josh. 24:15c, Ex. 19:3-6; 20:3-17. Stress in the proclamation is on the second person plural, often in emphatic position.
is an important clue explaining both the powerful hold of Yahweh’s rule and the confidence in manifestations of His presence in events among the basic social groups in Early Israel. Commitment to the covenant with Yahweh freed LB man from the rule of kings who had deified politics.\footnote{186} No longer were the needs of people in the realm important to kings engaged in power struggles. Yahweh’s covenant with Israel created a unique kingdom where faith and the inner experiences of people became the world of supreme value. The accumulated community experience of Yahweh’s rule was codified ultimately in collections of “law” and extended historical accounts recalling Yahweh’s success against Israel’s enemies and, with astonishing honesty, her own frequent disloyalty.\footnote{187} Everywhere in the kingdom the impact of the covenant and its formulas is unmistakable.

Three of the six elements of the vassal treaty receive special emphasis in Early Israel’s traditions: the historical prolog, the stipulations or obligations, and the curses and blessings.\footnote{188} Until the discovery of the model behind the covenant the OT counterparts to these features existed somewhat in isolation from one another. One can now be quite certain about their interconnections. Thus the historical prolog provided motivation for the covenant. The choice of this event-oriented form was crucial in giving the religion of Early Israel a unique character among the religions of the Ancient Near East.\footnote{189} Israel’s concern with the meaning of actual events tended to force her to face and not evade brute historical realities. Thus the reference to only the Exodus in the prolog to the Sinai covenant and the addition of patriarchal history in the Shechem alliance is surely a reflection of the inclusion of Amorite elements long resident in Palestine in the formation of the twelve-trIBE league.\footnote{190} The second element, the stipulations, is a direct consequence of the events in the prolog. The Ten Commandments are obligations imposed on Israel. Their purpose is to protect the rulership of Yahweh, who is the source of all authority in Israel. The elaboration of the commandment-obligations in the form of “laws” grew out of their application to diverse circumstances as well as the commitment of the families of Israel to Yahweh-God.\footnote{191} The third element concludes the statement of relationship by specifying consequences in


\footnote{187 The earliest historical record is in poetry, for example, Ex. 15, Judg. 5, victory hymns that have formal analogs in hymns of Ramses II after the battle of Qadesh. See A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramses II* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 7—27.

\footnote{188 See text material in and following note 134.


terms of historical experience. The curses and blessings are rewards and penalties.192 This says that the links between the parts of the covenant are organic and functional. The entire prophetic tradition is anchored here in a continuing evaluation of Israel's covenant loyalty.193 Thus the covenant provided the kingdom of Early Israel with a binding form and coherent meaning.

Interpreting the relations between Yahweh and Israel by means of the vassal treaty model strongly suggests that the covenant was the core of the kingdom in Early Israel. Important support for this view is its ability to provide consistent and enlarged meaning to the lexicon of the OT. Two examples will suffice. (a) Mendenhall has placed the root NQM, "vengeance," "to avenge," in the context of the history of law in the Ancient Near East.194 He has shown that generally the root designates Yahweh's action as supreme ruler to deliver persons from jeopardy. This basic meaning is derived from its use in the Amarna letters. Milkilu of Gezer, for example, pleaded: "Let the king, my Lord, deliver his land out of the hand of the habiru."195 Yahweh could administer n'qamah because He possessed in Israel the authority both to command and to exercise force. Thus Early Israel was "a functioning state in which the totality of imperium over persons was held by Yahweh." 196 (b) Moran has shown that "love" in Deuteronomy owes nothing to the metaphor of conjugal love in Hosea but is rather the "love" shown by a subject to a king.197 Rib-Addi of Byblos in the Amarna correspondence describes his loyal subjects as "those who love me."198 The vassal's obligations are also described: "My lord, just as I love the king my lord, so (do) the king of Nushash, the king of Nī'i. . . . All these kings are servants of my lord."199 To "love" the king is to be a loyal and obedient servant. This is precisely the sense in which 'ābēb is used in Deuteronomy. To "love" Yahweh is to be loyal, to obey His commands, heed His voice and serve Him.200 In addition to these two examples we may cite studies of "to know" (yada') and "to murmur" (lūm) to illustrate the rich new possibilities for meaning made available to our understanding of the religion of Early Israel by archaeological research.201

In summary, the covenant in Israel was


195 EA 271:13–16. See also EA 283:25 to 26, "Let the king, my lord, send archers. Let the king, my lord, deliver me (yī-ik-ki-ni)."


198 EA 83:50–51. See EA 137:47.

199 EA 53:40–44.


a transfer from international political life into religious experience of the emotions of a powerfully “imposed peace.” On the analogy of the great king receiving the loyal recognition as sole source of ultimate authority from numerous satellite vassal states, Yahweh’s rule over fiercely loyal peasant families, some newly resident in Canaan and many there already for a long time, was the key to religion in Early Israel. The instrument of common allegiance to Yahweh was the covenant. Modeled on the vassal treaty the covenant in Early Israel welded faith and reality, the exercise of power over and the adjustment of conflicts between persons. In the covenant the past was given meaning for the present, and hope grew from both. Israel was the kingdom of Yahweh. In that community the exercise of His rulership was meaningful in all areas of life. The categories of “law” and “warfare” summarize the range of Yahweh’s rule that is reasonably well documented in OT sources. The brief discussion of these two major facets of Yahweh’s lordship that follows will attempt to contribute to a delineation of actual life in the kingdom of Yahweh.

VII. COVENANT AND LAW IN EARLY ISRAEL

Comparative sources have made it evident that the covenant in Early Israel was a tightly framed structure of several parts. The element of the covenant that outlined the obligations imposed on the families in Israel is designated the Ten Words or Commandments.202 It is important to distinguish between the covenant and the “commandments” it contains and the “law” that grappled with the daily conflicts in village-shepherd-farmer existence in Palestine.203 The radical gap between covenant and law is supported by the following three observations: (a) the law requires organized social sanctions for enforcement.204 Society has no jurisdiction over the covenant. It appeals to the supreme power of Yahweh Himself. (b) The covenant is not characterized by judicial process but is rather an expression of the group ethical conviction.205 Nor does the covenant define crimes, for example, murder or adultery. It is therefore unenforceable from a legal point of view. (c) Rather, the covenant establishes standards of behavior and thus lays the foundations for law.206 The covenant appeals to the


203 The perspective in this paragraph and the next two is deeply indebted to a series of lectures by G. E. Mendenhall on “Religion and Law” delivered at Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago between July 20 and Aug. 6, 1959. On the distinction between law and covenant see M. Noth, op. cit. (note 191), pp. 20-60.

204 In the absence of a formal state organization the binding force of custom became law, the ius commune. See T. E. Holland, The Elements of Jurisprudence, 15th ed. (Oxford, 1924), pp. 56-62.

205 Legal process is implicit in the syntax of casuistic or case law. See, for example, Ex. 21:18-19. The protasis is introduced by ki, “when,” stating the problem. The apodosis of the conditional sentence begins with ‘im, listing various circumstances in subordinate clauses. See on this A. Alt, op. cit. (notes 42 and 191), pp. 88-103. KS, I, pp. 285-302, should be checked; in the ET, p. 89, for example, the Hebrew particles are not in correct order.

206 The covenant becomes the constitution of a “state,” the kingdom of Yahweh.
highest motivations, for it is enforced by Yahweh. The covenant creates values, the law presupposes them. The covenant is activated by the free commitment of persons. The law coerces the unresponsive minority. The Ten Commandments are then covenant, not law.

The interpretation of the Ten Commandments as covenant obligations remains to be developed by scholars. Here we shall discuss only the First Commandment. It should also be emphasized that the traditional "commandments" are part of the Sinai covenant only. The Shechem covenant does not record stipulations. The best suggestion is that the latter are preserved in Deut. 27:15-26. For Early Israel the strong warning against sexual aberrations is a manifesto of freedom from fertility-obsessed Canaanite culture. The deification of the means of reproduction was no substitute for "love" of Yahweh. The Sinaitic commandments describe the interests of Yahweh to be protected by Israel. Except for the first obligation the remaining commandments are probably not universals. New circumstances required different moral boundaries. The first covenant stipulation asserts, "No one else shall be God to you in My presence." The emphasis is on exclusive loyalty to Yahweh. In political terms, the king alone determines foreign policy. The client king is free to manage internal affairs in such a manner that he does not violate his higher commitment to the great king. If Israel is to protect Yahweh's interests, however, what about Israel's interests? This covenant says nothing about the obligations of Yahweh. The OT unanimously affirms that Israel's benefit was exclusively in the fact that the covenant relationship was with Yahweh-God. Israel is bound by complete trust in Yahweh. He insists in effect, "You must trust Me even though what I do may seem contrary to your interests." Threats to Yahweh's sovereignty in Israel may on occasion require the sacrifice of one's life. Very probably the first stipulation implied the requirement, so common in vassal treaties, to demonstrate the ultimate loyalty to Yahweh-king by heeding the call to arms. Failure to respond was condemned as breach of covenant. Much as Israelites gave their bodies as guarantee of their honesty and faithfulness to Yahweh in law, they answered the demands

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208 Four of the twelve stipulations in Deut. 27:15-26 deal with sexual morality. The basis for united military action in Judg. 19-21 was sexual offense. The story may have been preserved precisely because it indicated a basic moral sensitivity in Early Israel. Note the detailed concern of the so-called "Holiness Code" (Lev. 17–26) with sexual morality. It seems extremely probable that this was a particularly urgent concern in Early Israel.

209 Ex. 20:3.

210 In the Mursilis-Duppi Teshub treaty (see note 134 and related text) the former says: "Do not turn your eyes to anyone else! Your fathers presented tribute to Egypt; you [shall not do that!]," ANET p. 204a, paragraph 8.


212 Curse of Meroz in Judg. 5:23. On warfare generally, see the first four paragraphs of Section VIII below.
of military muster to defend the name and land and people of Yahweh-king.\textsuperscript{213}

When one turns from Israel as a covenant kingdom (Ex. 19—20, 24) to Israel as a legal community (Ex. 21—23), one turns from religious principles to legal precedents. Law in Israel and anywhere else in the Ancient Near East had two purposes: (a) the preservation of public peace and (b) the protection of the person of the king.\textsuperscript{214} The great king in Hattusas or anywhere else did not interfere in domestic disputes unless they threatened to disrupt the kingdom. He was concerned only when evidence of alienation from his role as final arbiter appeared in word and deed. Thus Yahweh was not directly involved in day-by-day, inter- or intra-village conflicts. Yahweh does serve as the appeals judge against the decision of lower courts, however. The technical term is probably "cry out" (\textit{šāq}).\textsuperscript{216} A vivid example is the following sentence from the Book of the Covenant, "You shall not oppress any widow or orphan. If you do oppress them, and they cry out to Me, I will certainly hear their cry."\textsuperscript{218} This is to invoke the supreme power of Yahweh. By David's time there was a need for courts of appeal against the ruling of village courts.\textsuperscript{217} Precisely as Israel "cried out" against her oppressors and was delivered by Yahweh through military action, so an individual Israelite accused of murder would flee to a "city of refuge" until a regular court of inquiry and trial, under God, established his innocence or guilt.\textsuperscript{218} In Early Israel law served essentially three purposes: (a) to insure the fulfillment of sworn obligations of the covenant;\textsuperscript{219} (b) to guard the community against the calamities of Yahweh's curses, since violation could threaten the life of the entire community;\textsuperscript{220} (c) to regulate relations with other communities, foreign or friendly. The sources of legal tradition in Early Israel are the accumulated decisions of village courts, which often contained considerable borrowing from pre-Israelite precedents. However, the LB Canaanite

\textsuperscript{213} The curses in the covenant (Deut. 28:15-68; Lev. 26:14-33) were directed against the person of the potential violator. See S. Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," \textit{VT}, XI (1961), 137—158; Hillers, \textit{Treaty-Curses}, note 193.


\textsuperscript{215} The term is deeply embedded in the historical traditions of Early Israel. Num. 20:16 and Josh. 24:7 include "crying out" to Yahweh as the initiation of rescue from jeopardy. See also Ex. 14:10, 15. Moses also "cries out" to Yahweh (Ex. 17:4; Num. 12:13).

\textsuperscript{216} Ex. 22:22-23; also v. 27.

\textsuperscript{217} 2 Sam. 15:1-16; 14:4-8.

\textsuperscript{218} Ex. 21:12-14; Num. 35:9-34; Deut. 19:1-13. See the discussion of these texts by M. Greenberg, "The Biblical Conception of Asylum," \textit{JBL}, LXXXVIII (1959), 125—132. It is difficult to follow Greenberg's focus on expiation as the supreme religious concern of detention in the "city of refuge." It is better to regard the "city of refuge" as a means of enforcing the law that regarded the act of vengeance as a violation of divine sovereignty. Num. 35:6 is paradigmatic: "The cities which you give to the Levites shall be the six cities of refuge, where you shall permit the manslayer to flee." The law did not restrain the avenger but rather protected the accused until covenant society, under God, found an equitable solution to the case.

\textsuperscript{219} If the covenant is an extended oath, as is commonly asserted, the covenant ceremonies described in the OT are solemn oath-taking events. See now M. R. Lehmann, "Biblical Oaths," \textit{ZA/W}, LXXXI (1960), 74—92.

city-state was an international commercial center of socially stratified property owners. Both in literary style and legal traditions Early Israel's indebtedness is curiously more profound to Old Babylonian and MB intellectual and social forms than to contemporary Canaanite traditions, toward which there was deep antagonism. In short, law in the Book of the Covenant is an index to the social, political, and economic conditions of nonurban communities at home in a culture long superseded. On the other hand, law developed from covenant because the people failed to accomplish the "peace" of the community in trusting obedience to Yahweh-king.

In four important areas archaeological discovery has contributed to a more profound grasp of the role of law in the religion of Early Israel. First, the recovery of six major collections of law from the second millennium of the Ancient Near East since 1902 has provided the basis for comparative studies of law in Canaan and the Early Ancient Near East. This, in turn, has stimulated tentative efforts to reconstruct the history of law in the Ancient Near East and the location of Israel's proper place among her neighbors. Only in this way can the unique and distinctive features of each tradition be discovered. Second, having learned from diverse compilations of law that like problems and circumstances produce similar solutions, the significance of the life-styles of nations that surrounded Israel becomes clear. Since law reflects the values of a society, all that the literary texts (for example, Amarna Letters, Ugaritic tablets) and archaeological evidence can contribute to the reconstruction of all aspects of the history of the age illuminate the meaning of conflict and the need for coercive action in a covenantated society. Third, archaeological material contributes substantially to illuminating the social and psychological content of the language of law and its administration in Early Israel. That torah is probably "instruction" and not "rule" begins to emerge as a workable understanding. The social and legal mechanism implied in terms as shophet (judge) and nasi' lished in 1922. The Lipit-Ishtar Laws were discovered in the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1947 (note 98) and published in 1948. Laws of Eshnunna, excavated at Tell Abu Harmal between 1945 and 1947, were published in 1948 and 1956. The Ur-Nammu Laws were also found in the tablet collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul in 1952 and published in 1954.


222 As far as this writer knows, this thesis has not been dealt with in detail. S. M. Paul, op. cit. (note 171), pp. 64—125, studies adaptations of Mesopotamian legal tradition in the Book of the Covenant. He does not, however, establish the contrast with Canaanite society. See L. Waterman, "Pre-Israelite Laws in the Book of the Covenant," ASL, XXXVIII (1921), 36—54.

223 Haase, Einführung (note 63). See also V. Koroshec, "Keilschriftrecht," Handbuch der Orientalistik. Orientalisches Recht. V/III (Leiden, 1964), pp. 49—219. Briefly, the Laws of Hammurapi were discovered in January 1902, and published by Father V. Scheil in October 1902. The Middle Assyrian Laws were excavated between 1903 and 1914 at Assur and published between 1920 and 1926. The Hittite Laws were discovered in 1906—07 and published in 1922. The Lipit-Ishtar Laws were discovered in the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1947 (note 98) and published in 1948. Laws of Eshnunna, excavated at Tell Abu Harmal between 1945 and 1947, were published in 1948 and 1956. The Ur-Nammu Laws were also found in the tablet collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul in 1952 and published in 1954.

224 This task remains to be done. We may anticipate a good beginning with the Exodus volume of the Anchor Bible to be prepared by F. M. Cross Jr.

EARLY ISRAEL AS THE KINGDOM OF YAHWEH

(leader) become clear. On the basis of increasing knowledge of the role of the "assembly" in Early Mesopotamia and much later in Early Israel it is evident not only that the "leaders" of clan and tribe in Early Israel are "chosen" but also that the social traditions in Early Israel tap a deep stream in the life of the Ancient Near East. Finally, the evaluation of the Book of the Covenant on the basis of Ancient Near Eastern sources has amply documented the rediscovery that the law, even in Early Israel, is thoroughly anchored in historical actualities. The principal religious reality is the covenant with Yahweh, which provides the law with its motivation and goal.

VIII. COVENANT AND WARFARE IN EARLY ISRAEL

In Early Israel justice occurs not only in the village courts but also on the battlefield. In response to the "cry" of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt, Yahweh, "Warrior," "gloriously triumphed" over the "pharaoh's chariots and his army." Warfare was an ultimate remedy for wrong. With a sword Yahweh "takes hold on judgment" and "takes vengeance on (His) adversaries." Both law and warfare deal with the unusual in Early Israel, though our sources for Early Israel are entirely concerned with either one or the other. It is precisely in these extremities that one discovers the community functioning according to powerful inner patterns of conviction. Warfare is an extension of Yahweh's supreme rule of Israel by means of the covenant. As a covenant obligation participation in warfare is not specifically stated but may be implied in the First Commandment. Nonparticipation of Jabesh-Gilead in the punitive war against Benjamin, both members of the covenant community, was deemed a serious violation of covenant. It may well be that the "lawsuit" Gattung in the prophets is the adaptation of the declaration of war by a suzerain against a disloyal vassal. Violation of the booty of war was regarded as an offense against the deity or king to whom it belonged. Some vassal treaties explicitly regulated the distribution of booty. In the violation of the "sacred booty" at Jericho Yahweh says: "They have broken My covenant . . . they have


228 Ex. 3:7, 9 and 15:1, 4.

229 Deut. 32:41.

230 See the end of the second paragraph of Section VII above.

231 Judg. 21:8-12. See also Judg. 5:15b-17, 23.


233 ARMT, V, 72. However, "booty" appears to be an ad hoc translation of shu-uh-tam. See W. von Soden, "Neue Bande der Archives Royales de Mari," OR, XXII (1953), 209. The typical Mari phrase is "whoever takes the booty/ breaks the covenant or contract/ will eat the atakkûm of Shamash or another God."

234 V. Koroshec, Hethitische Staatsverträge, pp. 72 f. See note 134.
taken some of the sacred spoil (ha­
herem).” The ark of the covenant,
which symbolized the presence of Yahweh
in the camp and His leadership in battle,
also contained the tablets of the cove­
nant. The ark plays a key role in the
ritual conquest of Jericho. It is a reason­
able conclusion that warfare in Early Israel
was a covenant obligation.

It has been pointed out that the OT
pictures the Hebrews fleeing Egypt and en­
camped in the desert as the “army of Yah­
weh.” Comparative material from the
Mari archive has added considerably to the
coherent interpretation of this conception
of Early Israel. Of crucial significance is
the Mari tebibtum or “purification.”

235 Josh. 7:11. See now A. Malamat,
Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Africa. Biblical Es­
earlier form of this study appeared in Yeheskel
Kaufmann Jubilee Volume, ed. Menahem Haran
(Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 149—158 (in He­
brew).

236 Num. 10:35-36; 14:39-45. Wright,
50, note 54, supports an early date for the ark.
See also M. H. Woudstra, The Ark of the Covenant
from Conquest to Kingship (Philadelphia, 1965).
Woudstra ignored J. Dus, “Der Beitrag des
benjaminitischen Heidentums zur Religion Isra­
els,” Communion Viatorum, VI (1963), 61
to 80.

237 Josh. 3—6, the ark in the Gilgal tra­
ditions. J. Dus, “Die Analyse Zweier Ladeer­
zählungen des Josuabuches (Jos. 3—4 und 6),”
ZAW, LXXII (1960), 107—114.

238 See first paragraph under Section V,
“Early Israel as the Kingdom of Jahweh.”

239 Glock, “Warfare in Mari,” pp. 69—75,
82—86. The main texts are ARM, 1, 6, 7, 36,
37, 42, 62, 82, 129; II, 18, 130; III, 19, 21;
V, 45, 51, 63; VI, 77. See also E. A. Speiser,
“Census and Ritual Expiation in Mari and Is­
rael,” BASOR, 149 (1958), 17—25.

This is a public ceremony resulting in the
formal enlistment of troops by trusted
scribes authorized by the king. The names
are written on tablets village by village. The
tebibtum very probably was climaxed
by a ritual oath of “purification” in which
those named on the list swore allegiance to
the king. The names on this list were not
only those who would be called up in a
mustering but also those who received
plots of land as a reward for promised
military service. In return for guaranteed
loyalty “enlisted” men received a measured
field of royal real estate. The tebibtum im­
plies a vassal-king relationship. The lists
in Num. 1—4 and 26 are not census but
quota lists. Rather than name individuals
the lists specify numbers of military units
(“thousands!”) followed by the number of
men expected from each of the twelve
tribes. Yahweh is said to keep “a book
of the living,” that is, a list of the faithful
in Israel. The disloyal are stricken from
this list. The military muster in Early Is­
rael was regarded as a call to arms by Yah­
weh Himself. As at Mari, also in Israel the
“census” involved land distribution. Fol­
lowing the quota list in Num. 26 two rele­
vant orders are issued: (a) Yahweh said to
Moses that to those “on the roster of names
240 G. E. Mendenhall, “The Census Lists of
Numbers 1 and 26,” JBL, LXXVII (1958),
52—66, especially 61—63. For example,
Num. 1:21 should be interpreted as follows:
Those who are enrolled belonging to the tribe
of Reuben: 46 tribal subsections (,alaphim)
and 500 (men),” not, as has been the usual un­
derstanding of the formula, 46,500 troops from
Reuben.

241 Ex. 32:32-33. Israel’s antagonism against
Amalek may be an effort to “blot out” this
people from the roster of Yahweh, Ex. 17:14
and as late as Deut. 25:19. See also Deut. 9:14;
29:19.
the land shall be divided for a possession." (b) Land allotment would be according to need, the larger tribes receiving more land than the smaller.242 This was a new program of economic justice. The land tenure policy of Early Israel rejected the arbitrary distribution of favors by a king to an elite society and replaced it with an egalitarian system in which each man was in effect vassal-king in his own house responsible to the suzerain-king, Yahweh, who parcelled out plots of land to His faithful warriors whose names were recorded on census lists. The impact of such a land-distribution policy was a social and economic revolution.243 In summary, MB thought forms inherited by Amorite peasants in Palestine, filtering through the problems and circumstances of the LB age, combine to depict Early Israel as the "army of Yahweh."

Though Biblical sources imply and say that Early Israel is "the army of Yahweh," it is evident that she was not devoted to the art of warfare. Israel's wars were fought by hastily recruited armies. Ehud "sounded the trumpeter" to enlist Benjamin against the Moabites.244 When the folk militia met with defeat, "they fled every man to his home."245 Even before battle the ranks of the army sometimes thinned drastically as the fainthearted faded from the scene.246 Also, the modest arsenal of Early Israel is said to have included neither lance nor shield.247 The sling was Early Israel's deadly weapon.248 This the well-armed Philistine scorned prematurely.249 Nor did horse, ass, or drawn wagon serve military purpose in battle. Indeed, from Joshua to David captured horses were hamstrung and chariots burned.250 Archaeological discovery has shown that the sophisticated military capacity of contemporary LB Canaanite city-states bore little resemblance to the crude military manner of Early Israel. The new sources reveal four impressive developments effecting warfare since the MB age: (a) Military organization had become professional.251 (b) Improved metal technology had increased the variety and durability of the weaponry, and the chariot had developed from a ceremonial or hauling wagon to a fighting platform.252 (c) Masters of the

242 Num. 26:52-56.
244 Judg. 3:27.
245 1 Sam. 4:10.
246 Compare 1 Sam. 13:2 with v. 15b. It is implied in 1 Sam. 28:5 and the description of battle in 1 Sam. 31:1-7 that most of Saul's army deserted him on Mount Gilboa.
247 Judg. 5:8; 1 Sam. 13:22.
248 1 Sam. 17:40-51. See Judg. 20:16 on the left-handed Benjaminites.
250 Josh. 11:6b, 9 and 2 Sam. 8:4.
251 See second-last paragraph of Section IV, "Palestine-Syria in the Second Millenium B.C."
above, as background. Also MRS, X (note 43) No. 113, pp. 200-204, is the same as Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook (note 43) No. 400, pp. 213 f. See the comment in J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan (note 75), pp. 231-238. Also A. Rainey, "Military Personnel of Ugarit," JNES, XXIV (1965), 17-27.
new military establishment were chiefly a non-Semitic minority descended from Hurrian and Indo-Aryan professional soldiers contemporary with MB Hyksos. (d) Symbols of their status and prestige were chariots and horses. One may take as axiomatic that a military force will attempt to reflect in its offensive and defensive weapons and strategy counterpart superiority over the enemy. But the military traditions that lived in Early Israel were antique MB modes preserved by autochthonous Amorite villagers. Warfare in Early Israel was an expression of loyalty to Yahweh, the defense of His name, His land, and His people. Yahweh's leadership in war was an exercise of His authority as King to call on the families of Israel to offer their lives in defense of the kingdom of faith.

Warfare as conducted in Early Israel was neither as formal nor as cultic as the phrase "holy war" suggests. Israel did, however, meet the enemy with superior firepower and mobility, for Yahweh Himself bore shield and spear, and He rode the clouds as a chariot of war. High morale and strong purpose fired the fierce concentration of effort that made weakness strength and victory Yahweh's "salvation."

Archaeological discoveries have provided significant controls for the interpretation of the role of warfare in the life and religion of Early Israel. We may summarize these contributions in four categories.

(a) The new sources have vastly illuminated the OT Hebrew lexicon related to warfare by unfolding the ancient frame of reference. The language of war turns out to be closely related to the language of law when the latter demands the death penalty. Thus anyone sacrificing to another god will be declared "sacred booty" in Early Israel, that is, liable to utter destruction. Warfare is sometimes viewed as Yahweh's imposing a death penalty on Canaanite cities. Also, the precise

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253 See second-last paragraph of Section IV, "Palestine-Syria in the Second Millenium B. C.,” above, and related notes.

254 As far back as ARMT, VI, Text 76:20 to 25, it is evident that the horse was an alien beast to Northwest Semites. G. M. A. Hanfmann, "A Near Eastern Horseman," *Syria*, XXXVIII (1961), 243—255. See also note 152 above.


256 Num. 7:2, the "chiefs of Israel" were in charge of the enlistment. In Num. 1:4 they are designated "chiefs of the tribes of their fathers’ (house), heads of the "alaphim of Israel." On the role of nāš, see text, sentence before and after note 185.


258 Ps. 18:3, 31, 36 = 2 Sam. 22:3, 31, 36. Also Ps. 104:3; Ps. 68:5, 18, 34; Ps. 18:11 = 2 Sam. 22:11; Hab. 3:8, 15; 1 Sam. 4:4; 2 Sam. 6:2. It may be no accident that the only significant "chariot" or "wagon" mentioned in Early Israel is the ḥalab on which also Yahweh rides in the form of the ark of the covenant. 1 Sam. 6:7, 8, 10, 11, 14; 2 Sam. 6:3 = 1 Chron. 13:7. On Deut. 32:13 see W. L. Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," *Biblica*, XLIII (1962), 317—327, especially 323—327.


260 Occurrences of n(oun) and v(erb) forms of HRM in Joshua: 2:10v; 6:17n, 18n,
matic range of the important root PQD ("take note, notice, consider; muster") in nominal and verbal forms is possible thanks to comparative texts. 261 (b) An important contribution to literary critical studies is the evidence that many of the military traditions in the so-called late Priestly source are demonstrably old. Most of the material in Num. 1—10, for example, the quota lists and the camp description, is deeply rooted in the experience of Early Israel. P's insistence on the inalienability of the land is vital to the religion of Early Israel. 262 (c) Stratigraphic, architectural, and artifactual evidence forces one to confront the actualities of ancient warfare. OT descriptions of warfare are commonly hymnic praise of Yahweh's power. The new sources force a serious evaluation of the actual experience of war. The result is a truer picture of both religious and historical realities in Early Israel. Words for weapons are matched with excavated artifacts, bronze blades and points, sling stones, walled cities, including problems of tactics, organization, and communication. 263 (d) The more complete one's knowledge of MB-LB Syria-Palestine is, the more possible is some light on the Eigenart of the religion of Early Israel. In the midst of specific foes with eyes, ears, and legs that are economic, social, political, as well as cultic, Early Israel established herself in the world as a unique kingdom of free men under Yahweh. 264 A society open to the oppressed and alienated strangers and foreigners, Early Israel was closed in belligerent devotion to Yahweh who wrought her "salvation" by victories in courts of law and fields of battle to all who would dominate her with sophisticated military machinery and destroy both the personal freedom and social system that allowed the maximum expression of the rule of Yahweh.

IX. CONCLUSION

This essay has first attempted to describe some of the more important new

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material available to the student of the religion of Early Israel. These sources are both epigraphic and archaeological. The chief written documents may be classified in three categories: (a) Literary works that have grown and been refined by usage over long periods, ultimately appearing in edited form. Included are epics as well as liturgical and omen literature. Most of these are impossible to date precisely and have usually been the special province of priests. (b) Literary works that are officially sponsored by the court, particularly the royal annals, international treaties, and law collections authorized by the king. One might also include wisdom, for this was the product of the scribe in the setting of the court.

(c) A large body of letters, economic documents, contracts, or literature composed for limited utility. For the historian this evidence is of great significance for lexicon and for political and social history. This material allows one to compare the actual with the ideal reflected in the first category. Much of it is found in the rooms of court officials. The nonepigraphic or archaeological evidence may also be summarized in three groups: (a) Objects of art, that is, unique products of craftsmen, as incised ivories from Megiddo, Samaria, or Ugarit; Egyptian statuary or Mesopotamian cylinder seals. Palestine is relatively poor in such objects. (b) Architecture, that is, domestic, political, military, and religious or cultic structures. Here, too, Palestine is unimpressive by comparison with the rest of the Ancient Near East. (c) Artifacts, the smaller objects of daily life, including pottery, which, when carefully examined, yields substantial clues to the history of style, technology, and, on occasion, foreign influence. When focused on the Bible this vast array of new material is decisive in three general areas of investigation: (a) the structural analysis of OT literature, (b) the delineation of the social, political, economic, and cultic context of OT religion, and (c) the historical development of OT theology. This essay is a small contribution to the discussion of the first problem of the last category.

The second purpose of this essay has been to illustrate the use of this new material by proposing a solution to the problem of the model used within the OT to understand itself. The assimilation of archaeological material by OT scholars has been a slow process. This is in itself significant. The revolution produced by archaeological materials has not always suf-


268 Probably the best is still Albright's *From the Stone Age*, chapters 3—6.
ficiently impressed Biblical scholars. Evidence that illustrates “animals, plants, and minerals,” artifacts of daily life and geographical information has been readily absorbed and disseminated. But evidence that resists simple interpretation or even creates difficulties for the Biblical interpreter, such as the archaeological record at Jericho and ‘Ai, is commonly ignored or not treated with the respect it is due. The key archaeological problem is historical-chronological and therefore stratigraphic. Because this is the case, ceramic typology is of crucial importance. Since

269 Cited from the minutes of the Centenary Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund held in London, June 22, 1965, on the same day of the founding of the Fund a century earlier, which quotes from the resolutions of the founders of the Fund: PEQ, C (1965), 182.


few Biblical scholars have bothered to gather even a modest familiarity with basic pottery forms, archaeological material is often only superficially employed at best. One must simultaneously emphasize the requirement of a fundamental knowledge of the written sources in at least Hebrew, Akkadian, and Ugaritic. The wedding of epigraphic and archaeological evidence is of primary interest to the Biblical scholar involved in recovering the meaning of the Biblical text. The solution proposed here for the self-understanding of the deepest levels of religious life in Early Israel is based on an attempt to consider typical sources. The reconstruction that has emerged, which accounts for both law and warfare as functions of the covenant in a LB Canaanite context, should at least be regarded as a strong candidate for a working understanding of the religion of Early Israel in the light of present sources available. In a remarkably consistent fashion Early Israel functioned on the analogy of an Ancient Near Eastern vassal state. This datum provided by archaeological discovery appears to be the key that opens the right door to understanding the religion of Early Israel.

River Forest, Illinois

NOTES

Discussion in the footnotes has been kept at a minimum. A major function of these notes is bibliographic. The following abbreviations are used:
AASOR — Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
ABUU — Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung.
AJQ — Archiv für Orientforschung.
AJA — American Journal of Archaeology.
AJSL — American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
AO — Analecta Orientalia.
AOS — American Oriental Series.
ARM — Archives royales de Mari.
ARMT — Archives royales de Mari. Traductions.
AS — Assyriological Studies (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
AT — Alalah Tablet.
BA — The Biblical Archaeologist.
BAH — Bibliothèque archéologique et historique.
BiOr — Bibliotheca Orientalis.
(B)SOAS — (Bulletin of the) School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London.
BWA(N)T — Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament.
BZ — Bibliothèque Zeitschrift.
CAH — Cambridge Ancient History.
CBQ — Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
CT — Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
CTM — Concordia Theological Monthly.
ET — English translation.
EV(V) — English version(s).
HSS — Harvard Semitic Series.
HTR — Harvard Theological Review.
HUCA — Hebrew Union College Annual.
IEJ — Israel Exploration Journal.
JBR — Journal of Bible and Religion.
JCS — Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JKF — Jahrbuch für kleinasiatischen Forshung.
JQH — Jewish Quarterly Review.
JSS — Journal of Semitic Studies.
JTS — Journal of Theological Studies.
JWH — Journal of World History.
LSS — Leipziger semitische Studien.
MAM — Mission archéologique de Mari.
MDOG — Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
MO — Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.
MKNAW — Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
MRS — Mission Ras-Shamra.
MT — Masoretic Text.
MVAG — Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
OIP — Oriental Institute Publications.
Or — Orientalia.
OTS — Oudtestamentische Studien.
PEQ — Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
PRU — Le palais royal d'Ugarit.
RA — Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RB — Revue biblique.
RHA — Revue histoiie et archéologie orientale.
RO — Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
SAOC — Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (The Oriental Institute of Chicago).
SBT (ss) — Studies in Biblical Theology (second series).
SD — Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia.
SOAS — See BSOAS.
SVT — Supplements to Vetus Testamentum.
TCL — Textes cunéiformes du Louvre.
VAB — Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Leipzig.
VT — Vetus Testamentum.
WMANT — Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Neukirchen.
ZA — Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.
ZAW — Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDPV — Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins.